













DICTIONARY  
OF  
NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

BURTON—CANTWELL



DICTIONARY  
OF  
NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

EDITED BY  
LESLIE STEPHEN

VOL. VIII.  
BURTON—CANTWELL

LONDON  
SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE  
1886



# LIST OF WRITERS

IN THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

- |               |                                  |               |                                 |
|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| O. A. . . . . | OSMUND AIRY.                     | R. G. . . . . | RICHARD GARNETT, LL.D.          |
| A. J. A. . .  | SIR A. J. ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I.    | J. W.-G. . .  | J. WESTBY-GIBSON, LL.D.         |
| T. A. A. . .  | T. A. ARCHER.                    | J. T. G. . .  | J. T. GILBERT, F.S.A.           |
| W. E. A. A.   | W. E. A. AXON.                   | G. G. . . . . | GORDON GOODWIN.                 |
| G. F. R. B.   | G. F. RUSSELL BARKER.            | A. G. . . . . | THE REV. ALEXANDER GORDON.      |
| T. B. . . . . | THOMAS BAYNE.                    | E. G. . . . . | EDMUND GOSSE.                   |
| G. V. B. . .  | G. VERE BENSON.                  | A. H. G. . .  | A. H. GRANT.                    |
| G. T. B. . .  | G. T. BETTANY.                   | J. A. H. . .  | J. A. HAMILTON.                 |
| A. C. B. . .  | A. C. BICKLEY.                   | T. F. H. . .  | T. F. HENDERSON.                |
| W. G. B. . .  | THE REV. PROFESSOR BLAIRIE, D.D. | J. H. . . . . | MISS JENNETT HUMPHREYS.         |
| G. C. B. . .  | G. C. BOASE.                     | R. H.-T. . .  | ROBERT HUNT, F.R.S.             |
| H. B. . . . . | HENRY BRADLEY.                   | W. H. . . . . | THE REV. WILLIAM HUNT.          |
| R. C. B. . .  | R. C. BROWNE.                    | B. D. J. . .  | B. D. JACKSON.                  |
| A. H. B. . .  | A. H. BULLEN.                    | A. J. . . . . | THE REV. AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D. |
| G. W. B. . .  | G. W. BURNETT.                   | T. E. K. . .  | T. E. KEBBEL.                   |
| H. M. C. . .  | H. MANNERS CHICHESTER.           | C. K. . . . . | CHARLES KENT.                   |
| A. M. C. . .  | MISS A. M. CLERKE.               | J. K. . . . . | JOSEPH KNIGHT.                  |
| T. C. . . . . | THOMPSON COOPER, F.S.A.          | J. K. L. . .  | PROFESSOR J. K. LAUGHTON.       |
| C. H. C. . .  | C. H. COOTE.                     | S. L. L. . .  | S. L. LEE.                      |
| W. P. C. . .  | W. P. COURTNEY.                  | W. B. L. . .  | THE REV. W. B. LOWTHER.         |
| M. C. . . . . | THE REV. PROFESSOR CREIGHTON.    | H. R. L. . .  | THE REV. H. R. LUARD, D.D.      |
| J. D. . . . . | JAMES DIXON, M.D.                | M. M'A. . .   | MISS MARGARET MACARTHUR.        |
| A. D. . . . . | AUSTIN DOBSON.                   | N. McC. . .   | NORMAN MACCOLL.                 |
| E. D. . . . . | PROFESSOR DOWDEN, LL.D.          | G. P. M. . .  | G. P. MACDONELL.                |
| F. E. . . . . | FRANCIS ESPINASSE.               | W. D. M. . .  | THE REV. W. D. MACRAY, F.S.A.   |
| L. F. . . . . | LOUIS FAGAN.                     | C. T. M. . .  | C. TRICH MARTIN, F.S.A.         |
| C. H. F. . .  | C. H. FIRTH.                     | J. M. . . . . | JAMES MEW.                      |
| J. G. . . . . | JAMES GAIRDNER.                  | A. M. . . . . | ARTHUR MILLER.                  |



C. M. . . . COSMO MONKHOUSE.	L. S. . . . LESLIE STEPHEN.
N. M. . . . NORMAN MOORE, M.D.	H. M. S. . . H. M. STEPHENS.
J. B. M. . . J. BASS MULLINGER.	W. R. W. S. THE REV. W. R. W. STEPHENS.
T. O. . . . THE REV. THOMAS OLDFN.	C. W. S. . . C. W. SUTTON.
J. H. O. . . THE REV. CANON OVERTON.	E. M. T. . . E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.
R. L. P. . . R. L. POOLE.	H. R. T. . . H. R. TEDDER.
S. L.-P. . . STANLEY LANE-POOLE.	T. F. T. . . PROFESSOR T. F. TOUT.
J. M. R. . . J. M. RIGG.	W. H. T. . . W. H. TREGELLAS.
C. J. R. . . THE REV. C. J. ROBINSON.	E. V. . . . THE REV. CANON VENABLES.
J. H. R. . . J. H. ROUND.	A. W. W. . . PROFESSOR A. W. WARD, LL.D.
B. C. S. . . B. C. SKOTTOWE.	F. W.-T. . . FRANCIS WATT.
G. B. S. . . G. BARNETT SMITH.	H. T. W. . . H. TRUERMAN WOOD.
W. B. S. . . W. BARCLAY SQUIRE.	W. W. . . . WARWICK WROTH.
J. P. S. . . MRS. LESLIE STEPHEN.	

# DICTIONARY

OF

# NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

Burton

1

Burton

**BURTON, CASSIBELAN** (1609-1682), translator, was the only son of William Burton, the historian of Leicestershire [q. v.], by his wife Jane, daughter of Humfrey Ad-derley of Weddington, Warwickshire (Nichols, *Hist. of Leicestershire*). He was born on 19 Nov. 1609, but nothing is known of his education. He translated Martial into English verse, but the translation remained in manuscript. His friend Sir Aston Cokaine thought highly of it. He inherited his father's collections in 1645, and handed them over to Walter Chetwynd [q. v.], 'to be used by him in writing "The Antiquities of Staffordshire."' Wood states that he was 'extravagant, and consumed the most or better part of the estate which his father had left him.' He died on 28 Feb. 1681-2.

[Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, iii. 134; Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*; Cokaine's *Choice Poems*, 1668.]

**BURTON, CATHARINE** (1668-1714), Carmelite nun, was born at Bayton, near Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, on 4 Nov. 1668. She made her religious profession in the convent of the English Teresian nuns at Antwerp in 1694, being known in that community as Mother Mary Xaveria of the Angels. She acquired a high reputation for sanctity, was several times elected superior of her convent, and died on 9 Feb. 1713-14. A 'Life' of her, collected from her own writings and other sources by Father Thomas Hunter, a jesuit, remained in manuscript till 1876, when it was printed, with the title of 'An English Carmelite' (London, 8vo), under the editorial supervision of the Rev. Henry James Coleridge, S.J.

\*[Life by Hunter; Foley's *Records*, vii. 104.]  
T. C.

**BURTON, CHARLES** (1793-1866), theologian, was born in 1793 at Rhodes Hall, Middleton, Lancashire, the seat of his father, Mr. Daniel Burton, a cotton manufacturer, of whom he was the youngest son. He was educated at the university of Glasgow and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated LL.B. in 1822. In 1829 he was incorporated B.C.L. at Magdalen College, Oxford, on 14 Oct., and received the degree of D.C.L. on the following day.

His family were Wesleyans, and he was for a time a minister of that denomination, but was ordained in 1816, and the church of All Saints, Manchester, was built by him at a cost of 18,000*l.*, and consecrated in 1820, when he became rector, after serving for a short time as curate of St. James's in the same town. The greater part of the church was destroyed by fire on 6 Feb. 1850. He had considerable reputation as a preacher. His writings are: 1. 'Horræ Poeticæ,' 1815. 2. 'Middleton, an elegiac poem,' Glasgow, 1820 (printed for private circulation). 3. 'A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, including original compositions,' Manchester, 1820. 4. 'The Bardiad, a poem in two cantos,' London (Manchester), 1823. This came to a second edition in the same year. 5. 'A Sermon on the Parable of the Barren Fig-tree,' London (Manchester), 1823. 6. 'Three Discourses adapted to the opening of the Nineteenth Century; exhibiting the portentous and auspicious signs and cardinal duties of the times,' Manchester, 1825. 7. 'The Day of Judgment, a Sermon on the death of Ann, wife of Rev. John Morton,' Manchester, 1826. 8. 'The Servant's Monitor' (P Manchester, 1829). This was originally published at the expense of the Manchester Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Female Servants. 9. 'Sentiments appro-

private to the present Crisis of unexampled Distress; a Sermon,' Manchester, 1826. 10. 'Discourses suited to these Eventful and Critical Times,' London, 1832 (preached at the Episcopal Chapel, Broad Court, Drury Lane, London, of which Burton is said, on the title-page, to be minister). 11. 'A Discourse on Protestantism, delivered on the occasion of admitting two Roman Catholics to the Protestant Communion' (? Manchester, 1840). 12. 'The Church and Dissent: an appeal to Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other Sects, &c.,' Manchester, 1840. 13. 'The Watchman's Cry, or Protestant England roused from her Slumber; a Discourse,' Manchester, 1840. 14. 'Lectures on the Millennium,' London, 1841. The millennium is to begin in 1868. 15. 'Lectures on the World before the Flood,' London (Manchester), 1844. An attempt to harmonise the literal narrative of Genesis with the discoveries of science. 16. 'Lectures on the Deluge and the World after the Flood,' London (Manchester), 1845. 17. 'Lectures on Popery,' Manchester, 1851. 18. 'A Demonstration of Catholic Truth by a plain and final Argument against the Socinian Heresy, a discourse,' Manchester, 1853. 19. 'The Comet,' 'The World on Fire,' 'The World after the Fire,' 'The New Heaven and the New Earth,' are titles of single sermons issued in 1858. 20. 'The Antiquity of the British Church, a lecture,' Manchester, 1861. This is a pamphlet on the Liberation Society controversy.

In addition to his theological studies Burton had a great fondness for botanical pursuits, and his discovery in Anglesea of a plant new to science led to his election as fellow of the Linnean Society. While on a visit at Western Lodge, Durham, he was attacked by typhus fever of a virulent nature, and died after three weeks' illness on 6 Sept. 1866.

[Manchester Courier, 8 Sept. 1866; British Museum General Catalogue; Illustrated London News, 16 Feb. 1860; private information.]

W. E. A. A.

**BURTON, CHARLES EDWARD** (1846-1882), astronomer, was born on 16 Sept. 1846, at Barnton, Cheshire, of which benefice his father, the Rev. Edward W. Burton, was then incumbent. He showed from childhood a marked taste for astronomy, and entered Lord Rosse's observatory as assistant in February 1868, some months before taking a degree of B.A. at the university of Dublin. Compelled by constitutional delicacy to resign the post in March 1869, he joined the Sicilian expedition to observe the total solar

eclipse of 22 Dec. 1870, and read a paper on its results before the Royal Irish Academy, 13 Feb. 1871 (*Proc.* new ser. i. 113). The observations and drawings made by him at Agosta (Sicily) were included in Mr. Ranyard's valuable 'eclipse volume' (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* xli.) Attached as photographer to the transit of Venus expedition in 1874, he profited by his stay at Rodriguez to observe southern nebulae (30 Doradus and that surrounding  $\eta$  Argus) with a 12-inch silvered glass reflector of his own construction (*Month. Not.* xxxvi. 69). On his return he spent nearly twelve months at Greenwich measuring photographs of the transit, then worked for two years at the observatory of Dunsink, near Dublin, and retired in August 1878, once more through ill-health, to his father's parsonage at Loughlinstown, county Dublin, where he made diligent use of his own admirable specula. His observations on Mars, during the opposition of 1879, were of especial value as confirming the existence, and adding to the numbers, of the 'canals' discovered by Schiaparelli two years previously. A communication to the Royal Dublin Society descriptive of them was printed in their 'Scientific Transactions' under the title of 'Physical Observations of Mars, 1879-80' (i. 151, ser. ii.) From twenty-four accompanying drawings (two of them executed by Dr. Dreyer with the Dunsink refractor) a chart on Mercator's projection was constructed, which Mr. Webb adopted in the fourth edition of his 'Celestial Objects' (1881). Burton's experiments on lunar photography were interrupted by preparations for the second transit of Venus. But within a few weeks of starting for his assigned post at Aberdeen Road, Cape Colony, he died suddenly of heart-disease in Castle Knock church, on Sunday, 9 July 1882, aged 35.

The loss to science by the premature close of his useful and blameless life was considerable. He was equally keen in observing, and skilful in improving the means of observing. With Mr. Howard Grubb he devised the 'ghost micrometer,' described before the Royal Dublin Society, 15 Nov. 1880 (*Proc.* iii. 1; *Month. Not.* xli. 59), and alluded to hopefully by Dr. Gill in his treatise on micrometers (*Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., xvi. 256). Among his communications to scientific periodicals may be mentioned 'Note on the Appearance presented by the fourth Satellite of Jupiter in Transit in the years 1871-3' (*Month. Not.* xxxiii. 472), in which he concluded, independently of Engelmann, an identity in times of rotation and revolution; 'On the Present Dimensions of the White Spot Linné' (*ib.* xxxiv. 107); 'On Certain Pheno-

mena presented by the Shadows of Jupiter's Satellites while in Transit, and on a possible Method of deducing the Depth of the Planet's Atmosphere from such Observations' (*ib.* xxxv. 65); 'On the possible Existence of Perturbations in Cometic Orbits during the Formation of Nuclear Jets, with Suggestions for their Detection' (*ib.* xlii. 422); 'On the Aspect of Mars at the Oppositions of 1871 and 1873' (*Trans. R. I. Ac.* xxvi. 427); 'On recent Researches respecting the Minimum visible in the Microscope' (*Proc. R. I. Ac.* ser. ii. iii. 248); 'Note on the Aspect of Mars in 1881-2' (*Copernicus*, ii. 91); 'Notes on the Aspect of Mars in 1882' (*Sc. Trans. R. Dub. Soc.* i. 301, 2nd ser.) He was a member of the Royal Irish Academy and of the Royal Astronomical Society.

[*Copernicus*, ii. 158; *Astr. Reg.* xx. 173; *R. Soc. Cat. Sc. Papers*, vii. 309.] A. M. C.

**BURTON, DECIMUS** (1800-1881), architect, was the son of James Burton, a well-known and successful builder in London in the beginning of the present century. After receiving a thorough practical training in the office of his father and in that of Mr. George Maddox, he began business as an architect on his own account, and met with early and signal success in the practice of his profession. Among his first large works was the Colosseum erected by Mr. Horner in Regent's Park as a panorama and place of public entertainment. As such it proved a failure, and its site is now occupied by the terrace of private residences known as Cambridge Gate, a much more lucrative investment. But from the architectural point of view it was regarded as a successful example of the then fashionable classic style, and its dome, a few feet larger than that of St. Paul's, was looked upon as a remarkable constructive effort, especially for an architect at the time only twenty-three years old. In 1825 Burton was employed by the government to carry out the Hyde Park improvements, which included the laying out of the roads in and around the park and the erection of the façade and triumphal arch at Hyde Park Corner. In Burton's design the arch was destined to support a quadriga, and the disfigurement of the structure by the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, which elicited from a French officer the cutting ejaculation, 'Nous sommes vengés!' was a keen disappointment to him. For many years after its erection, indeed, Burton's will provided to the nation the sum of 2,000*l.* if it would agree to remove the statue from its unsuitable position. He eventually withdrew the legacy, without, however, relin-

quishing the hope of the ultimate removal of the statue to a suitable pedestal of its own, and the completion of his design, with the bas-reliefs and triumphal car which it originally included. (The statue was moved to Aldershot in 1885.) In 1828 Burton accepted a special retainer from Mr. Ward of Tunbridge Wells, for the laying out of the Calverley Park estate there, and but for this engrossing employment, which occupied his time for over twenty years, his public works would no doubt have been more numerous and important. His practice afterwards, however, lay chiefly in the erection of country houses and villas and the laying out of estates for building purposes. The numerous mansions and villas designed by him are distinguished by suitability of internal arrangement and simplicity and purity of style, and many thriving localities in some of the chief towns of the country still evidence his skill in the laying out of building estates. In his day Greek was the fashionable, and indeed almost only, style, and in that he worked; but he used it with effect and judgment, never sacrificing the requirements of modern life to mere archaeological accuracy. And although many of his designs may appear, and sometimes are, antiquated and unsuitable revivals of ancient buildings, it must be remembered that most of them date from before the Gothic, or indeed any, revival of architecture as now understood and practised. Judged by the standard of his time, no little credit is due to him for honest and independent regard for the practical objects of his profession. He was a traveller when travelling was the exception, visiting and studying the classic remains of Italy and Greece, and later extending his observations to Canada and the United States of America. He was a man of wide culture and refinement, amiable and considerate to all with whom he came in contact, and had a wide circle of friends. He was proprietor of a pleasant bachelor residence at St. Leonards-on-Sea, a watering-place which his father had almost entirely built, and where he spent the greater part of the later years of his life. He died, 14 Dec. 1881, unmarried, at the advanced age of eighty-one. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and of many other learned societies, including the Royal Institute of British Architects, of which he was one of the earliest members and at one time vice-president.

[Builder, xli. 780, where a list of his principal works will be found.] G. W. B.

**BURTON, EDWARD.** [See CATCHER, EDWARD.]

**BURTON, EDWARD** (1794–1836), regius professor of divinity at Oxford, the son of Major Edward Burton, was born at Shrewsbury on 13 Feb. 1794. He was educated at Westminster, matriculated as a commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, on 15 May 1812, gaining a studentship the next year, and in 1815 obtained a first class both in classics and mathematics. Having taken his B.A. degree on 29 Oct. 1815, he was ordained to the curacy of Pettenhall, Staffordshire. On 28 May 1818 he proceeded M.A., and paid a long visit to the continent, chiefly occupying himself in work at the public libraries of France and Italy. In 1824 he was select preacher. On 12 May 1825 he married Helen, daughter of Archdeacon Corbett, of Longnor Hall, Shropshire. After his marriage he resided at Oxford. In 1827 he was made examining chaplain to the bishop, and in 1828 preached the Bampton lectures. On the death of Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Oxford and regius professor of divinity, Burton was appointed to succeed him in the professorship, and took the degree of D.D. the same year. As professor he was also canon of Christ Church and rector of Ewelme, where, at a time when such arrangement was somewhat rare, he introduced open seats into the church in the place of pews. He died at Ewelme on 19 Jan. 1836, in his forty-second year. Among his works are: 1. 'An Introduction to the Metre of the Greek Tragedians,' 1814. 2. 'A Description of the Antiquities . . . of Rome,' 1821, 1828. 3. 'The Power of the Keys,' 1823. 4. 'Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ,' 1826, 1829. 5. 'An edition of the Works of Bishop Bull,' 1827. 6. 'The Greek Testament, with English notes,' 1830, 1835. 7. 'Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of Trinity,' 1831. 8. 'Advice for the Proper Observance of the Sunday,' 1831, 1852. 9. 'The Three Primers of Henry VIII,' 1834. 10. 'Lectures on Ecclesiastical History,' 1831, 1833. 11. 'An edition of Pearson on the Creed,' 1833. 12. 'Thoughts on the Separation of Church and State,' 1834, 1868. He also superintended the publication of Dr. Elmsley's edition of the 'Medea' and 'Heraclides,' 1828, and of some posthumous works of Bishop Lloyd. Among the works on which he was engaged at the time of his death was an edition of Eusebius, published 1838, 1856; the notes of this volume were separately edited by Heinichen, 1840; the text was used in the edition of Eusebius of 1872. Burton was also the author of other smaller works.

[Gent. Mag. 1836, pt. i. 310; Catalogue of the British Museum Library.] W. H.

**BURTON, GEORGE** (1717–1791), chronologer, was the second son of George Burton of Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, and the younger brother of Philip Burton, the father of Mrs. Horne, wife of George Horne, bishop of Norwich. He was born in 1717, and received his education at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1736 and M.A. in 1740, being at the latter date a member of King's College. In 1740 he was presented to the rectory of Eldon, or Elveden, and in 1751 to that of Heringswell, both in Suffolk. Burton received pupils, and generally had three or four boarding in his house for instruction. He died at Bath on 3 Nov. 1791, and was interred in the church of Walcot.

He published: 1. 'An Essay towards reconciling the Numbers of Daniel and St. John, determining the Birth of our Saviour, and fixing a precise time for the continuance of the present Desolation of the Jews; with some conjectures and calculations pointing out the year 1764 to have been one of the most remarkable epochas in history,' Norwich, 1766, 8vo. 2. 'A Supplement to the Essay upon the Numbers of Daniel and St. John, confirming those of 2436 and 3430, mentioned in the Essay; from two numerical prophecies of Moses and our Saviour,' London, 1769, 8vo. 3. 'The Analysis of Two Chronological Tables, submitted to the candour of the public: The one being a Table to associate Scripturally the different Chronologies of all Ages and Nations; the other to settle the Paschal Feast from the beginning to the end of time,' London, 1787, 4to. 4. 'History of the Hundred of Elvedon, Suffolk,' MS. in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

The Rev. George Ashby (1724–1808) [q.v.], the well-known antiquary and rector of Barrow, gives him the character of a person of great industry in his favourite study of chronology, but adds: 'I could never perceive what his principles or foundations were, though I have attended in hopes of learning them. Mr. Burton would often repeat, turning over the leaves of his MSS., "All this is quite certain and indisputable; figures cannot deceive; you know 50 and 50 make 100." But when I asked him, "Why do you assume 50 and 50?" I never could get any answer from him; nor does he seem to have settled a single æra, or cleared up one point of the many doubtful ones in this branch of the science; nor could he ever make himself intelligible to, or convince, a single person. He was, however, the friend of Dr. Stukeley, who made him a present of Bertram's "Richard of Cirencester," an ingenious forgery [see BERTRAM, CHARLES].

\* [Nichols's Leicestershire, ii. 228, 268, Append. 325; Nichols's Illustrations of Literature, vi. 880-7; Addit. MS. 5864 f. 36, 19166 f. 216; Stukeley's Carausius, 116; Cantabrigienses Graduat (1787), 66.] T. C.

**BURTON, HENRY** (1578-1648), puritan divine, was born at Birdsall, a small parish in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 'which never had a preaching minister time out of mind.' In his own 'Narration' of his life, sixty-four is stated as his age in the latter part of 1642; in his 'Conformities Deformity,' 1646, it is stated as sixty-seven; the inference is that he was born in the latter part of 1578. The record of his baptism is not recoverable, but his father, William Burton, was married to Maryanne Homle [Humble] on 24 June 1577. His mother, he tells us, carefully kept a New Testament which had been his grandmother's in Queen Mary's time. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1602. His favourite preachers were Laurence Chaderton and William Perkins. On leaving the university he became tutor to two sons of 'a noble knight,' Sir Robert Carey, afterwards (1626-1639) earl of Monmouth. He relates that one Mrs. Bowes, of Aske, predicted 'this young man will one day be the overthrow of the bishops.' Through the Carey interest, Burton obtained the post of clerk of the closet to Prince Henry; while acting in this capacity he composed a treatise on Antichrist, the manuscript of which was placed by the prince in his library at St. James's. He complains that the bishop (Richard Neile of Durham), who was clerk of the closet to King James, 'depressed him;' however, on Prince Henry's death (6 Nov. 1612) Burton was appointed clerk of the closet to Prince Charles. On 14 July 1612 he had been incorporated M.A. at Oxford, and was again incorporated on 15 July 1617. He tells us that at the age of thirty (i.e. in 1618) he resolved to enter the ministry. Fuller says that he was to have attended Prince Charles to Spain (17 Feb. 1623), and that for some unknown reason the appointment was countermanded, after some of his goods had been shipped. Burton does not mention this, but says (which perhaps explains it) that he could not get a license for a book which he wrote in 1623 against the 'Converted Jew,' by Fisher (i.e. Piercy) the Jesuit, to refute Arminianism and prove the pope to be Antichrist. He had, in fact, thrust himself into a discussion then going on between Fisher and George Walker, puritan minister of St. John's, Watling Street. On the accession of Charles, Burton took it as a matter of course that he would become clerk of the

royal closet, but Neile was continued in that office. Burton lost the appointment through a characteristic indiscretion. On 23 April 1625, before James had been dead a month, Burton presented a letter to Charles, inveighing against the popish tendencies of Neile and Laud (who in Neile's illness was acting as clerk of the closet). Charles read the letter partly through, and told Burton 'not to attend more in his office till he should send for him.' He was not sent for, and did not reappear at court. Clarendon says that Burton complained of being 'despoiled of his right.' He deplored the death of James, but not through any love for that sovereign; indeed he speaks of the influence of James in retarding the high-church movement as the only thing which 'made his life desirable.' He was almost immediately presented to the rectory of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, and used his city pulpit as a vantage from which to conduct an aggressive warfare against episcopal practices. He began to 'fall off from the ceremonies,' and was cited before the high commission as early as 1626, but the proceedings were stopped. Bishop after bishop became the subject of his attack. For a publication with the cheerful title 'The Baiting of the Popes Bvll,' &c., 1627, 4to, which bore a frontispiece representing Charles in the act of assailing the pope's triple crown, he was summoned, in 1627, before the privy council, but again got off, in spite of Laud. His 'Babel no Bethel,' 1629, in reply to the 'Maschil' of Robert Butterfield [q.v.], procured him a temporary suspension from his benefice, and a sojourn in the Fleet. More serious troubles were to come. On 5 Nov. 1636 he preached two sermons in his own church from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22, in which he charged the bishops with innovations amounting to a popish plot. His pulpit style was perhaps effective, but certainly not refined; he calls the bishops caterpillars instead of pillars, and 'antichristian mushrumps.' Next month he was summoned before Dr. Duck, a commissioner for causes ecclesiastical, to answer on oath to articles charging him with sedition. He refused the oath, and appealed to the king. Fifteen days afterwards he was cited before a special high commission at Doctors' Commons, did not appear, and was in his absence suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, and ordered to be apprehended. He shut himself up in his house, and published his sermons, with the title, 'For God and the King,' &c., 1636, 4to, whereupon (on 1 Feb. 1636-7) his doors were forced, his study ransacked, and himself taken into custody and sent next day to the Fleet (the warrants will be found reprinted in *BROOK*).

Peter Heylyn wrote a 'Briefe Answer' to Burton's sermons. In prison Burton was soon joined by William Prynne and John Bastwick, a parishioner [q. v.], who had also written 'libellous books against the hierarchy,' and the three were proceeded against in the Star-chamber (11 March) and included in a common indictment. An attempt was indeed made on 6 June to get the judges to treat the publications of Bastwick and Burton (he had added to his offence by publishing, from his prison, 'An Apology for an Appeale,' 1636, 4to, consisting of epistles to the king, the judges, and 'the true-hearted nobility') as presenting a *prima facie* case of treason, but this fell to the ground. The defendants prepared answers to the indictment, but it was necessary that these should be signed by two counsel. No counsel could be found who would risk the odium of this office, and the defendants applied in vain to have their own signatures accepted, according to ancient precedents. Burton was the only one who got at length the signature of a counsel, one Holt, an aged bencher of Gray's Inn, and Holt, finding he was to be alone, drew back, until the court agreed to accept his single signature. Burton's answer, thus made regular, lay in court about three weeks, when on 19 May the attorney-general, denouncing it as scandalous, referred it to the chief justices, Sir John Bramston and Sir John Finch. They made short work of it, striking out sixty-four sheets, and leaving no more than six lines at the beginning and twenty-four at the end. Thus mutilated, Burton would not own it; he was not allowed to frame a new answer, and on 2 June it was ordered that he, like the rest, should be proceeded against *pro confesso*. Sentence was passed on 14 June, the defendants crying out for justice, and vainly demanding that they should not be condemned without examination of their answers. Burton, when interrogated as to his plea by the lord keeper (Baron Coventry), briefly and with dignity defended his position, maintaining that 'a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain,' but his defence was stopped. He was condemned to be deprived of his benefice, to be degraded from the ministry and from his academical degrees, to be fined 5,000*l.*, to be set in the pillory at Westminster and his ears to be cut off, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Lancaster Castle, without access of his wife or any friends, or use of pen, ink, and paper. For this sentence Laud gave the court his 'heartly thanks.' Burton's parishioners signed a petition to the king for his pardon; the two who presented it were instantly committed to

prison. Burton took his punishment with enthusiastic fortitude. 'All the while I stood in the pillory,' he says, 'I thought myself to be in heaven and in a state of glory and triumph.' His address to the mob ran: 'I never was in such a pulpit before. Little do you know what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree. Through these holes God can bring light to his church.' His ears were pared so close, says Fuller, that the temporal artery was cut. When his wounds were healed, and he was conveyed northward on 28 July, fully 100,000 people lined the road at Highgate to take leave of him. His wife followed in a coach, and 500 'loving friends' on horseback accompanied him as far as St. Albans. The whole journey to Lancaster, reached on 3 Aug., resembled a triumphal progress rather than the convoy of a criminal. Laud (see his letter to Wentworth on 28 Aug.) was very angry about it. At Lancaster, Burton was confined in 'a vast desolate room,' without furniture; if a fire was lighted, the place was filled with smoke; the spaces between the planks of the floor made it dangerous to walk, and underneath was a dark chamber in which were immured five witches, who kept up 'a hellish noise' night and day. The allowance for diet was not paid. Dr. Augustine Wildbore, vicar of Lancaster, kept a watchful eye over Burton's reading, to see that the order confining him to the bible, prayer-book, and 'such other canonical books' as were of sound church principles, was strictly obeyed. Many sympathisers came about the place, and, notwithstanding all precautions, Clarendon says that papers emanating from Burton were circulated in London. A pamphlet giving an account of his censure in the Star-chamber was published in 1637. Accordingly on 1 Nov. he was sent, by way of Preston and Liverpool, to Guernsey, where he arrived on 15 Dec., and was shut up in a stifling cell at Castle-Cornet. Here he had no books but his bibles in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, and an ecclesiastical history in Greek, but he contrived to get pen, ink, and paper, and wrote two treatises, which however were not printed. His wife was not allowed to see him, though his only daughter died during his imprisonment. On 7 Nov. 1640 his wife presented a petition to the House of Commons for his release, and on 10 Nov. the house ordered him to be forthwith sent for to London. The order arrived at Guernsey on Sunday, 15 Nov.; Burton embarked on the 21st. At Dartmouth, on the 22nd, he met Prynne, and their journey to London was again a triumphal progress. Ten thousand people escorted them from Charing Cross to the

city with every demonstration of joy. On 30 Nov. Burton appeared before the house, and on 5 Dec. presented a petition setting forth his sufferings. The house on 12 March 1640-1 declared the proceedings against him illegal, and cast Laud and others in damages. On 24 March his sentence was reversed, and his benefice ordered to be restored; on 20 April a sum of 8,000*l.* was voted to him; on 8 June a further order for his restoration to his benefice was made out. He recovered his degrees, and received that of B.D. in addition. The money was not paid, nor did he get his benefice, to which Robert Chestlin had been regularly presented. But on 5 Oct. 1642 his old parishioners petitioned the house that he might be appointed Sunday afternoon lecturer, and this was done. Chestlin, who resisted the appointment, was somewhat hardly used, being imprisoned at Colchester for a seditious sermon; he escaped to the king at Oxford. Left thus in possession at St. Matthew's, Friday Street, Burton organised a church on the independent model. Gardiner says of Burton's 'Protestation Protested,' published in July 1641, that it 'sketched out that plan of a national church, surrounded by voluntary churches, which was accepted at the revolution of 1688.' He published a 'Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent,' 1644 (in answer to Prynne), and exercised a very strict ecclesiastical discipline within his congregation. Marsden says 'it was not in the power of malice to desire, or of ingenuity to suggest, a weekly spectacle so hurtful to the royal cause' as that of Burton preaching in Friday Street without his ears. He had enjoyed the honour of preaching before parliament, but did not approve the course which events subsequently took. He was for some time allowed to hold a catechetical lecture every Tuesday fortnight at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, but on his introducing his independent views the churchwardens locked him out in September 1645. This led to an angry pamphlet war with the elder Calamy, rector of the parish [see CALAMY, EDMUND, 1600-1666]. Wood, who remarks that he 'grew more moderate,' thought he lived to witness the execution of Charles, but he died a year before that event. During his imprisonment he had contracted the disease of the stone, which was probably the cause of his death. He was buried on 7 Jan. 1647-8. By his first wife, Anne, he had two children: 1. Anne, bapt. 21 Sept. 1621. 2. Henry, bapt. 13 May 1624, who married Ursula Maisters on 30 Nov. 1647, and is described as a merchant. His second wife, Sarah, and son, Henry, survived him, and on 17 Feb. 1652 petitioned the house

for maintenance; the son got lands of 200*l.* yearly value from the estate of certain delinquents, out of which the widow was to have 100*l.* a year for life. Granger describes a rare print of Laud and Burton, in which the archbishop vomits his works while the puritan holds his head.

Burton's chief publications in addition to those mentioned are: 1. 'A Censvre of Simonie,' 1624, 4to. 2. 'A Plea to an Appeal,' 1626. 3. 'The Seven Vials; or a briefe Exposition upon the 15 and 16 chapters of the Revelation,' 1628. 4. 'A Tryall of Private Devotion,' 1628. 5. 'England's Bondage and Hope of Deliverance,' 1641, 4to (sermon from Psalm liii. 7, 8, before the parliament on 20 June). 6. 'Truth still Truth, though shut out of doors,' 1645, 4to (distinct from 'Truth shut out of doores,' a previous pamphlet of the same year); and, from the catalogue of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, 7. 'The Grand Impostor Unmasked, or a detection of the notorious hypocrisy and desperate impiety of the late Archbishop (so styled) of Canterbury, cunningly couched in that written copy which he read on the scaffold,' &c. 4to, n.d. 8. 'Conformities Deformity,' 1646, 4to.

[Narration of the Life, &c., 1643 (portrait); Biog. Brit. 1748, ii. 1045, ed. Kippis, iii. 43; Wood's Ath. Ox. 1691, i. 814, 828, &c.; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, ii. 165; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 1813, iii. 40; Fisher's Companion and Key to Hist. of Eng. 1832, pp. 515, 610; Marsden's Later Puritans, 1872, pp. 122 sq.; Gardiner's Hist. England, vii. viii. ix. x.; Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, xi. 1875 (Laud), 292 sq.; extracts from parish registers of Birdsall, per Rev. L. S. Gresley, and of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, per Rev. Dr. Simpson.] A. G.

BURTON, IEZEKIAH (d. 1681), divine, was a fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and eminent as a tutor. He was entered as a pensioner in 1647, was elected Wray fellow 1651, graduated as M.A. 1654, was incorporated at Oxford the same year, was B.D. 1661, and D.D. by royal mandate 1669. He was known to Samuel Pepys, Richard Cumberland, and Orlando Bridgeman, all of his college, and to Henry More, the Platonist. More sent him a queer story of a ghost, as circumstantial as Mrs. Veal's, which appeared in Yorkshire about 1661 (LIGHTFOOT, *Remains*, li; KENNET, *Register*, 763). Bridgeman, on becoming chancellor in 1667, gave a chaplaincy to his college friend, and appointed him to a prebendal stall at Norwich. He was intimate with Tillotson and Stillingfleet, and had been associated with them and Bishop Wilkins in an abortive proposal for a com-



prehension communicated by Bridgeman to Baxter and others in the beginning of 1668. Wood says that a club formed by Wilkins to promote comprehension used to meet at the 'chambers of that great trimmer and latitudinarian, Dr. Hezekiah Burton.' He afterwards became minister of St. George's, Southwark, where he was especially charitable to imprisoned debtors, and in 1680 was appointed, through Tillotson's influence, vicar of Barnes in Surrey, by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. He died there of a fever, which carried off several of his family, in August or September 1681. His only writings were an 'Alloquium ad lectorem' prefixed to his friend Bishop Cumberland's book, 'De Legibus Naturæ;' and two posthumous volumes of 'Discourses' (1684 and 1685), to the first of which is prefixed a notice by Tillotson, speaking warmly of his friendliness and sweetness of temper. A portrait is engraved in the same volume.

[Tillotson's Preface to Discourses; Birch's Life of Tillotson, 42, 77, 93, 124-126; Knight's Life of Dean Colet (1823), 366; Sylvester's Baxter, iii. 24; Neal's Puritans, iv. 432; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 513; Fasti, ii. 184; Pepys's Diary (24 April 1659-60, and 1 Feb. 1661-62), where is also a letter to Pepys of 9 April 1677.]

L. S.

**BURTON, JAMES.** [See HALIBURTON, JAMES.]

**BURTON, JAMES DANIEL** (1784-1817), Wesleyan minister, was the son of Daniel Burton, of Rhodes, near Manchester, and was born at Manchester 25 July 1791. He received a good education, but one not purposely intended to fit him for the office of minister. At the age of sixteen he was in the habit of attending the theatre at Manchester, but was soon turned from 'the snares connected with that place of gay resort and destructive pastime,' and, as the result of his 'effectual awakening,' prepared himself for the Wesleyan ministry, and devoted a considerable portion of his time among the poor in the neighbourhood of Middleton. He became a methodist itinerant preacher at the age of twenty-one. In the tenth year of his ministry his health failed, and he died, 24 March 1817, in his thirty-third year. In 1814 he published, at Bury, in Lancashire, 'A Guide for Youth, recommending to their serious consideration Vital Piety, as the only rational way to Present Happiness and Future Glory,' 12mo.

[Methodist Mag. 1817, pp. 708, 881; Osborn's Methodist Literature, p. 78.]

C. W. S.

**BURTON, JOHN, D.D.** (1696-1771), theological and classical scholar, was born at Wembworthy, Devonshire, of which parish his father, Samuel Burton, was rector, in 1696, and was educated partly at Okehampton and Tiverton in his native county and partly at Ely, where he was placed on his father's death by the Rev. Samuel Bentham, the first cousin of his mother. In 1713 he was elected as a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and took his degree of B.A. on 27 June 1717, shortly after which he became the college tutor. He proceeded M.A. 24 March 1720-1, was elected probationary fellow 6 April following, and admitted actual fellow 4 April 1723. As college tutor he acted with great zeal, and acquired a greater reputation than any of the Oxford 'dons' of his day, but in consequence of an incurable recklessness in money matters he was little richer at the end than at the beginning of his collegiate career. The particulars of his teaching are set out in his friend Edward Bentham's 'De Vitâ et Moribus Johannis Burtoni . . . epistola ad Robertum Lowth,' 1771. In logic and metaphysics he passed from Sanderson and Le Clerc to Locke; in ethics from Aristotle to Puffendorf's abridgment and Sanderson's lectures. Twice a week he lectured on Xenophon and Demosthenes, and occasionally he taught on some Latin author. It was through Burton that the study of Locke was introduced into the schools, and he printed for the use of the younger students a double series of philosophical questions, with references to the authors to be consulted under each head. This is probably lost, but a set of exercises which he gave the undergraduates of his college for employment during the long vacation was printed under the title of 'Sacrae Scripturae locorum quorundam versio metrica,' 1736, and a copy is at the British Museum. In the progress of the university press he took great interest, and obtained for it a gift of 100*l.* from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Rolle, and a legacy of 200*l.* from Dr. Hodges, the provost of Oriel. Through the circumstance that Burton had been tutor to a son of Dr. Bland, a fellowship at Eton College was bestowed upon him on 17 Aug. 1733, and when the valuable vicarage of Mapledurham, on the Oxfordshire bank of the Thames, became vacant by the death of Dr. Edward Littleton on 18 Nov. 1733, Burton was nominated thereto by the college and inducted on 9 March 1734. Dr. Littleton had married a daughter of Barnham Goode, under-master of Eton School, and left her a widow 'with three infant daughters, without a home, without a fortune.' The new vicar, in his pity for their

destitute condition, allowed the family to remain for a time in their old home, and the story runs that 'some time after a neighbouring clergyman happened to call and found Mrs. Littleton shaving John Burton.' At this sight the visitor remonstrated with his clerical friend, and the result was that 'Burton proposed marriage and was accepted.' In this delicious retreat Burton characteristically sacrificed much of his income in improving the parsonage and the glebe lands. When the settling of Georgia was in agitation he took an active part in furtherance of the colony's interests, and published in 1764 'An Account of the Designs of the late Dr. Bray, with an Account of their Proceedings,' a tract often reprinted [see BRAY, THOMAS, 1656-1730]. His other university degrees were M.A. in 1720, B.D. in 1729, and D.D. in 1752. On 1 Feb. 1766, towards the close of his life, he quitted the vicarage of Mapledurham for the rectory of Worplesdon in Surrey, and here he was instrumental in the formation of a causeway over the Wey, so that his parishioners might travel to Guildford at all seasons. A year or two later he was seized by fever, but he still lingered on. His death occurred on 11 Feb. 1771, and he was buried at the entrance to the inner chapel at Eton, precisely in the centre under the organ-loft. His epitaph styles him: 'Vir inter primos doctus, ingeniosus, pius, opum contemptor, ingenue juventutis fautor eximius.' Among the manuscripts which Burton left behind him was 'An Essay on Projected Improvements in Eton School,' but it was never printed and has since been lost. His mother took as her second husband Dr. John Bear, rector of Shermanbury, Sussex. She died on 23 April 1755, aged 80; her husband on 9 March 1762, aged 88; and in 1767 her son erected a monument to their memory. Dr. Burton's wife died in 1748.

Throughout his life Burton poured forth a vast number of tracts and sermons. His reading was varied, and he composed with remarkable facility, but the possession of this latter quality led to his wasting his efforts in productions of ephemeral interest. Most of his sermons are reprinted in 'Occasional Sermons preached before the University of Oxford,' 1764-6. Many of his Latin tracts and addresses are embodied in his 'Opuscula Miscellanea Theologica,' 1748-61, or in the kindred volume 'Opuscula Miscellanea Metrico-Prosaica,' 1771. He contributed to the 'Weekly Miscellany' a series of papers on 'The Genuineness of Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion—Mr. Oldmixon's Slander confuted,' which was subsequently enlarged and printed separately at

Oxford in 1744. The circumstances which led to their production are set out in Johnson's 'Poets' in the life of Edward Smith. A Latin letter by Burton to a friend, or a 'commentariolus' of Archbishop Secker, attracted much attention, and was severely criticised by Archdeacon Blackburne on behalf of the latitudinarians (*Works*, ii. 92-9), and by Dr. Philip Furneaux for the nonconformists in his 'Letters to Blackstone,' pp. 190-7. In 1758 he issued a volume, 'Πενταλογία, sive tragœdiarum Græcarum Delectus,' which was reissued with additional observations by Thomas (afterwards Bishop) Burgess in 1779. Two copies of this latter edition, now in the library of the British Museum, contain copious manuscript notes by Dr. Charles Burney. Burton made frequent visits to his mother in Sussex, and in 1752 described his journey thither in an amusing tract, 'Ὀδοιποροῦντος Μελεθήματα, sive iter Surriense et Sussexiense.' Numerous extracts from this tour were printed in the 'Sussex Archæological Collections,' viii. 250-65. His Latin poem, 'Sacerdos Parœcialis Rusticus,' was issued in 1757, and a translation by Dawson Warren of Edmonton came out in 1800. Though Burton was a tory in politics, he was not so strict in his views as Dr. William King of St. Mary Hall, and he criticised, under the disguise of 'Phileleutherus Londinensis,' the celebrated speech which King delivered at the dedication of the Radcliffe Library, 13 April 1749. King thereupon retorted with a fierce 'Elogium famæ inserviens Jacci Etonensis; or the praises of Jack of Eton, commonly called Jack the Giant,' with a dissertation on 'the Burtonic style,' and left behind him in his 'Anecdotes of his own Times' several stinging references to Burton. An oration which Burton delivered at Oxford in 1763 gave him the opportunity for an attack on Wilkes, whereupon Churchill, in the 'Candidate' (verse 716 et seq.), retaliated with sneers at his 'new Latin and new Greek,' and his 'pantomime thoughts and style so full of trick.' Burton was fond of jests. One or two of them can be found in [S. Pegge's] 'Anonymiana' (1809, pp. 384-6), and an unlucky jocose allusion to Ralph Allen provoked Warburton to insert in the 1749 edition of the 'Dunciad' (book iv., verse 443) a caustic note on Burton, which was subsequently omitted at the request of Bishop Hayter. While at Mapledurham he wrote 'The present State of the Navigation of the River Thames considered, with certain regulations proposed,' 1765; second edition 1767. Several of his letters are in 'Addit. MS.' British Museum, 21428.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes and his Illustrations of Lit. passim; Manning and Bray's Surrey, iii. 100-162, where is portrait; Gent. Mag. (1771), pp. 95, 305-8; Bentham, De Vita J. Burtoni; Biog. Brit. (Kippis); Lyte's Eton College, 308-309; Rawlinson MSS. fol. 16348.] W. P. C.

**BURTON, JOHN, M.D. (1697-1771)**, antiquary and physician, was born at Ripon in 1697, and is said to have received part of his education at Christ Church, Oxford, but he himself speaks only of the time which he spent in study at Leyden and Cambridge. He graduated M.B. at the latter university in 1733, and before 1738, when he published a 'Treatise of the Non-naturals,' he had taken the degree of M.D. at Rheims. He was a good Greek and Latin scholar, and attained no little eminence in his profession both in the city and county of York. It is said that in 1745 he had some intention of joining the Pretender, but by his own account (*British Liberty Endangered*, 1749) he was taken prisoner by the rebels and detained unwillingly for three months. It seems, however, that he incurred much censure from those in power, and that his political opinions rendered him obnoxious to Sterne, who satirised him in 'Tristram Shandy' under the name of 'Dr. Slop.' The satire betrayed either great ignorance or gross unfairness, for Dr. Burton's reputation as an accoucheur was deservedly high, and his 'Essay on Midwifery' has been styled 'a most learned and masterly work' (ATKINSON, *Med. Bibliography*, 1834). In later years he became widely known as an antiquarian, and in 1758 published the first volume of the 'Monasticon Eboracense, and Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire,' a most important contribution to the archaeology of his native county. Ample materials for a second volume were got together by him, but these and his other antiquarian collections have never been printed. In 1769 he was in correspondence with Dr. Ducarel and others about their sale to the British Museum, but shortly before his death, which occurred 21 Feb. 1771, he disposed of them to Mr. William Constable, of Constable Burton. His printed works are: 1. 'Essay on Midwifery,' 1751 and 1753. 2. 'Monasticon Eboracense,' vol. i. 1758 (the copy in the King's Library, British Museum, has the first eight pages of the intended second volume, entitled 'The Appendix, containing Charters, Grants, and other Original Writings referred to in the preceding volume, never published before,' York, N. Nickson, 1759). 3. Two Tracts on Yorkshire Antiquities in the 'Archæologia,' 1768-1771.

[Nichols's Illust. of Literature, iii. 375-99; Gough's Brit. Top. ii. 407-415; Notes and Queries, 3rd series, v. 414.] C. J. R.

**BURTON, JOHN HILL (1809-1881)**, historiographer of Scotland, was born at Aberdeen 22 Aug. 1809. His father, of whose family connections nothing is known, was a lieutenant in the army, whose feeble health compelled him to retire on half-pay shortly after his son's birth. His mother was the daughter of John Paton, laird of Grandholm, a moody, eccentric man driven into seclusion by frantic sorrow for the death of his wife, and possessed by an insane animosity towards his own children. The family circumstances were thus by no means promising. Burton, however, obtained a fair education after his father's death in 1819, and gained a bursary, which enabled him to matriculate at the university of his native city. On the completion of his college course he was articulated to a writer, but, assuredly from no want of industry, found the confinement of an office intolerable. His articles were cancelled, and he repaired to Edinburgh to qualify himself for the bar, accompanied by his devoted mother, who had disposed of her little property at Aberdeen to provide him with the means of study. He in due time became an advocate, but his practice was never large, and for a long time he found it necessary to earn his livelihood by literature. His beginnings were humble. Much that he wrote cannot now be identified, but he is known to have composed elementary histories under the name of White, to have shared in the compilation of Oliver & Boyd's 'Edinburgh Almanack,' and to have furnished the letterpress of Billings's 'Ecclesiastical and Baronial Antiquities.' His ardent adoption of Bentham's philosophy probably served to introduce him to the 'Westminster Review,' from which he subsequently migrated to the 'Edinburgh.' He also contributed to the 'Cyclopædia of Universal Biography' and Waterston's 'Cyclopædia of Commerce;' prepared (1839) a useful 'Manual of the Law of Scotland,' afterwards divided into distinct treatises on civil and criminal jurisprudence; edited the works of Bentham in conjunction with Sir John Bowring; and compiled (1843) 'Benthamiana,' a selection from Bentham's writings, designed as an introduction to the utilitarian philosophy. About this time he acted for a season as editor of the 'Scotsman,' and committed the journal to the support of free trade. He also edited the 'Athole Papers' for the Abbotsford, and the 'Darien Papers' for the Bannatyne Club. In 1844 he married, and in 1846 achieved solid literary distinction by his biography of Hume, assisted by the extensive stores of unpublished matter bequeathed by Hume's nephew to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. It was a great opportunity, and if

Burton's deficiency in imagination impaired the vigour of his portrait of Hume as a man, he has shown an adequate comprehension of him as a thinker, and is entitled to especial credit for his recognition of Hume's originality as an economist. A supplementary volume of letters from Hume's distinguished correspondents, one half at least French, followed in 1849. In 1847 Burton had produced his entertaining biographies of Lord Lovat and Duncan Forbes; and in 1849 he wrote for Messrs. Chambers a 'Manual of Political and Social Economy,' with a companion volume on emigration, admirable works, containing within a narrow compass clear and intelligent expositions of the mutual relations and duties of property, labour, and government. In the same year the death of his wife prostrated him with grief, and although he to a great extent recovered the elasticity of his spirits, he was ever afterwards afflicted with an invincible aversion to society. Seeking relief in literary toil, he produced in 1852 his 'Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland;' in 1853 his 'Treatise on the Law of Bankruptcy in Scotland;' and in the same year the first portion of his 'History of Scotland,' comprising the period from the Revolution to the rebellion of 1745. Like Hume, he executed his task in instalments, and without strict adherence to chronological order, a method prompted in his case by a delicate reluctance to enter into manifest competition with his predecessor Tytler during the latter's lifetime. The work was eventually completed in 1870; and a new edition with considerable improvements, especially in the prehistoric and Roman periods, appeared in 1873. In 1854 Burton obtained pecuniary independence by his appointment as secretary to the prison board, and in 1855 married the daughter of Cosmo Innes. Though no longer necessary to his support, his literary labours continued without remission; he wrote largely for the 'Scotsman,' became a constant contributor to 'Blackwood's Magazine,' and edited (1860) the valuable autobiography of Alexander Carlyle. His essays in 'Blackwood' formed the substance of two very delightful works, 'The Book Hunter' (1860), containing a vivid personal sketch of De Quincey, and 'The Scot Abroad' (1862). Burton, who had always been a great pedestrian at home, had now imbibed a taste for solitary tours on the continent, which formed the theme of his latest contributions to 'Blackwood.' After the completion of his 'History,' he undertook the editorship of the 'Scottish Registers,' a work of great national importance, and published two volumes. The task has since his death been continued by Professor Masson.

His last independent work of much compass was his 'History of the Reign of Queen Anne,' published in 1880. Ere this date his extraordinary power of concentrated application had become impaired by a serious illness, and the book, dry without exactness, and desultory without liveliness, hardly deserves to be ranked among histories. The most valuable part is his account of Marlborough's battles, the localities of which he had visited expressly. From this time Burton suffered from frequent attacks of illness, and indicated the change which had come over his spirit by disposing of his library, weighing eleven tons, as he informed the writer of this memoir. He continued, however, to write for 'Blackwood,' performed his official duties with undiminished efficiency, rallied surprisingly in health and spirits after every fit of illness, and was preparing to edit the remains of his friend Edward Ellice, when he succumbed to a sudden attack of bronchitis on 10 Aug. 1881.

Burton's biographies and his 'Book Hunter' secure him a more than respectable rank as a man of letters; and his legal and economical works entitle him to high credit as a jurist and an investigator of social science. His historical labours are more important, and yet his claims to historical eminence are more questionable. His 'History of Scotland' has, indeed, the field to itself at present, being as yet the only one composed with the accurate research which the modern standard of history demands. By complying with this peremptory condition, Burton has distanced all competitors, but must in turn give way when one shall arise who, emulating or borrowing his closeness of investigation, shall add the beauty and grandeur due to the history of a great and romantic country. Burton indeed is by no means dry; his narrative is on the contrary highly entertaining. But this animation is purchased by an entire sacrifice of dignity. His style is always below the subject; there is a total lack of harmony and unity; and the work altogether produces the impression of a series of clever and meritorious magazine articles. Possessing in perfection all the ordinary and indispensable qualities of the historian, he is devoid of all those which exalt historical composition to the sphere of poetry and drama. His place is rather that of a sagacious critic of history, and in this character his companionship will always be found invaluable. To render due justice to Scottish history would indeed require the epic and dramatic genius of Scott, united with the research of a Burton and the intuition of a Carlyle; and until such a combination arises, Burton may probably remain

Scotland's chief historian. As a man, he was loved and valued in proportion as he was truly known. With a dry critical intellect he combined an intense sensitiveness, evinced in a painful shrinking from deficient sympathy, the real and pathetic cause of his unfortunate irascibility and impatience of contradiction. His private affections were deep and constant, his philanthropy embraced mankind, his gracious and charitable actions were endless, and it is mournful to think that the mere exaggeration of tender feeling, combined with his aversion to display and neglect of his personal appearance, should have obstructed the general recognition of qualities as beautiful as uncommon. His main defect was, as remarked by his widow, an absence of imagination, rendering it difficult for him to put himself in another's place. In an historian such a deficiency is most serious, and could be but imperfectly supplied by the acuteness of his critical faculty. In biography it was to a certain extent counteracted by the strength of the sympathy which originally attracted him to his theme; and hence his biographical writings are perhaps the most truly and permanently valuable.

[Memoir by Mrs. Burton, prefixed to the large-paper edition of the *Book Hunter*, 1882; Blackwood's Mag. September 1881.] R. G.

**BURTON, ROBERT** (1577-1640), author of the '*Anatomy of Melancholy*,' and one of the most fantastic figures in literature, was the second son of Ralph Burton of Lindley in Leicestershire. In the calculation of his nativity, on the right hand of his monument in Christ Church Cathedral, the date of his birth is given as 8 Feb. 1576-7. He tells us in the '*Anatomy of Melancholy*' (chapter on '*Aire Rectified, with a digression of the Aire*,' part ii., sect. 2, memb. 3) that his birth-place was Lindley in Leicestershire. There is a tradition that he was born at Falde in Staffordshire, and Plot, in his '*Natural History of Staffordshire*,' 1686 (p. 276), states that he was shown the house of Robert Burton's nativity; but the tradition probably arose from the fact that William Burton [q.v.] resided at Falde. We learn from his will that he passed some time at the grammar school, Nuneaton; and in the '*Digression of the Aire*' he mentions that he had been a scholar at the free school of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire. In the long vacation of 1593 he was sent as a commoner to Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1599 was elected student of Christ Church, where, 'for form sake, tho' he wanted not a tutor,' he was placed under the tuition of Dr. John Bancroft. He took the degree of B.D. in 1614, and was admitted to

the reading of the sentences. On 29 Nov. 1616 he was presented by the dean and chapter of Christ Church to the vicarage of St. Thomas, in the west suburbs of Oxford; and it is recorded that he always gave his parishioners the sacrament in wafers, and that he built the south porch of the church. About 1630 he received from George, Lord Berkeley, the rectory of Segrave in Leicestershire, which, with his Oxford living, he kept 'with much ado to his dying day.' In 1606 Burton wrote a Latin comedy, which was acted at Christ Church on Shrove Monday, 16 Feb. 1617-18. It was not printed in the author's lifetime, and was long supposed to be irretrievably lost; but two manuscript copies had fortunately been preserved. One of these belonged to Dean Milles (who died in 1784), and is now in the possession of the Rev. William Edward Buckley, of Middleton Cheney, by whom it was privately printed in handsome quarto for presentation to the Roxburghe Club in 1862. On the title-page is written '*Inchoata A° Domini 1606, alterata, renovata, perfecta Anno Domini 1615.*' Over *inchoata* is written in the same hand *scripta*, and over *renovata*, *revisa*. The other manuscript, a presentation copy from the author to his brother, William Burton, is in Lord Mostyn's library (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 356). '*Philosophaster*' bears a certain resemblance to Tomkis's '*Albumazar*,' acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1614, and to Ben Jonson's '*Alchemist*,' acted in 1610, and published in 1612. In the prologue the author anticipates criticism on this point:—

Emendatum e nupera scena aut quis putet,  
Siat quod undecim abhinc annis scripta fuit.

Burton's comedy is a witty exposure of the practices of professors in the art of chicanery. The manners of a fraternity of vagabonds are portrayed with considerable humour and skill, and the lyrical portions of the play are written with a light hand. At the end of the volume Mr. Buckley has collected, at the cost of considerable research, all Burton's contributions to various academic collections of Latin verse.

In 1621 appeared the first edition of Burton's '*Anatomy of Melancholy*,' one of the most fascinating books in literature. The full title is—'*The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is. With all the Kindes, Caveses, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and severall Cures of it. In Three Maine Partitions with their severall Sections, Members, and Subsections. Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically opened and cvt vp. By Democritus Iunior. With a Satyricall Preface conducing to the following Discourse. Macrob. Omne meum,*

*Nihil meum.* At Oxford, Printed by John Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps, Anno Dom. 1621, 4to. The first edition contains at the end an 'Apologetical Appendix' (not found in later editions), signed 'Robert Burton,' and dated 'From my Studie in Christ-Church, Oxon. December 5, 1620.' Later editions, in folio, appeared in 1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1651-2, 1660, 1676; an edition in 2 vols. 8vo was published in 1800, and again in 1806; and several abridgments of the great work have been published in the present century. In the third edition (1628) first appeared the famous frontispiece, engraved by C. Le Blond. The sides are illustrated with figures representing the effects of Melancholy from Love, Hypochondriasis, Superstition and Madness. At the top is Democritus, emblematically represented, and at the foot a portrait of the author. In the corners at the top are emblems of Jealousy and Solitude, and in the corners at the bottom are the herbs Borage and Hellebore. Burton was continually altering and adding to his treatise. In the preface to the third edition he announced that he intended to make no more changes: 'I am now resolved never to put this treatise out again. *Ne quid nimis.* I will not hereafter add, alter, or retract; I have done.' But when the fourth edition appeared it was found that he had not been able to resist the temptation of making a further revision. The sixth edition was printed from an annotated copy which was handed to the publisher shortly before Burton's death. Wood states that the publisher, Henry Cripps, made a fortune by the sale of the 'Anatomy;' and Fuller in his 'Worthies' remarked that 'scarce any book of philology in our land hath in so short a time passed so many editions.' The treatise was dedicated to George, Lord Berkeley. In the long preface, 'Democritus to the Reader,' which is one of the most interesting parts of the book, the author gives us an account of his style of life at Oxford: 'I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi et musis*, in the university, as long almost as *Xenocrates in Athens, ad senectam fere*, to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study. For I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing colledge of Europe [Christ Church in Oxford—*marg. note*], *Augustissimo Collegio*, and can brag with *Iovius* almost, *in ea luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi, per 37 annos multa opportunaque didici*: for thirty years I have continued (having the use of as good libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be, therefore, loth either by living as a drone to be an unprofitable or unworthy a member

of so learned and noble a societie, or to write that which should be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation.' He then proceeds to speak of the desultory character of his studies: 'I have read many books but to little purpose, for want of good method; I have confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our libraries with small profit for want of art, order, memory, judgment.' For preferment he was not anxious: 'I am not poor, I am not rich; *nihil est, nihil deest*, I have little, I want nothing; all my treasure is in Minerva's tower.' He anticipates the objections of hostile critics who may urge that his time would have been better spent in publishing books of divinity. He saw 'no such need' for that class of works, as there existed already more commentaries, treatises, pamphlets, expositions, and sermons than whole teams of oxen could draw. Why did he choose such a subject as melancholy? 'I write of melancholy,' is the answer, 'by being busy to avoid melancholy.' He apologises for the rudeness of his style, on the ground that he could not afford to employ an amanuensis or assistants. After relating the story of Pancrates (in Lucian), who by magic turned a door-bar into a serving-man, he proceeds in this strain: 'I have no such skill to make new men at my pleasure, or means to hire them, no whistle to call like the master of a ship, and bid them run, &c. I have no such authority; no such benefactors as that noble *Ambrosius* was to *Origen*, allowing him six or seven Amanuenses to write out his Dictats. I must for that cause do my businesse my self, and was therefore enforced, as a Bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump.' To some slight extent Burton was indebted to 'A Treatise of Melancholy,' by T. Bright, 1586. The 'Anatomy' is divided into three partitions, which are subdivided into sections, members, and subsections. Prefixed to each partition is an elaborate synopsis as a sort of index, in humorous imitation of the practice so common in books of scholastic divinity. Part i. deals with the causes and symptoms of melancholy; part ii. with the cure of melancholy; and part iii. with love melancholy and religious melancholy. On every page quotations abound from authors of all ages and countries, classics, fathers of the church, medical writers, poets, historians, scholars, travellers, &c. There is a unique charm in Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy.' Dr. Johnson said that it was the only book that ever took him out of his bed two hours sooner than he intended to rise. Ferriar in his 'Illustrations of Sterne' showed how 'Tristram Shandy' was permeated with Burton's

influence. Charles Lamb was an enthusiastic admirer of the 'fantastic old great man,' and to some extent modelled his style on the 'Anatomy.' In 'Curious Fragments extracted from the Commonplace Book of Robert Burton' (appended to the tragedy of 'Woodvil,' 1802) Lamb imitated with marvellous fidelity Burton's charming mannerisms. Milton, as Warton was the first to point out, gathered hints for 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' from the verses ('The Author's Abstract of Melancholy') prefixed to the 'Anatomy.' There is no keener delight to an appreciative student than to shut himself in his study and be immersed 'from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve,' in Burton's far-off world of forgotten lore. Commonplace writers have described the 'Anatomy' as a mere collection of quotations, a piece of patchwork. The description is utterly untrue. On every page is the impress of a singularly deep and original genius. As a humorist Burton bears some resemblance to Sir Thomas Browne; this vein of semi-serious humour is, to his admirers, one of the chief attractions of his style. When he chooses to write smoothly his language is strangely musical.

Little is recorded of Burton's life. Bishop Kennet (in his *Register and Chronicle*, p. 320) says that after writing the 'Anatomy' to suppress his own melancholy, he did but improve it. 'In an interval of vapours' he would be extremely cheerful, and then he would fall into such a state of despondency that he could only get relief by going to the bridge-foot at Oxford and hearing the barge-men swear at one another, 'at which he would set his hands to his sides and laugh most profusely.' Kennet's story recalls a passage about Democritus in Burton's preface: 'He lived at last in a garden in the suburbs, wholly betaking himself to his studies and a private life, saying that sometimes he would walk down to the haven and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects which there he saw.' It would appear that when he adopted the title of Democritus Junior, Burton seriously set himself to imitate the eccentricities recorded of the old philosopher. Anecdotes about Burton are very scarce. It is related in 'Reliquiæ Hearnianæ' that one day when Burton was in a book-shop the Earl of Southampton entered and inquired for a copy of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' whereupon 'says the bookseller "My lord, if you please I can show you the author." He did so. "Mr. Burton," says the earl, "your servant." "Mr. Southampton," says Mr. Burton, "your servant," and away he went.' Wood gives the following character of Burton: 'He was an exact

mathematician, a curious calculator of nativities, a general read scholar, a thorough-paced philologist, and one that understood the surveying of lands well. As he was by many accounted a severe student, a devourer of authors, a melancholy and humorous person, so by others who knew him well a person of great honesty, plain dealing and charity. I have heard some of the antients of Christ Church often say that his company was very merry, faceté and juvenile, and no man of his time did surpass him for his ready and dexterous interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets or sentences from classical authors.' Burton died at Christ Church on 25 Jan. 1639-40, at or very near the time that he had foretold some years before by the calculation of his nativity. Wood says there was a report among the students that he had 'sent up his soul to heaven thro' a noose about his neck' in order that his calculation might be verified. He was buried in the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral, and over his grave was erected, at the expense of his brother William Burton, a comely monument, on the upper pillar of the aisle, with his bust in colour; on the right hand above the bust is the calculation of his nativity, and beneath the bust is the epitaph which he had composed for himself—'Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus Junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem Melancholia.' His portrait hangs in the hall of Brasenose College. He left behind him a choice library of books, many of which he bequeathed to the Bodleian. The collection included a number of rare Elizabethan tracts. There is an elegy on Burton in Martin Llewellyn's poems, 1646.

[Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, ii. 652-3; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, vol. iii. pt. i. 415-19; Preface to the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 6; *Philosophaster, Comœdia*, ed. Rev. W. F. Buckley, 1862; Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, 1728, p. 320; Ferriar's *Illustrations of Sterne*, 1799; Hearn's *Reliquiæ*, ed. Bliss, i. 288; *Blackwood's Magazine*, September 1861; *Lamb's Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading*; Stephen Jones's *Memoir prefixed to the Anatomy*, ed. 1800.] A. H. B.

**BURTON, ROBERT** or **RICHARD** (1632?-1725?), miscellaneous author, whose real name was **NATHANIEL CROUCH**, was the author of many books, attributed on the title-page to R. B., to Richard Burton, and (after his death) to Robert Burton. He was born about 1632, and was the son of a tailor at Lewes. Nathaniel was apprenticed on 5 May 1656 for seven years to Live-well Chapman, and at the close of his apprenticeship became a freeman of the Stationers' Company. He was a publisher, and



compiled a number of small books, which, issued at a shilling each, had a great popularity. 'Burton's books'—so they were called—attracted the notice of Dr. Johnson, who in 1784 asked Mr. Dilly to procure them for him, 'as they seem very proper to allure backward readers.' John Dunton says of him: 'I think I have given you the very soul of his character when I have told you that his talent lies at collection. He has melted down the best of our English histories into twelve penny books, which are filled with wonders, rarities, and curiosities; for, you must know, his title-pages are a little swelling.' Dunton professed a 'hearty friendship' for him, but objects that Crouch 'has got a habit of leering under his hat, and once made it a great part of his business to bring down the reputation of "Second Spira"' (a book said to be by Thomas Sewell, published by Dunton). Crouch was also, according to Dunton, 'the author of the "English Post," and of that useful Journal intitled "The Marrow of History."' 'Crouch prints nothing,' says Dunton, 'but what is very useful and very diverting.' Dunton praises his instructive conversation, and says that he is a 'phoenix author (I mean the only man that gets an estate by writing of books).' A collected edition in quarto of his 'historical works' was issued in 1810-14, chiefly intended for collectors who 'illustrate' books by the insertion of additional engravings. His original publications are: 1. 'A Journey to Jerusalem . . . in a letter from T. B. in Aleppo, &c.,' with a 'brief account of . . . those countries,' added apparently by Crouch. In 1683 it was augmented and reprinted as 'Two Journeys to Jerusalem, containing first a strange and true Account of the Travels of two English Pilgrims (Henry Timberlake and John Burrell); secondly, the Travels of fourteen Englishmen, by T. B. To which are prefixed memorable Remarks upon the ancient and modern State of the Jewish Nation; together with a Relation of the great Council of the Jews in Hungaria in 1650 by S. B.[rett], with an Account of the wonderful Delusion of the Jews by a False Christ at Smyrna in 1666; lastly, the final Extinction and Destruction of the Jews in Persia.' There were editions with various modifications of title, such as 'Memorable Remarks,' 'Judæorum Memorabilia,' &c., in 1685, 1730, 1738, 1759. It was reprinted at Bolton in 1786. The latest reissue, entitled 'Judæorum Memorabilia,' was edited and published at Bristol by W. Matthews in 1796. A Welsh translation, published about 1690 at Shrewsbury, is in the British Museum. 2. 'Miracles of Art and Nature, or a Brief Description of

the several varieties of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Plants, and Fruits of other Countries, together with several other Remarkable Things in the World. By R. B. Gent., London, printed for William Bowtil at the Sign of the Golden Key near Miter Court in Fleet Street,' 1678. A tenth edition appeared in 1737. 3. 'The Wars in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1625 to 1660,' London, 1681. The preface is signed Richard Burton. The fourth edition appeared in 1683; issues in 1684, 1697, 1706, and 1737. 4. 'The Apprentice's Companion,' London, 1681. 5. 'Historical Remarques on London and Westminster,' London, 1681; reprints in 1684 (when a second part was added), 1703, 1722, and 1730, with some modifications. 6. 'Wonderful Prodiges of Judgment and Mercy, discovered in Three Hundred Histories,' 1681; other editions in 1682, 1685, 1699, Edinburgh 1702. 7. 'Wonderful Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' London, 1682; reprinted in 1685, 1697, 1728, and 1737. 8. 'The Extraordinary Adventures and Discoveries of Several Famous Men,' London, 1683, 1685, 1728. 9. 'Strange and Prodigious Religious Customs and Manners of sundry Nations,' London, 1683. 10. 'Delights for the Ingenious in above fifty select and choice Emblems, divine and moral, curiously ingraven upon copper plates, with fifty delightful Poems and Lots for the more lively illustration of each Emblem, to which is prefixed an incomparable Poem intitled Majesty in Misery, an Imploration to the King of Kings, written by his late Majesty K. Charles the First. Collected by R. B.' London, 1684. 11. 'English Empire in America. By R. B.,' London, 1685; 3rd edit. 1698, 5th edit. 1711, 6th edit. 1728, 1735, 7th edit. 1739; there was also a 7th edit. Dublin, 1739. 12. 'A View of the English Acquisitions in Guinea and the East Indies. By R. B.,' London, 1686, 1726, 1728. 13. 'Winter Evening Entertainments, containing: I. Ten pleasant and delightful Relations. II. Fifty ingenious Riddles,' 6th edit. 1737. 14. 'Female Excellency, or the Ladies' Glory; worthy Lives and memorable Actions of nine famous Women. By R. B.,' London, 1688. 15. 'England's Monarchs from the Invasion of Romans to this Time, &c. By R. B.,' 1685, 1691, 1694. 16. 'History of Scotland and Ireland. By R. B.,' London, 1685, 1696. 17. 'History of the Kingdom of Ireland,' London, 1685, 1692. In the seventh edition, Dublin, 1731, it is said to be an abridgment of Dean Story's 'Late Wars in Ireland.' 18. 'The Vanity of the Life of Man represented in the seven several Stages from his Birth to his Death, with Pictures and Poems exposing the



Follies of every Age, to which is added Poems upon divers Subjects and Occasions. By R. B., London, 1688, 3rd edit. 1708. 19. 'The Young Man's Calling, or the whole Duty of Youth,' 1685. 20. 'Delightful Fables in Prose and Verse,' London, 1691. 21. 'History of the Nine Worthies of the World,' London, 1687; other editions 1713, 1727; 4th edit. 1738, Dublin, 1759. 22. 'History of Oliver Cromwell,' London, 1692, 1698, 1706, 1728. 23. 'History of the House of Orange,' London, 1693. 24. 'History of the two late Kings, James the Second and Charles the Second. By R. B.,' London, Crouch, 1693, 12mo. 25. 'Epitome of all the Lives of the Kings of France,' London, 1693. 26. 'The General History of Earthquakes,' London, 1694, 1734, 1736. 27. 'England's Monarchs, with Poems and the Pictures of every Monarch, and a List of the present Nobility of this Kingdom,' London, 1694. 28. 'The English Hero, or Sir Francis Drake revived,' London, 1687, 4th edit. enlarged 1695; there were editions in 1710, 1716, 1739, 1750, 1756, 1769. 29. 'Martyrs in Flames, or History of Popery,' London, 1695, 1713, 1729. 30. 'The History of the Principality of Wales,' in three parts, London, 1695, 2nd edit. 1730. 31. 'Unfortunate Court Favourites of England,' London, 1695, 1706; 6th edit. 1729. 32. 'Unparalleled Varieties, or the matchless Actions and Passions displayed in near four hundred notable Instances and Examples,' 3rd edit. London, 1697, 4th edit. 1728. 33. 'Wonderful Prodigies of Judgment and Mercy discovered in near three hundred Memorable Histories.' The 5th edition enlarged, London, 1699. 34. 'Extraordinary Adventures, Revolutions, and Events,' 3rd edit. London, 1704. 35. 'Devout Souls' Daily Exercise in Prayer, Contemplations, and Praise,' London, 1706. 36. 'Divine Banquets, or Sacramental Devotions,' London, 1706, 1707. 37. 'Surprising Miracles of Nature and Art,' 4th edit. London, 1708. 38. 'History of the Lives of English Divines who were most zealous in Promoting the Reformation. By R. B.,' London, 1709. 39. 'The Unhappy Princess, or the Secret History of Anne Boleyn; and the History of Lady Jane Grey,' London, 1710, 1733. 40. 'History of Virginia,' London, 1712. 41. 'Æsop's Fables in Prose and Verse,' 1712. 42. 'Kingdom of Darkness, or the History of Demons, Spectres, Witches, Apparitions, Possessions, Disturbances, and other Supernatural Delusions and malicious Impostures of the Devil.' The first edition appeared as early as 1706. 43. 'Memorable Accidents and unheard-of Transactions, containing an Account of several strange Events. Trans-

lated from the French [of T. Leonard], and printed at Brussels in 1691. By R. B., London, 1733. The first edition appeared in 1698. 44. 'Youth's Divine Pastime, Part II., containing near forty more remarkable Scripture Histories, with Spiritual Songs and Hymns of Prayer and Praise. By R. Burton, author of the first part.' The 6th edition, London, C. Hitch, 1749. 45. 'Triumphs of Love, containing Fifteen Histories,' London, 1750. In the Grenville Collection the following is attributed to Burton, but apparently by mistake: 'The Accomplished Ladies' Rich Closet of Rarities, &c.' The last official communication with him from the Stationers' Company was in 1717, and his name ceases to be recorded in 1728. As the name of Thomas Crouch, presumably his son, appears on the title-page of one of Burton's books in 1725, it may be assumed that he died before that date.

[Records of the Stationers' Company, obligingly examined for this article by Mr. C. R. Rivington, the clerk; John Dunton's Life and Errors; Catalogue of the Grenville Collection; Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual; Hawkins's History of Music, xi. 171; Chalmers's Biog. Diet.; Book-Lore, 1885.] W. E. A. A.

BURTON, SIMON, M.D. (1690?-1744), physician, was born in Warwickshire about 1690, being the eldest son of Humphrey Burton, of Caresly, near Coventry. His mother was Judith, daughter of the Rev. Abraham Bohun. He was educated at Rugby, and at New College, Oxford, where he proceeded B.A. 29 Nov. 1710; M.A. 26 May 1714; M.B. 20 April 1716; and M.D. 21 July 1720. After practising for some years at Warwick, he removed to London, where he established himself in Savile Row, and obtained a large practice. He was admitted, 12 April 1731, a candidate of the Royal College of Physicians, of which he became a fellow on 3 April 1732. On 19 Oct. in the following year Burton was appointed physician to St. George's Hospital, and subsequently royal physician in ordinary (*General Advertiser*, 13 June 1744). He was one of the physicians who attended Pope in his last illness, and had a dispute upon that occasion with Dr. Thompson, a well-known quack, to which reference is made in a satire entitled 'One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Four, a Poem, by a Great Poet lately deceased.' Burton survived Pope somewhat less than a fortnight, and died, after a few days' illness, 11 June 1744, at his house in Savile Row.

[*General Advertiser*, 13 June 1744; *Penny London Morning Advertiser*, 13-15 June 1744;

Gent. Mag. June 1744; Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, 1851; Carruthers's *Life of Alexander Pope*, 1857.] A. H. G.

**BURTON, THOMAS** (d. 1656-1659), reputed parliamentary diarist, was a justice of the peace for Westmoreland. He was returned to parliament as member for the county on 20 Aug. 1656. On 16 Oct. 1656 he was called upon by the parliament to answer a charge of disaffection towards the existing government, which he did to the satisfaction of the house (*Parl. Hist.* pp. 439-40). The Westmoreland returns for Richard Cromwell's parliament (27 Jan. 1658-9 to 22 April 1659) are missing, but probably Burton was re-elected to it. He did not sit in parliament after the Restoration. Although he spoke seldom, he is assumed to have been a regular attendant in the house, and has been identified as the author of a diary of all its proceedings from 1656 to 1659. In this record the speeches are given in the *oratio recta*, and it is therefore to be inferred that the writer prepared his report in the house itself. The 'Diary,' in the form in which it is now known, opens abruptly on Wednesday, 3 Dec. 1656. It is continued uninterruptedly till 26 June 1657. A second section deals with the period between 20 Jan. 1657-8 and 4 Feb. 1657-8, and a third with that between 27 Jan. 1658-9 and 22 April 1659. The 'Diary' was first printed in 1828, by J. T. Rutt, from the author's notebooks, which had come into the possession of Mr. Upcot, librarian of the London Institution. These manuscripts, which form six oblong 12mo volumes, are now in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS.* 15859-64), and bear no author's name. The editor prefixed extracts from the 'Journal' of Guibon Goddard, M.P. (*Addit. MS.* 5138, ff. 285 et seq.), dealing with the parliament of 1654. The identity of the author of the 'Diary' can only be discovered by internal evidence. At vol. ii. p. 159 he writes (30 May 1657), 'Sir William Strickland and I moved that the report for the bill for York River be now made.' On 1 June Sir William Strickland's colleague is stated to be 'Mr. Burton,' and the only member of the name in the house at the time was Thomas Burton, M.P. for Westmoreland. But Carlyle (*Cromwell*, iv. 239-40) has pointed out that the writer speaks of himself in the first person as sitting on two parliamentary committees (ii. 346, 347, 404) in the list of whose members given in the 'Commons Journals' (vii. 450, 580, 588) Burton's name is not found. The evidence of authorship is very conflicting, and suggests that more than one member of parliament was concerned in it. Carlyle asserts that Nathaniel Bacon, 1593-1660 [q. v.], has a better claim to the

work than Burton, but this assertion is controvertible. The diarist was a mere reporter, and Carlyle, whilst frequently quoting him, treats his lack of imagination with the bitterest disdain. 'A book filled . . . with mere dim inanity and moaning wind.'

[*Burton's Parliamentary Diary* (1828), vols. i-iv.; Names of M.P.s, pt. i. pp. 504-6; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, iv. 240.] S. L. L.

**BURTON, WILLIAM** (d. 1616), puritan divine, was born at Winchester, but in what year is not known. He was educated at Winchester School and New College, Oxford, of which, after graduating B.A., he was admitted perpetual fellow on 5 April 1563. He left the university in 1565. He was minister at Norwich (he tells us) for 'five yeares,' presumably the period 1584-9. But he seems to have been in Norwich or the immediate neighbourhood at least as early as 1576, perhaps as assistant in the free school. His name appears in 1583 among the Norfolk divines (over sixty in number) who scrupled subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He has left a very interesting account of the puritan ascendancy in Norwich during his time. The leaders of the party were John More, vicar of St. Andrew's (buried on 16 Jan. 1592), and Thomas Roberts, rector of St. Clements (d. 1576). For many years there was daily preaching, attended by the magistrates and over twenty of the city clergy, besides those of the cathedral. It was the custom each day for one or other of the magistrates to keep open house for the clergy, without whose advice 'no matter was usually concluded' in the city council. Very interesting also is his account, as an eyewitness, of the burning at Norwich, on 14 Jan. 1589, of Francis Ket [q. v.] as an 'Arrian heretique.' Burton bears the strongest testimony to the excellence and apparent godliness of Ket's life and conversation, but glories in his fate, and is quite certain of his damnation. Burton, while rejecting the ceremonies, was firm against separation from the national church; he writes bitterly respecting 'our English Donatists, our schismaticall Brownists.' He left Norwich owing to troubles which befell him about some matters of his ministry. In after years it was reported that the civic authorities had driven him away; his enemies wrote to Norwich for copies of records which they expected would tell against him; but it seems that the mayor and council had done their best to retain him. On leaving Norwich he found a friend in Lord Wentworth, as we learn from the dedication prefixed to his 'David's Evidencie,' &c., 1592, 8vo. Went-

worth took him into his house, gave him books, and was the means of his resuming the work of the ministry. Richard Fletcher, bishop of Bristol (consecrated 3 Jan. 1590), gave him some appointment in Bristol, not upon conditions, 'as some haue vntruely reported.' Complaints were made about his teaching, whereupon he published his 'Catechism,' 1591, which is a very workmanlike presentation of Calvinism. In it he argues against bowing at the name of Jesus, and describes the right way of solemnising 'the natiuitie of the Sonne of God.' He subsequently published several sets of sermons which had been delivered in Bristol. He became vicar of St. Giles, Reading, on 25 Nov. 1591. At some unknown date (after 1608) he came to London. He died intestate in the parish of St. Sepulchre, apparently in 1616; whether he held the vicarage or not does not appear; the registers of St. Sepulchre were burned in the great fire of 1666. His age at death must have been upwards of seventy. His wife, Dorothy, survived him; his son Daniel administered to his effects on 17 May 1616.

Of Burton's publications, the earliest written was a single sermon preached at Norwich on 21 Dec. 1589 from Jer. iii. 14, but it was probably not published till later, for he calls his 'Catechism,' 1591, 16mo, his 'first fruites.' Wood enumerates eight subsequent collections of sermons and seven treatises, including 'An Abstract of the Doctrine of the Sabbath,' 1606, 8vo, which has escaped the researches of Robert Cox. The little volume of 'seauen sermons,' bearing the title 'Dauids Evidence,' above referred to, was re-printed in 1596, 16mo, and in 1602, 4to. Burton translated seven dialogues of Erasmus, published to prove 'how little cause the papists haue to boast of Erasmus, as a man of their side.' This was issued in 1606, sm. 4to; some copies have the title 'Seven dialogues Both pithie and profitable,' &c., others bear the title 'Utile-Dulce: or, Trueths Libertie. Seuen wittie-wise Dialogues,' &c.; but the two issues (both dated 1606) correspond in every respect except the title-pages.

[Burton's dedications in *Catechism*, 1591, *Dauids Evidence*, 1596, and *Seven Dialogues*, 1606; *Blomefield's Norfolk*, vol. ii. 1745 (Norwich); *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 1; *Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, ii. 230; *Christian Moderator*, 1826, p. 37; *Leverage's Hist. of Bristol Cathedral*, 1853, 66.] A. G.

BURTON, WILLIAM (1575-1645), author of 'Description of Leicestershire,' son of Ralph Burton, and elder brother of Robert Burton ('Democritus Junior') [q. v.], was

born at Lindley in Leicestershire on 24 Aug. 1575. At the age of nine years he was sent to school at Nuneaton, and on 29 Sept. 1591, entered Brasenose College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A. on 22 June 1594. Before taking his degree he had been admitted, on 20 May 1593, to the Inner Temple. In his manuscript 'Antiquitates de Lindley' (an epitome of which is given in Nichols's 'Leicestershire,' iv. 651-6), he states that on applying himself to the study of law he still continued to cultivate literature, and he mentions that he wrote in 1596 an unpublished Latin comedy, 'De Amoribus Perinthii et Tyanthes,' and in 1597 a translation (also unpublished) of 'Achilles Tatius.' He had a close knowledge, both literary and colloquial, of Spanish and Italian, and found much pleasure in the study of the emblem-writers, but his interest lay chiefly in heraldry and topography. In 1602 he issued a corrected copy, printed at Antwerp, of Saxton's map of the county of Leicester. On 20 May 1603 he was called to the bar, but soon afterwards, his health being too weak to allow him to practise, he retired to the village of Falde in Staffordshire, where he owned an estate. He now began to devote himself seriously to his 'Description of Leicestershire.' From a manuscript 'Valediction to the Reader' (dated from Lindley in 1641), in an interleaved copy which he had revised and enlarged for a second edition, we learn that the book was begun so far back as 1597, 'not with an intentment that it should ever come to the public view, but for my own private use, which after it had slept a long time was on a sudden raised out of the dust, and by force of an higher power drawn to the press, having scarce an allowance of time for the furnishing and putting on a mantle' (NICHOLS, *Leicestershire*, iii. xvi). The 'higher power' was his patron, George, marquis of Buckingham, to whom the work was dedicated on its publication (in folio) in 1602. Nichols (*ibid.* p. lxy) prints a manuscript preface to the 'Description' dated 7 April 1604, and hence it may be assumed that the publication was delayed for many years. Burton was one of the earliest of our topographical writers, and his work must be compared, not with the elaborate performances of a later age, but with such books as Lambarde's 'Kent,' Carew's 'Cornwall,' and Norden's 'Surveys.' Dugdale, in the 'Address to the Gentry of Warwickshire' prefixed to his 'Warwickshire,' says that Burton, as well as Lambarde and Carew, 'performed but briefly;' and Nichols observes that 'the printed volume, though a folio of above 300 pages, if the unnecessary digressions were struck out and the

pedigrees reduced into less compass, would shrink into a small work.' The author was well aware of the imperfections of his work, and spent many years in making large additions and corrections towards a new edition. In the summer of 1638 he had advanced so far in the revision that the copy of the intended second edition was sent to London for press, as appears from two letters to Sir Simonds d'Ewes (NICHOLS, *Leicestershire*, ii. 843). Gascoigne says that Sir Thomas Cave, in the year 1640, 'had in his custody a copy of Burton's that should have been reprinted, but the war breaking out prevented it' (*ibid.* p. 844); and he adds, from personal inspection, that the work had been augmented to three times the original size. After Burton's death his son Cassibelan presented, with several of his father's manuscripts, to Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestree, Staffordshire, a copy of the 'Description' containing large manuscript additions by the author. In 1798 Shaw discovered this copy at Ingestree (*Gent. Mag.* lxxviii. 921), and it was utilised by Nichols in the third and fourth volumes of his '*Leicestershire*.' Doubtless this was the copy which Gascoigne saw in 1640. Several copies of Burton's work, with manuscript annotations by various antiquaries, are preserved in private libraries (see the long list in NICHOLS'S *Leicestershire*, ii. 843-5). In 1777 there was published by subscription a folio edition which claimed to be 'enlarged and corrected,' but the editorial work was performed in a very slovenly manner. All the information contained in the 'Description' was incorporated in Nichols's '*Leicestershire*.'

In 1607 Burton married Jane, daughter of Humfrey Adderley of Weddington in Warwickshire, by whom he had a son Cassibelan [q. v.]. Among his particular friends were Sir Robert Cotton and William Somner. In his account of Fenny-Drayton he speaks with affection and respect of his 'old acquaintance' Michael Drayton. Dugdale in his '*Autobiography*' acknowledges the assistance which he had received from Burton. In 1612 Thomas Purefoy of Barwell in Warwickshire bequeathed at his death to Burton the original manuscript of Leland's '*Collectanea*.' Wood (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, i. 200) charges Burton with introducing 'needless additions and illustrations' into this work; but Hearne, in the preface to his edition of the '*Collectanea*,' denies the truth of the charge. In 1631 Burton caused part of Leland's '*Itinerary*' to be transcribed, and in the following year he gave five quarto volumes of Leland's autograph manuscripts to the Bodleian. When the civil wars broke out, Burton sided with the royalists, and endured persecution. He

died at Falde on 6 April 1645, and was buried in the parish church at Hanbury. Among the manuscripts that he left were: 1. '*Antiquitates de Lindley*,' which was afterwards in the possession of Samuel Lysons, who lent it to Nichols (*Leicestershire*, iv. 651). 2. '*Antiquitates de Dadlington Manerio*, com. Leic.,' which in Nichols's time belonged to Nicholas Hurst of Hinckley. 3. Collections towards a history of Thedingworth, as appears from a letter to Sir Robert Cotton, in which Burton asks that antiquary's assistance (*ibid.* ii. 842). He also left some collections of arms, genealogies, &c. About 1735 Francis Peck announced his intention of writing Burton's life, but the project does not seem to have been carried out.

[Nichols's *Leicestershire*, ii. 843-5, iii. xvi, lxx, iv. 651-6; Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss), i. 200, iii. 153-6; Oldys's *British Librarian* (1737), pp. 287-99; *Gent. Mag.* lxxviii. 921; Dugdale's *Autobiography*, appended to Dallaway's *Heraldry*, 1793.] A. H. B.

**BURTON, WILLIAM** (1609-1657), antiquary, son of William Burton, sometime of Atcham, in Shropshire, was born in Austin Friars, London, and educated in St. Paul's school. He became a student in Queen's College, Oxford, in 1625; but as he had not sufficient means to maintain himself, the learned Thomas Allen, perceiving his merit, induced him to migrate to Gloucester Hall, and conferred on him a Greek lectureship there. He was a Pauline exhibitor from 1624 to 1632. In 1630 he graduated B.C.L., but, indigence forcing him to leave the university, he became the assistant or usher of Thomas Farnaby, the famous schoolmaster of Kent. Some years later he was appointed master of the free school at Kingston-upon-Thames, in Surrey, where he continued till two years before his death, 'at which time, being taken with the dead palsy, he retired to London.' He died on 28 Dec. 1657, and was buried in a vault under the church of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand. Bishop Kennett calls 'this now-neglected author the best topographer since Camden,' while Wood tells us that 'he was an excellent Latinist, noted philologist, was well skill'd in the tongues, was an excellent critic and antiquary, and therefore beloved of all learned men of his time, especially of the famous Usher, archbishop of Armagh.'

His works are: 1. 'In [laudem] doctissimi, clarissimi, optimi senis, Thomæ Alleni ultimo Septembris MDCXXXII Oxoniis demortui, exequiarum justis ab alma Academia postridie solutis, orationes binæ' (the first by Burton, the second by George Bathurst), London, 1632, 4to. 2. '*Nobilissimi herois Dn. C. Howardi*

comitis Nottinghamiæ ἀποθῶσις ad illustrissimum V. Dn. C. Howardum, comitem Nottinghamiæ, fratrem superstitem' (London, 1 April 1643), on a small sheet, fol. 3. 'The beloved City: or, the Saints' Reign on Earth a Thousand Years, asserted and illustrated from 65 places of Holy Scripture,' Lond. 1643, 4to, translated from the Latin of John Henry Alstedius. 4. 'Clement, the blessed Paul's fellow-labourer in the Gospel, his First Epistle to the Corinthians; being an effectual Suasory to Peace, and Brotherly Condescension, after an unhappy Schism and Separation in that Church,' London, 1647, 1652, 4to, translated from Patrick Yong's Latin version, who has added 'Certain Annotations upon Clement.' 5. 'Græcæ Linguae Historia (Veteris Linguae Persicæ λεῖψανα)' 2 parts, London, 1657, 8vo. 6. 'A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary, or Journies of the Roman Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain,' Lond. 1658, fol. With portrait engraved by Hollar, and a 'Chorographically Map of the severall Stations.' At pp. 136, 137, Burton gives some account of his family, and relates that his great-grandfather expired from excess of joy on being informed of the death of Queen Mary.

[Biog. Brit. (Kippis), iii. 42; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Gardiner's Registers of St. Paul's School, 34,400; Gough's British Topography, i. 5; Knight's Life of Dr. John Colet, 402; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), iv. 56; Kennett's Life of Somner, 19; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 330, 478; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 438.] T. C.

**BURTON, WILLIAM EVANS** (1802-1860), actor and dramatist, was the son of William Burton, sometimes called William George Burton (1774-1825), printer and bookseller, and author of 'Researches into the Religion of the Eastern Nations as illustrative of the Scriptures,' 2 vols. 1805. He was born in London September 1802, received a classical education at St. Paul's School, and is said to have matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, with the intention of entering the church; but at the age of eighteen he was obliged to undertake the charge of his father's printing business. His success in some amateur performances led him to adopt the stage as a profession, and he joined the Norwich circuit, where he remained seven years. In February 1831 he made his first appearance in London at the Pavilion Theatre as Wormwood in the 'Lottery Ticket,' and in 1833 was engaged at the Haymarket as the successor of Liston; but on Liston's unexpected return to the boards he went to America, where he came out at the Arch Street

Theatre, Philadelphia, 3 Sept. 1834, as Doctor Ollapod in the 'Poor Gentleman.' His first engagement in New York was at the National 4 Feb. 1839, as Billy Lackaday. Burton was subsequently lessee and manager of theatres in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and on 13 April 1841 essayed management in New York at the National Theatre, which was consumed by fire on 29 May following. In 1848 he leased Palmo's Opera House, New York, which he renamed Burton's Theatre. Here he produced, with extraordinary success, John Brougham's version of 'Dombey and Son,' in which he personated Captain Cuttle. The Metropolitan Theatre, Broadway, New York, came under his management September 1850, with the title of Burton's New Theatre. Little satisfied with his success in this new house, he gave up its direction in 1858, and commenced starring engagements, his name and fame being familiar in every quarter of the Union. His humour was broad and deep, and sometimes approached coarseness, but at the same time was always genial and hearty, and generally truthfully natural; while in homely pathos and the earnest expression of blunt, uncultivated feeling, he has never been excelled. His power of altering the expressions of his face was also much greater than that possessed by any other actor of modern times. His name was almost exclusively identified with the characters of Captain Cuttle, Mr. Toodle, Ebenezer Sudden, Mr. Micawber, Poor Pillicoddy, Aminadab Sleek, Paul Pry, Tony Lumpkin, Bob Acres, and many others. In literature he was almost as industrious as in acting. He wrote several plays, the best known being 'Ellen Wareham, a domestic drama,' produced in May 1833, and which held the stage at five London theatres at the same time. He was editor of the 'Cambridge Quarterly Review,' editor of and entire prose contributor to the 'Philadelphia Literary Souvenir,' 1838-40, proprietor of the 'Philadelphia Gentleman's Magazine,' seven volumes, of which Edgar A. Poe was sometime the editor, contributor to many periodicals, and author of 'The Yankee among the Mermaids,' 12mo, 'Waggeries and Vagaries, a series of sketches humorous and descriptive,' Philadelphia, 1848, 12mo, and 'Cyclopædia of Wit and Humour of America, Ireland, Scotland, and England,' New York, 1857, 2 vols. 8vo. His library, the largest and best in New York, especially rich in Shakespearean and other dramatic literature, was sold in the autumn after his death in upwards of six thousand lots, ten to twenty volumes often forming a lot. A large collection of paintings, including some rare works of the Italian and Flemish school, adorned his

two residences. His health was failing many months prior to his decease, which took place at 174 Hudson Street, New York, 9 Feb. 1860, from a fatty degeneration of the heart, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. As an actor he held the first rank, and in his peculiar line the present generation cannot hope to witness his equal. He was twice married, the second time, in April 1853, to Miss Jane Livingston Hill, an actress, who, after suffering from mental derangement, died at New York on 22 April 1863, aged 39. His large fortune was ultimately divided between his three daughters, Cecilia, Virginia, and Rosine Burton.

[Ireland's Records of the New York Stage (1867), ii. 235-38; Ripley and Dana's American Cyclopædia (1873), iii. 479; Drake's American Biography (1872), p. 147; The Era, London, 4 March 1860, p. 14; Willis's Current Notes, 1862, p. 38; Cyclopædia of Wit and Humour (1857), with Portrait.] G. C. B.

**BURTON, WILLIAM PATON** (1828-1883), water-colour painter, son of Captain William Paton Burton, of the Indian army, was born at Madras in 1828 and educated at Edinburgh. After studying for a short time in the office of David Bryce, the architect, he turned to landscape painting, and was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy and in Suffolk Street between 1862 and 1880. His works consisted of views in England, Holland, France, Italy, and Egypt. He died suddenly at Aberdeen on 31 Dec. 1883.

[Athenæum, January 1884.]

L. F.

**BURTT, JOSEPH** (1818-1876), archaeologist and assistant-keeper in the national Record Office, was born in the parish of St. Pancras, London, on 7 Nov. 1818. He was educated by his father, who was a private tutor, known as a Greek scholar, and author of a Latin grammar. He entered the public service as a lad of fourteen in 1832 under Sir Francis Palgrave, by whom he was employed on work connected with the Record Commission at the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey. Here he continued his labours for many years, arranging and making inventories of the national records then housed in that building. In August 1851 he was promoted to be assistant-keeper of the records of the second class, and was raised to be a first-class assistant-keeper in June 1859, a position which he enjoyed to his death. About this time Burtt superintended the removal from the old chapter-house to the newly erected record office in Fetter Lane of the vast mass of documents which had been lying, many of them unsorted and

uncatalogued, in that most unsuitable depository. The calendaring of the chancery records of Durham was a task which Burtt undertook in addition to his ordinary official duties. He was also employed in his private capacity by Dean Stanley and the chapter of Westminster in sorting and arranging the muniments of the abbey, and he was the first to commence the work of examining and bringing into order the muniments of the dean and chapter of Lincoln. In 1862 he became secretary of the Royal Archaeological Institute, to which he subsequently added the editorship of the 'Archæological Journal.' He was for many years the prime mover of all the operations of the institute, especially in connection with its annual congresses, which were ably organised by him. As a private friend Burtt was much and deservedly valued. He died after a protracted illness at his residence at Tulse Hill on 15 Dec. 1876, and was buried in Nunhead Cemetery. Burtt contributed a large number of archaeological and historical papers to the 'Journal of the Archæological Institute,' the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' the 'Athenæum,' 'Archæologia Cantiana,' and other kindred periodicals. He also edited the 'Household Expenses of John of Brabant and of Thomas and Henry of Lancaster' for the 'Miscellany' of the Camden Society.

[Journal of the Archæological Institute, xxxiv. 90-2; private information.] E. V.

**BURY, ARTHUR, D.D.** (1624-1714?), theologian, was the son of the Rev. John Bury (1580-1667) [q. v.], and matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 5 April 1639, aged 15. He took his degree of B.A. on 29 Nov. 1642, was elected a Petreian fellow of his college on 30 June 1643, and became full fellow on 6 May 1645. When Oxford was garrisoned for the king, Bury laboured at the works of defence and took his turn among the guards who watched over its safety. Like most of his associates, he refused to submit to the parliamentary visitors of the university, and was driven from the city to take refuge with 'his sequestered father' in Devonshire. At the Restoration he was restored to his fellowship, and was offered, according to his own statement in after life, preferment 'more than eight times the value' of the rectorship of his college, but declined the offer. In 1666 the rectorship at Exeter College became vacant, and Bury was elected (27 May), partly on the recommendation of Archbishop Sheldon and partly under instructions from Charles II (which were somewhat resented by the college) that he should be elected, 'notwithstanding any statute or

custom thereof to the contrary, with which we are graciously pleased to dispense in this behalf.' On 22 June in the same year he took the degree of B.D. and five days later became D.D. Bury claimed to have introduced some improvements in the college rules, and to have expended over 700*l.* in the erection of college buildings and in the enlargement of the rector's lodgings; but there were disputes in 1669 over the election of fellows, when he suspended five of them at a stroke, and the visitor in 1675 complained of his management of the college property and of the laxity of the internal discipline. Against this it is only fair to state that Dean Prideaux, when speaking of the 'drinking and duncery' at Exeter College, referred to Bury as 'a man that very well understands business and is always very vigorous and diligent in it.' In 1689 a still more serious trouble arose. Bury had expelled one of the fellows on, as it seems, a groundless charge of incontinence, and the visitor ordered the restoration of the 'socius ejectus.' The rector was contumacious, and, when the bishop held a formal visitation, tried to shut the gates against him. Bury and his backers among the fellows were thereupon expelled, and a new rector was elected in his stead. The legality of Bury's deprivation was tried in the king's bench and carried to the House of Lords, with the result that on 10 Dec. 1694 the latter tribunal gave its decision against Bury. By his ejection his numerous family were reduced to great distress.

A treatise issued in 1690, under the title of 'The Naked Gospel, by a true son of the Church of England,' was discovered to be the work of Bury, and for some passages in it a charge of Socinianism was brought against him by his enemies. His object was to free the gospel from the additions and corruptions of later ages, and he sums up its doctrines 'in two precepts—believe and repent.' An answer to it was published in 1690 by William Nicholls, fellow of Merton College. Another reply came out in the next year from Thomas Long, B.D., and a third appeared in 1725, the latter being the work of Henry Felton, D.D. In spite of the publication by Le Clerc of 'An Historical Vindication of the Naked Gospel,' the treatise was condemned by a decree of convocation of Oxford (19 Aug. 1690) and was publicly burnt in the area of the schools. On 30 Aug. there was issued from the press a letter of fifteen pages, evidently the composition of Bury, with the title of 'The Fires continued at Oxford,' in defence of his conduct, and in 1691 he brought out, under his own name, a second edition

of 'The Naked Gospel.' Twelve years later (1703) he published an enlarged work, 'The rational Deist satisfy'd by a just account of the Gospel.' In two parts; second edition.' Bury was also the author of several sermons and of a tract called 'The Constant Communicant,' 1681. The titles of the pamphlets provoked by his controversies may be read in Boase and Courtney's 'Bibliotheca Cornubiensis,' ii. 772. He was one of the vicars of Bampton, Oxford, but resigned the charge in 1707. The date of his death is not known with certainty, but is believed to have been about 1714.

[Boase's Reg. of Exeter College, pp. xxxiii, lxx, 68-83, 212, 229; Luttrell's Relation of State Affairs (1857), ii. 227, iii. 410-11; Hunt's Religious Thoughts, ii. 195-201; Account Examined, or a Vindication of Dr. Arthur Bury, 18-20; Prideaux Letters (Camden Soc.), p. 111; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. vii. 473, 502, 3rd ser. i. 264; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv. 483; Visitation of Oxford (Camden Soc.) p. 13.]

W. P. C.

**BURY, LADY CHARLOTTE SUSAN MARIA** (1775-1861), novelist, youngest child of John Campbell, fifth duke of Argyll, by Elizabeth, second daughter of John Gunning of Castle Coot in Roscommon, and widow of James Hamilton, sixth duke of Hamilton, was born at Argyll House, Oxford Street, London, 28 Jan. 1775. In her youth she was remarkable for her personal beauty, and the charm of her manners rendered her one of the most popular persons in society, while the sweetness and excellence of her character endeared her more especially to those who knew her in the intimacy of private life. She was always distinguished by her passion for the belles-lettres, and was accustomed to do the honours of Scotland to the literary celebrities of the day. It was at one of her parties that Sir Walter Scott became personally acquainted with Monk Lewis. When aged twenty-two she produced a volume of poems, to which, however, she did not affix her name. She married, 14 June 1796, Colonel John Campbell (eldest son of Walter Campbell of Schawfield, by his first wife Eleanora Kerr), who, at the time of his decease in Edinburgh 15 March 1809, was member of parliament for the Ayr burghs. By this marriage she had nine children, of whom, however, only two survived her, Lady A. Lennox and Mrs. William Russell. Lady Charlotte Campbell married secondly, 17 March 1818, the Rev. Edward John Bury (only son of Edward Bury of Taunton); he was of University College, Oxford, B.A. 1811, M.A. 1817, became rector of Lichfield, Hampshire, in 1814, and died at Arden-



ample Castle, Dumbartonshire, May 1832, aged 42, having had issue two daughters. On Lady Charlotte becoming a widow in 1809 she was appointed lady-in-waiting in the household of the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, when it is believed that she kept a diary, in which she recorded the foibles and failings of the unfortunate princess and other members of the court. After her marriage with Mr. Bury she was the author of various contributions to light literature, and some of her novels were once very popular, although now almost forgotten. When the 'Diary illustrative of the Times of George IV' appeared in two volumes in 1838, it was thought to bear evidence of a familiarity with the scenes depicted which could only be attributed to Lady Charlotte. It was reviewed with much severity, and attributed to her ladyship by both the 'Edinburgh' and 'Quarterly' Reviews. The volumes, however, sold rapidly, and several editions were disposed of in a few weeks. The charge of the authorship was not at the time denied, and as no one has since arisen claiming to have written the diary the public libraries now catalogue the work under Lady Charlotte's name. She died at 91 Sloane Street, Chelsea, 31 March 1861. The once celebrated beauty, the delight of the highest circles of London society, died quite forgotten among strangers in a lodging-house, and her death certificate at Somerset House curiously says, 'daughter of a duke and wife of the Rev. E. J. Bury, holding no benefice.'

The following is believed to be a complete list of Lady Bury's writings; many of them originally appeared without her name, but even at that time there does not seem to have been any secret as to the identity of the writer: 1. 'Poems on several Occasions, by a Lady,' 1797. 2. 'Alla Giornata, or To the Day,' anonymous, 1826. 3. 'Flirtation,' anonymous, 1828, which went to three editions. 4. 'Separation,' by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1830. 5. 'A Marriage in High Life,' edited by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1828. 6. 'Journal of the Heart,' edited by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1830. 7. 'The Disinterested and the Ensnared,' anonymous, 1834. 8. 'Journal of the Heart,' second series, edited by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1835. 9. 'The Devoted,' by the author of 'The Disinherited,' 1836. 10. 'Love,' anonymous, 1837; second edition 1860. 11. 'Memoirs of a Peeress, or the days of Fox,' by Mrs. C. F. Gore, edited by Lady C. Bury, 1837. 12. 'The Three Great Sanctuaries of Tuscany: Valambrosa, Camaldoli, Lavernas,' a poem historical and legendary, with engravings from drawings by the Rev. E. Bury,

1833. 13. 'Diary illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth,' anonymous, 1838, 2 vols. 14. 'The Divorced,' by Lady C. S. M. Bury, 1837; another edition 1858. 15. 'Family Records, or the Two Sisters,' by Lady C. S. M. Bury, 1841. And 16, a posthumous work entitled 'The Two Baronets,' a novel of fashionable life, by the late Lady C. S. M. Bury, 1864. She is also said to have been the writer of two volumes of prayers, 'Suspirium Sanctorum,' which were dedicated to Dr. Goodenough, bishop of Carlisle.

[Colburn's New Monthly Magazine, xlix. 76-77 (1837), portrait; Burko's Portrait Gallery of Females (1833), i. 103-5; Allibone's Dictionary of English Literature (1859), i. 308.] G. C. B.

BURY, EDWARD (1616-1700), ejected minister, born in Worcestershire in 1616, according to Walker was originally a tailor, and was put into the living of Great Bolas, Shropshire, in place of a deprived rector. Calamy says that Bury was a man of learning, educated at Coventry grammar school and at Oxford, and that before obtaining the rectory of Great Bolas he had been chaplain in a gentleman's family and assistant to an aged minister. He received presbyterian ordination. The date at which he began his ministry at Great Bolas was before 1654. In the parish records he signs himself 'minister and register' till 1661, when, in consequence of the act for confirming possession of benefices, he signs 'rector.' His entries show that he was somewhat given to astrology. Ejected in 1662, Bury, who remained at Great Bolas in a house he had built, was subjected to great privations. On 2 June 1680, Philip Henry gives him 1*l.* from a sum left at his disposal by William Probyn of Wem. Henry's diary, 22 July 1681, has an account of the distraint of Bury's goods (he is here called Berry) for taking part at a private fast on 14 June. After this he was a good deal hunted about from place to place. In later life his circumstances were improved by bequests. He became blind some years before his death, which occurred on 5 May 1700, owing to a mortification in one foot. By his wife Mary, he had at least five children: 1. Edward, *b.* 1654; 2. Margarit (*sic*), *b.* 12 Feb. 1655; 3. John, *b.* 14 March 1657; 4. Mary, *b.* 13 Aug. 1660; 5. Samuel [*q.v.*] The following is Calamy's list of his publications: 1. 'The Soul's Looking-glass, or a Spiritual Touchstone,' &c., 1660. 2. 'A Short Catechism, containing the Fundamental Points of Religion,' 1660. 3. 'Relative Duties.' 4. 'Death Improv'd, and Immoderate Sorrow for Deceased Friends and Relatives Reprov'd,' 1675; 2nd edit.



1698. 5. 'The Husbandman's Companion, containing an 100 occasional meditations, &c., suited to men of that employment,' 1677. 6. 'England's Bane, or the Deadly Danger of Drunkenness.' 7. 'A Sovereign Antidote against the Fear of Death,' 1681, 8vo (in Dr. Williams's library). 8. 'An Help to Holy Walking, or a Guide to Glory,' 1705.

[Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, pt. ii. pp. 310, 368; Calamy's Account, 1713, p. 557 seq.; Continuation, 1727, p. 723 seq.; Lee's Diaries and Letters of P. Henry, 1882, pp. 289, 301; Extracts from the Registers of Bolas Magna by Rev. R. S. Turner.] A. G.

**BURY, EDWARD** (1794–1858), engineer, was born at Salford, near Manchester, on 22 Oct. 1794. His early education was received at a school in the city of Chester, and his youth was remarkable for the fondness which he displayed for machinery, and for the ingenuity which he exhibited in the construction of models. His scholastic education being finished, he went through the usual course of mechanical engineering, and he eventually established himself at Liverpool as a manufacturer of engines.

In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway was opened, and for several years after this period Bury devoted his attention to the construction of engines for railways. He supplied many of the first engines used on the Liverpool and Manchester and on the London and Birmingham railways. In the 'Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers' for 17 March 1840 will be found a valuable paper by him, 'On the Locomotive Engines of the London and Birmingham Railway,' in which he discusses the relative advantages of four and six wheels, and contributes a series of tables which are of the greatest importance in the history of locomotive traction, and of considerable interest in the theory of steam-drawing engines. Bury about this time introduced a series of improved engines for the steamboats employed on the Rhone, which attracted much attention on the continent, and led to his being consulted by the directors of most of the railways then being constructed in Europe.

For some years after the opening of the London and Birmingham railway, in September 1838, Bury had the entire charge of the locomotive department of that line. He subsequently undertook the management of the whole of the rolling stock for the Great Northern railway. In each case his administrative services were duly recognised by the directors, and his engineering capabilities, his mechanical knowledge, his good judgment, and his tact, secured for him, in an

unusual degree, the confidence of those who were employed under him.

On 1 Feb. 1844 Bury was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, his claim being founded on the great improvements which he had introduced, especially in adjusting the dimensions of the cylinder and driving wheels, and the effective pressure of the steam.

In the 'Annual Report of the Institution of Civil Engineers' for the session 1856–7 we find Bury tendering his resignation. The council of the Institution permitted him to retire under exceedingly gratifying circumstances. During his later years he lived at Crofton Lodge, Windermere. He died at Scarborough on 25 Nov. 1858.

[Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1859–60, vol. x.; Minutes of Proceedings of Institution of Civil Engineers, 1859.] R. H.-T.

**BURY, MRS. ELIZABETH** (1644–1720), diarist, was baptised 12 March 1644 at Clare, Suffolk, the day of her birth having probably been 2 March (*Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury*, p. 1). Her father was Captain Adams Lawrence of Linton, Cambridgeshire; her mother was Elizabeth Cutts of Clare, and besides Elizabeth there were three other children. In 1648, when Elizabeth was four years old, Captain Lawrence died, and in 1651 Mrs. Lawrence remarried (*ib.* 3), her second husband being Mr. Nathaniel Bradshaw, B.D., minister of a church in the neighbourhood. About 1654 Elizabeth described herself as 'converted,' and she commenced that searching method of introspection with the evidence of which her 'Diary' abounds. Her studies, begun rigidly at four in the morning, in spite of delicate health, embraced Hebrew (*ib.* 5), French, music, heraldry, mathematics, philosophy, philology, anatomy, medicine, and divinity. Her stepfather, Mr. Bradshaw, being one of the ejected ministers in 1662, the family moved to Wivelingham, Cambridgeshire. Elizabeth in 1664 began writing down her 'experiences' in her 'Diary,' 'concealing her accounts' at the onset 'in shorthand.' In 1667, on 1 Feb., she married Mr. Griffith Lloyd of Hemmingford-Grey, Huntingdonshire, who died on 13 April 1682. In her widowhood, which lasted another fifteen years, Mrs. Lloyd passed part of her time in Norwich. She was married at Bury to Samuel Bury [q. v.], nonconformist minister, on 29 May 1697, having previously refused to marry three several churchmen, whose initials are given, because 'she could not be easy in their communion.'

Mrs. Bury was mistress of a good estate, and was described as 'a great benefactrix' (*ib.* 6).

She kept a stock of bibles and practical books, to be distributed as she should see occasion (BALLARD'S *British Ladies*, p. 425); her knowledge of the *matéria medica* was surprising (*ib.* 424); 'her gift in prayer was very extraordinary' (*Account*, 30); and she had 'a motto written up in her closet in Hebrew, "Thou, Lord, seest me," . . . to keep her heart from trifling.' She became infirm after 1712, and died 8 May 1720, aged 78. Mr. Bury gave the fullest testimony to his wife's deep learning and unfailing excellences. Dr. Watts described her as 'a pattern for the sex in ages yet unborn.' Her funeral sermon was preached at Bristol on 22 May 1720 by the Rev. William Tong, and was printed at Bristol the same year; a third edition was reached the next year, 1721. 'The Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Bury,' Bristol, 1720, included the extant portions of her diary, the funeral sermon, a life by her husband, and an elegy by Dr. Watts.

[Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury, chiefly collected out of her own Diary, with Funeral Sermon, &c., Bristol, 1720; Ballard's *British Ladies*, pp. 262, 321, 424 et seq.]  
J. H.

**BURY, HENRY DE.** [See BENERIC.]

**BURY, JOHN** (fl. 1557), translator, graduated at Cambridge B.A. 1553, and M.A. 1555; he translated from Greek into English 'Isocratidis ad Demonicum oratio parænetica' or 'Admonition to Demonicus,' with a dedication to his uncle, Sir W. Chester, 1557.

[Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 143; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), 358; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 174.]  
W. H.

**BURY, JOHN** (1580–1667), divine, the son of a descendant of the Devonshire family of Bury, long resident at Colyton, who was in business at Tiverton, was born there in 1580. On 9 Feb. 1597 he was elected a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and in 1603, shortly after he had taken his degree of B.A., he became the first fellow of Balliol College under the bequest of Peter Blundell. After remaining for several years at the university he returned to his native county, where he obtained the vicarage of Heavitree and a canonry in Exeter Cathedral, his collation to the latter preferment dating 20 March 1637. The presentment of Bury and the other prebendaries at Laud's visitation, 19 June 1634, is printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. p. 138. A few years later he resigned his benefice in favour of a relation, and accepted the rectory of Widworthy in the same county. The latter preferment he retained until his

death, and after the Restoration (2 March 1662) the rectory of St. Mary Major, Exeter, was conferred upon him. He died on 5 July 1667, and was buried in the 'middle area' of Exeter Cathedral, 'a little below the pulpit.' His literary works were few in number—two sermons (1615 and 1631) and a catechism for the use of his parishioners at Widworthy (1661). He endowed a school in St. Sidwell's, Exeter, left funds for the maintenance of thirteen poor persons in St. Catherine's Almshouse in the same city and for the poor of his native town of Tiverton, and largely added to the resources of the public workhouse at St. Sidwell's. Canon Bury had two sons, Arthur [q. v.], the rector of Exeter College, Oxford, and John, a colonel in the parliamentary army. Portraits of all three are in the present workhouse at Exeter.

[Prince's *Worthies*, 152–4; Harding's *Tiverton*, book iii. 276, iv. 113; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iii. 777; Oliver's *Exeter*, 152.]

W. P. C.

**BURY, RICHARD DE** (1281–1345), bishop of Durham, was the son of Sir Richard Aungerville, and is known as Richard de Bury from his birthplace of Bury St. Edmunds. His father died when he was a child, leaving him to the charge of his uncle, John de Willoughby, a priest. Richard studied at Oxford, where he gained distinction as a scholar. On leaving Oxford he became a Benedictine monk at Durham. He was chosen on account of his learning to be tutor to Edward of Windsor, son of Edward II, and afterwards Edward III. He was also treasurer of Guienne on behalf of his pupil. When Queen Isabella left her husband, taking her son with her, Richard supplied her with money from the revenues of Guienne. The king sent to seize him, but he fled to Paris. Thither he was pursued and had to take sanctuary. Isabella prospered in her opposition to her husband, and the young Edward III heaped honours on his former tutor, for whom he had a great regard. Richard was made successively cofferer, treasurer of the wardrobe, archdeacon of Northampton, prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Lichfield, and keeper of the privy seal. He was twice sent as ambassador to Pope John XXII, who made him a chaplain of the papal chapel and allowed him to appear attended by twenty chaplains and thirty-six knights. In 1333 he was made dean of Wells, and at the end of the same year was appointed bishop of Durham by papal provision at the king's request. This appointment was in opposition to the wishes of the monks of Durham, who had elected their learned sub-prior, Robert de

Graystones. They were, however, unable to withstand the pope and king combined, and accepted Richard de Bury with a good grace.

Richard was consecrated bishop of Durham at Chertsey on the Sunday before Christmas Day 1333, in the presence of the king and queen, the king of Scots, and all the magnates this side the Trent. Rarely had a bishop met with such signal marks of favour. Next year he was made high chancellor of England, and treasurer in 1336. In 1335 he resigned the office of chancellor that he might serve the king as ambassador in Paris, Hainault, and Germany. In this capacity his coolness and clearness of judgment made him most valuable to the king, and he was again employed in 1337 as a commissioner for the affairs of Scotland. On the outbreak of the French war his diplomatic services came to an end, and he retired with satisfaction from public work to the duties of his own diocese. In 1342 he was again employed in the congenial task of making a truce with the Scottish king.

The lands of the bishopric were undisturbed during Richard's episcopate, and he was not called upon to engage in warfare which was entirely abhorrent to him. In the affairs of his diocese he was a capable official and a good administrator, as is shown by his chancery rolls, which are the earliest preserved in the archives of Durham. He was also an admirable ecclesiastic, beloved for his kindness and charity. He was always ready to do the business of his office, and his progress through his diocese was marked by an organised distribution of alms to the poor, amounting in the case of journeys between Durham and Newcastle to eight pounds sterling. But Richard de Bury was above all things a scholar and a promoter of learning. He surrounded himself with learned men; Thomas Bradwardin, Richard Fitzralph, and other less known scholars were among his chaplains. Some book was always read aloud to him when he sat at table, and afterwards he used to discuss with his attendants what had been read. He possessed more books than all the other bishops put together. Wherever he went his room was filled with books, which were piled upon the floor so that his visitors found some difficulty in steering a clear course. He had passionate enthusiasm for the discovery of manuscripts. He tells us himself (*Philobiblon*, ch. viii.) that he used his high offices of state as a means of collecting books. He let it be known that books were the most acceptable presents which could be made to him. He searched the monastic libraries and rescued precious manuscripts from destruction. His

account of the state of English libraries is exactly parallel to that given by Boccaccio of the libraries of Italy. 'The manuscripts lay neglected, *'murium foetibus cooperti et vermium morsibus terebrati.'* Moreover Richard had agents in Paris and in Germany who were charged to gather books for his library. He deserves to rank among the first bibliophiles of England. Nor was he selfish in his pursuit. His aim was to raise the intellectual standard and to provide the necessary material for students. For this end he founded during his lifetime a library at Oxford in connection with Durham College, and made rules for its management. Five scholars were to be appointed librarians, three of whom were to be present and to assent to the loan of every book. He was anxious that all should be taught to use books carefully and respect them as they merited. He deplored the prevailing ignorance of Greek, and provided his library with Greek and Hebrew grammars. His literary sympathies were wide, and his library was by no means confined to theology. He declares his preference of liberal studies to the study of law, and urges that the works of the poets ought not to be omitted from any one's reading. While thus actively engaged in fostering learning he died at Auckland in 1345, and was buried in Durham cathedral.

Richard de Bury can scarcely claim to be regarded as himself a scholar; he was rather a patron and an encourager of learning. He corresponds in England to the early humanists in Italy, men who collected manuscripts and saw the possibilities of learning, though they were unable to attain to it themselves. He was recognised as a member of the new literary fraternity of Europe, and was penetrated by the chief ideas of humanism, as the *'Philobiblon'* sufficiently shows. Petrarch, who met him at Avignon, describes him as *'vir ardentis ingenii nec literarum inscius, abditarum rerum ad adolescentia supra fidem curiosus'* (*Epist. de Rebus Fam.* iii. 1). Petrarch's account of his own relations with him harmonises with this description of an ardent amateur. Petrarch wished for some information about the geography of Thule, and applied to Richard, who answered that he had not his books with him, but would write to him on his return home. Though Petrarch more than once reminded him of his promise, he never received an answer. Richard was not so learned that he could afford to confess ignorance. His merit lies in his love for books, his desire to promote learning, and his readiness to learn from others. His rules for his library at Durham College were founded on those already

adopted for the library of the Sorbonne, which he saw on his visit to Paris.

● **Bale**, following Leland, speaks of a collection of Richard de Bury's 'Epistolæ Familiæres.' This, however, seems to be a mistake. A manuscript 'Liber Epistolaris quondam Ricardi de Bury,' is in the possession of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, but it is a formal 'letter writer,' made for one engaged in business of various kinds; to this are appended a number of official letters, some of Ricard's own and many royal letters of importance (*Historical MSS. Commission*, 4th Rep. 85, 5th Rep. 379, &c.) Richard's great work is the 'Philobiblon,' which was written as a sort of handbook to his library at Durham College. It is an admirable treatise in praise of learning, at times rhetorical, but full of genuine fervour. 'No one can serve books and Mammon,' he exclaims, and he urges the refining influence of study. He gives an interesting description of the means by which he collected his library; he examines the state of learning in England and France. He speaks of books as one who loved them, and gives directions for their careful use. Finally, he explains his rules for the management of the library which he founded. The work is an admirable exhibition of the temper of a book-lover and librarian. The 'Philobiblon' was first printed at Cologne (1473); then by Hust, at Spire (1483); at Paris by Badius, Ascensius, and also by Jean Petit (1500); at Oxford, edited by Thomas James (1599); at Leipzig (1574), at the end of 'Philologicarum Epistolarum Centuria una'; and, edited by Cocheris, again at Paris (Aubry), 1856. It was translated by J. Bellingham Inglis, London, 1832, and there is also an American edition of this translation (Albany, 1861). Professor Henry Morley gives an epitome of the book in his 'English Writers,' ii. 43, &c. It was edited and translated again by Mr. E. C. Thomas in 1885.

Richard de Bury's library at Oxford was dispersed at the dissolution of the monasteries, when Durham College shared the fate of the monastic foundation to which it was annexed. Some of the books went to the Bodleian, some to Balliol College, and some to Dr. George Owen of Godstow, who purchased Durham College from Edward VI (*CAMDEN, Brit.* 1772, p. 310).

[Extracts from the Chancery Rolls of Richard de Bury are given in Hutchinson's *Durham*, i. 286, &c. The authority for the life of Richard de Bury is William de Chambre in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 765; also *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores* (Surtees Soc.), 1839, p. 139, &c., the documents in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii.; see, too, Bale's *Script. Brit. Cat.* (1548), p. 151; Godwin, *De Presulibus* (1743), p. 747; Hutchin-

son's *Durham*, i. 284; Kippis's *Biog. Brit.* i. 370, under the name Aungervyle; Cocheris' preface to his *Philobiblon*; J. Bass Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, i. 201, &c.] M. C.

**BURY, SAMUEL** (1663-1730), presbyterian minister, son of Edward Bury (1616-1700) [q. v.], was born at Great Bolas, Shropshire, where he was baptised on 21 April 1663. He was educated at Thomas Doolittle's academy, then at Islington. Here he was contemporary with Matthew Henry, who entered in 1680, and remained long enough to contract a strong friendship with Bury. Edmund Calamy (1671-1732) [q. v.], who entered in 1682, speaks of Bury as a student of philosophy, not divinity. Bury's first settlement was at Bury St. Edmunds, prior to the date of the Toleration Act, 1689. In 1690 a house in Churchgate Street was bought, and converted into a place of worship. The congregation was considerable, and Bury became a recognised leader of Suffolk dissent. In Tymms's 'Handbook of Bury St. Edmunds' it is stated that Daniel Defoe was an attendant on his ministry.

In 1696 we find Bury engaged in collecting a list of the nonconforming ministers; Oliver Heywood supplied him (14 Aug.) with the names in Yorkshire and Lancashire, through Samuel Angier. On 11 Aug. 1700, John Fairfax, ejected from Barking-cum-Needham, Suffolk, died (aged seventy-six) at his house in that parish; Bury preached two funeral sermons for him, and Palmer rightly infers, from expressions in the one at the actual funeral at Barking, that, by an unusual concession, it was delivered in the parish church.

The still existing chapel in Churchgate Street was built in 1711, and opened 30 Dec. Bury preached the opening sermon. Bury, who was tortured with stone, went with his wife to Bath in the autumn of 1719, on a journey of health. Just before he set out on his return home, he received overtures from Lewin's Mead, Bristol. This was the larger of the two presbyterian congregations in Bristol, and it had been vacant since the death of Michael Pope in 1718. It counted 1,600 adherents. Some of its members had been sheriffs of the city; others were 'persons of condition; divers very rich, many more very substantial, few poor. The whole congregation computed worth near 400,000l.' Bury agreed to go to Bristol for six months 'to make a tryal of the waters there.' He arrived there on 8 April 1720. In little more than a month he lost his wife. His stay at Bristol was permanent; he got as assistant (probably in 1721) John Diaper, who succeeded him as pastor, and resigned in 1751. Under Bury's ministry the congregation

increased both in numbers and in wealth. In the Hewley suit, 1830-42 [see BOWLES, EDWARD], great pains were taken by the unitarian defendants to collect indications of concession to heterodox opinion on the part of Bury, as a representative presbyterian of his time. James has shown that the 'Exhortation' at Savage's ordination, quoted to prove (which it does not) opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of election, was not by Bury, but by John Rastrick, M.A., of Lynn (*d.* 18 Aug. 1727, aged seventy-eight). The strength of the unitarian case is in a farewell letter from Bury to his Lewin's Mead congregation. He here says, 'I never was prostituted to any party, but have endeavoured to serve God as a catholic christian,' and speaks of requirements which have no good Scripture warrant, as making 'apocryphal sins and duties.' The address is essentially practical, avoiding controversy, and the strain is fervently evangelical. Bury died 10 March 1730, and was buried in St. James's churchyard, where formerly was an altar tomb with Latin epitaphs to Bury and his wife (given in CORRY and EVANS'S *Bristol*, 1816, ii. 181). The parish register has the entry, 'Burials 1729, March 15. Mr. Saml. Bury. Tom [i.e. tomb] a techer lewends mead meating.' His portrait hangs in the vestry at Bury St. Edmunds. He married, on 29 May 1697, Elizabeth [q. v.], second daughter of Captain Adams Lawrence, of Linton, Cambridgeshire.

Bury published: 1. 'A Scriptural Catechism, being an Abridgment of Mr. O. Stockton's, design'd especially for the use of charity schools in Edmund's-Bury,' 1699 (not seen). 2. 'A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, &c., for private use, 3rd ed. 1713 (not seen). 3. 'Θρηνοδία. The People's Lamentation for the Loss of their Dead Ministers, or Three Sermons occasioned by the death of the late Reverend and Learned Divines, Mr. John Fairfax and Mr. Timothy Wright,' 1702, 8vo. 4. 'A Funeral Sermon for the Rev. Mr. Samuel Cradock,' &c. 1707, 8vo. 5. 'Two sermons preach'd at the opening of a new erected Chappel in St. Edmunds-Bury,' &c., 1712, 8vo. 6. 'A Funeral Sermon for Robert Baker, Esq.,' &c., 1714, 8vo. 7. 'The Questions' at the ordination of S. Savage, printed with John Rastrick's 'Sermon' on the occasion, 1714, 8vo. 8. 'An Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury, &c., chiefly collected out of her own Diary,' Bristol, 1720, 8vo, 4th edit. 1725, 8vo.

[Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, 1716, p. 27; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 1803, iii. 250; Toulmin's Histor. View of Prot. Diss., 1814, p. 584; Calamy's Histor. Account of My Own

Time, 1830, i. 106; Prot. Diss. Mag. 1794, p. 235; Murch's Hist. of Presb. and Gen. Bapt. Churches in W. of Eng., 1835, p. 107 sq.; Historical Illustrations and Proofs, in Shore v. Attorney-Gen. [by Joseph Hunter], 1839, p. 17; Hunter's Life of O. Heywood, 1842, p. 389; James's Hist. Presb. Chapels and Charities, 1867, pp. 165 sq., 634 sq., 675, 679; Browne's Hist. of Congregationalism in Norf. and Suff., 1877, pp. 420, 498, 518; Bristol Times and Mirror, 13 April 1885; extract from Register of Bolas Magna, per Rev. R. S. Turner; Evans's MS. List of Congregations, in Dr. Williams's Library; manuscript minute-book of Churchgate Street Chapel, Bury St. Edmunds; and Bury's publications, noted above.] A. G.

BURY, THOMAS (1655-1722), judge, youngest son of Sir William Bury, knight, of Linwood in Lincolnshire, was born in 1655, took a bachelor's degree at Lincoln College, Oxford, in February 1667, and in 1668 was entered a student at Gray's Inn. He was called to the bar in 1676, and after some years' practice became a serjeant-at-law in 1700, and on 26 Jan. 1701, when Sir Littelton Powys was removed to the king's bench, he was created a baron of the exchequer. Of this his epitaph says that he 'by his Great Application to the Study of the Law, raised himself to one of the highest Degrees in that Profession,' but Mr. Speaker Onslow, in his notes to Bishop Burnet's 'History,' affirms that it appeared from Bury's book of accounts (a most unlikely place for such a revelation) that he gave Lord-keeper Wright a bribe of 1,000*l.* for elevating him to the bench. For fifteen years he continued to discharge the duties of a puisne judge. In 1704, when corrupt practices had extensively prevailed at the Aylesbury election, the whigs, who were then defeated, knowing that proceeding by a petition to the House of Commons would be useless, caused actions to be brought in the queen's bench by some of the electors against the returning officers. One of these actions, the leading case of *Ashby v. White*, after judgment for the defendants in the queen's bench, from which Lord Chief Justice Holt dissented, was taken to the House of Lords upon a writ of error, and the judges were summoned to advise the house. Of these judges Bury was one, and his opinion was given in support of that of the lord chief justice in the court below; and Lord Somers being of the same opinion, the decision of the queen's bench was reversed by fifty to sixteen. On 20 and 22 April 1710 he, with Chief-justice Parker and Mr. Justice Tracy, at the Old Bailey, tried one Damary for riot and being ringleader of a mob. There is a letter of his (25 June 1713) preserved among

the treasury papers to the lord high treasurer, about offering a reward for the apprehension of one Robert Mann. On the death of Sir Samuel Dodd, Bury was raised by King George I to be chief baron of the exchequer 10 June 1716. He died on 4 May 1722, suddenly, having been engaged in the discharge of his judicial duties until within a few hours of his death; and was buried, with a handsome tomb, in the parish church of Grant-ham, Lincolnshire. He left no issue, and his estates at Irby, near Wainfleet, passed to his grandnephew, William Bury, of Lyndwood Grange, Lincolnshire. There is a portrait of him, engraved in mezzotint by J. Smith, after a picture by J. Richardson dated 1720 (NOBLE, *Granger*, iii. 198).

[Foss's *Lives of the Judges*; Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, ii. 160; *Patents*, William III. p. 5; Burnet, v. 219 note; Luttrell, 6, 572, 573; Wotton's *Baronetage*, iv. 99; Epitaph Grant-ham church; Turner's *Grantham*. 18; Collins's *English Baronetage*, iv. 99; Cal. Treas. Papers, 1708-14; Redington, p. 492; Catalogue Oxford Graduates.] J. A. H.

**BURY, THOMAS TALBOT** (1811-1877), architect, was descended from a Worcestershire family, afterwards settled in the city of London. He was born on 26 Sept. 1811, and was articled in 1824 to Augustus Pugin. Among his fellow-pupils were Messrs. Ferrey, Dollman, Shaw, Lake Price, Nash, Walker, and Charles Mathews the actor. He commenced practice in Gerrard Street, Soho, in 1830; and, in addition to his architectural practice, was often engaged in engraving and lithographing his own and other architects' drawings, notably those of Pugin and Owen Jones. He was particularly skilful in colouring architectural studies, and his aid in this respect was often sought by the most eminent architects of the day when they were engaged in preparing designs for competition. In 1847 he published his 'Remains of Ecclesiastical Woodwork,' illustrated by himself; and in 1849, his 'History and Description of the Styles of Architecture of various Countries, from the Earliest to the Present Period.' He was engaged with Pugin in designing the details of the houses of parliament under Sir Charles Barry. He frequently exhibited his works at the Royal Academy between 1846 and 1872; and sent to the International Exhibition of 1862 a large picture representing, at one view, all the churches, schools, public and other buildings erected by him. This fine drawing is now preserved as a record at the Institute of British Architects. Among his principal works were 35 churches and chapels, 15 parsonages, 12

schools, and 20 other large public buildings and private residences in various parts of England and Wales. He was elected an associate of the Institute of British Architects in 1839, and a fellow in 1843. In 1876 he was elected a vice-president. He was in 1863 made a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was also a member of the council of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, a member of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, and an associate of the Society of Civil Engineers. His collections of architectural and antiquarian books, his pictures, drawings, cabinets, and armour, were sold at Christie's in the autumn of 1877. On 23 Feb. 1877 he died, a widower and childless, and was buried at Norwood Cemetery.

[Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists of the English School*; Journal of the Archaeological Institute; *Archæologia Cambrensis*; Transactions of the Institute of British Architects; Builder, 1877.] W. H. T.

**BUSBY, RICHARD** (1606-1695), headmaster of Westminster School, was the second son of Mr. Richard Busby, a citizen of Westminster, but was born, 22 Sept. 1606, at Lut-ton, otherwise called Sutton St. Nicholas, in Lincolnshire. He obtained a king's scholarship at Westminster, and was educated at that school, whence he was elected, in 1624, to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1628 and his M.A. in 1631. He was for some time a tutor at Christ Church, and in 1639 was admitted to the prebend and rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in Somersetshire. He was appointed master of Westminster School provisionally when Osbolston was deprived of that office in 1638, but was not confirmed in it till 23 Dec. 1640. In the civil war he lost the profits of his rectory and prebend, but in spite of his staunch loyalty and churchmanship managed to retain both his studentship and his mastership. His only trouble during this period was of a local character. The second master, Edward Bagshaw the younger [q. v.], tried to supplant him, but 'was removed out of his place for his insolence' in May 1658. Bagshaw published in 1659 an account of the transaction from his own point of view. Upon the restoration Dr. Busby's services to the royal cause were immediately recognised. In July 1660 he was made by the king prebendary of Westminster, and in the following month canon residentiary and treasurer at Wells. At the coronation of Charles II he had the high honour of carrying the am-pulla. He was elected proctor for the chapter

of Bath and Wells, and in the convocation of 1661 was, of course, among the number of those who approved and subscribed to the Book of Common Prayer. Busby's name has become proverbial as a type of the severest of severe pedagogues; and though this character of him only rests upon general tradition, there appears to be little doubt that during his extraordinarily long reign at Westminster he ruled the school with a rod of iron, or rather of birch. But it is also clear that his rule was as successful as it was severe. He gained the veneration and even love of his pupils, among whom were numbered a vast majority of the most distinguished men in a distinguished era. John Dryden, John Locke, Robert South, Francis Atterbury, Philip Henry, and George Hooper were among his pupils. He is said to have boasted that at one time sixteen out of the whole bench of bishops had been educated by him; and, it may be added, at a time when the bench contained more brilliant men than it has perhaps ever contained before or since. His favourite pupil among those who afterwards became bishops was the friend and ultimately the successor of the saintly Ken, George Hooper, of whom he said: 'Hooper is the best scholar, the finest gentleman, and will make the completest bishop that ever was educated at Westminster.' It has been hinted that Busby's reputation for extreme severity arose from the malignity of party spirit. But it is remarkable that one of the strongest and most definite testimonies to the merits of Dr. Busby as a master comes from the mouth of a puritan. 'Dr. Busby,' writes Sir J. B. Williams in his 'Life of Philip Henry,' 'was noted as a very stern schoolmaster, especially in the beginning of his time. But Mr. Henry would say sometimes that as in so great a school there was need of a strict discipline, so for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once, and then, saith he, I deserved it. . . . Dr. Busby took a particular kindness to him, called him his child, and would sometimes tell him he should be his heir; and there was no love lost betwixt them. . . . He often spoke of the great pains which Dr. Busby took to prepare, for several weeks before, all king's scholars who stood candidates for election to the university, and who, according to the ancient custom of Westminster, were to receive the Lord's Supper the Easter before. He himself was most deeply impressed with Dr. Busby's preparation.' In fact, he dates his own conversion from that preparation; and he frequently referred with the deepest gratitude to the

earnest solicitude and care of his old master for his instruction in the best of all knowledge.' Other old pupils were equally grateful. Atterbury describes him as 'a man to be revered very highly,' and speaks of leaving his school for college 'loaded with his counsels, his warnings, and his gifts.' Dryden all through his life retained a deep respect for him. Dr. William King, one of the brilliant scholars whom he trained, referred to him many years later as 'the grave Busby, whose memory to me shall be for ever sacred.' Dr. Basire's letters, when he was in exile, evidently show that it was a real comfort to him to feel that his son was under the care of Dr. Busby. The traditions of his excessive severity are of rather a vague character. Dr. Johnson's saying, for instance, that Busby used to declare that his rod was his sieve, and that whosoever could not pass through that was not the boy for him, is often quoted. The unfavourable impression of public schools given in Locke's 'Thoughts upon Education' is thought to have been derived from his own experience under Dr. Busby. The story of his thrashing the sulkiness out of Robert South is not referred to by South's earliest biographer, who merely states that 'he was under the care of Dr. Richard Busby, who cultivated and improved so promising a genius with industry and encouragement.' The report, again, has been perpetuated by an epigram 'on Dr. Freind's appointment to Westminster' to the following effect:—

Ye sons of Westminster who still retain  
Your antient dread of Busby's awful reign,  
Forget at length your fears,—your panic end,—  
The monarch of the place is now a Freind.

But too much importance must not be attached to such *jeu d'esprit*, nor yet to such stories as that of Dr. Busby refusing to take his hat off before Charles II in the presence of his scholars, lest they should think there was any man greater than himself. At any rate he was the most pious and benevolent of men. He took the deepest interest in the church life of the period, and was most intimate with other leading churchmen besides his old pupils. His neighbour Peter Barwick found his great solace in his later years, when his eyesight failed him, in Busby's society; Isaac Basire cultivated the closest friendship with him; Busby's letters to Basire breathe a spirit of the most ardent piety. Anthony à Wood rightly describes him as being 'a person eminent and exemplary for piety and justice.' His liberality to the church, both in his lifetime and by his bequests, was not only most munificent, but



also shows a most thoughtful consideration for the special wants of the age. He built in his lifetime a handsome church at Willan, and a library within the church filled with books, and gave 20*l.* a year for the vicar if he would perform the services in the church every Wednesday, Friday, and holy day throughout the year (WHITE KENNET). He gave 250*l.* towards the 'repairing and beautifying of Christ Church and the cathedral' at Oxford. He offered to found 'two catechistical lectures, one in each university, for instructing undergraduates in the rudiments of religion, provided the undergraduates should be obliged to attend those lectures, and not receive the B.A. degree till they had been examined and approved by the catechist.' The offer was rejected by both universities, and Wood may be right in saying that they could not accept them consistently with their statutes. He died on 6 April 1695, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a curious monument to his memory. His portrait by Riley is in the hall at Christ Church, and there are also portraits of him in the chapter-house and in the common room, where there is a bust by Rysbrac. All, however, are copied from a cast taken after death. By his will he left 520*l.* a year in trust for non-clergymen, who were to deliver thirty lectures, which are still known as the 'Busby Lectures.' Among numerous other bequests (see WHITE KENNET'S *Case of Impropropriations and Augmentation of Poor Benefices*), he remembered his native place, leaving a sum of money for the erection of an elaborate pulpit in Sutton Church, and for the education of poor boys in Sutton and Gedney. Dr. Busby's literary works are not very important, or at any rate are now out of date; but they too show the high moral character of the man. They consist for the most part of expurgated editions of the classics, and were published solely for the pious purpose of enabling his own pupils to imbibe the beauties without being polluted by the impurities of the ancients. The titles and dates are as follows: 1. 'A Short Institution of Grammar,' 1647. 2. 'Juvenalis et Persii Satiræ,' purged of all indecent passages, 1656. 3. 'An English Introduction to the Latin Tongue,' 1659. 4. 'Martialis Epigrammata selecta,' 1661. 5. 'Græcæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta,' 1663. 6. 'Nomenclatura Brevis Reformata,' and appended to this 'Duplex Centenarius Proverbiorum Anglo-Latino-Græcorum,' 1667. 7. 'Ἀνθολογία δευτέρα, sive Græcorum Epigrammatum Florilegium novum,' 1673. 8. 'Rudimentum Latinum, Grammatica literalis et numeralis,' 1688.

9. 'Rudimentum Grammaticæ Græco-Latinæ Metricum,' 1689.

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iv. 417-20; *Fæsti*, i. 438, 460, 464, ii. 242, 258, 260, 360; *Colleges and Halls* (Gutch), 436, 448, app. 292, 301, 302; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis), iii. 52-6; *Noble's Continuation of Grainger*, i. 98-9; *Gent. Mag.* lxx. 15-17; *Nichols's Illustr. of Lit.* iv. 398; *Evelyn's Memoirs*, iii. 415; *Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*; *Basire's Correspondence*; *Williams's Life of Philip Henry*; *Warton's edition of Pope's Works*; *Welch's Alumni Westmon.* (1852) pp. 95-7.] J. H. O.

BUSBY, THOMAS (1755-1838), musical composer, was the son of a coach-painter. He was born at Westminster in December 1755, and though as a boy he received but little education, yet at an early age he was distinguished by his cleverness. Busby's father was fond of music, and sang himself with good taste. When his son developed a fine treble voice, he determined to bring him up as a musician. With this view, application was made to Dr. Cooke, the organist of Westminster Abbey, to take young Busby (who was then between twelve and thirteen) as a chorister; but Cooke thinking him too old, he was placed under Champness for singing, and Knyvett for the harpsichord. Subsequently he studied under Battishill, and made so much progress that in the summer of 1769 he was engaged to sing at Vauxhall at a salary of ten guineas a week. On his voice breaking, he was articled to Battishill for three years, during which time both his musical and general education rapidly improved, though more by his own efforts than by those of his master. On the expiration of his articles he returned to his father's house, and set himself to earn his living by music and literature. His first venture was the composition of music to a play by Dr. Kenrick, 'The Man the Master,' but this was never finished. He then turned his attention to oratorio, and began a setting of Pope's 'Messiah,' at which he worked intermittently for several years. Busby was more successful with literary pursuits than with musical. He was for some time parliamentary reporter of the 'London Courant,' and assisted in editing the 'Morning Post,' besides acting as musical critic to the 'European Magazine' and Johnson's 'Analytical Review,' and contributing to the 'Celtic Miscellany' and 'Whitehall Evening Post.' In 1785 he wrote a poem called 'The Age of Genius,' a satire in the style of Churchill, containing nearly 1,000 lines. About five years after the expiration of his articles Busby was elected organist of St. Mary, Newington. Shortly afterwards (July 1786) he married a Miss



Angier, daughter of Mr. Charles Angier of Earl's Court, Kensington. After his marriage he lived in Poland Street, where he was much in request as a teacher of Latin, French, and music. A few years later he moved to Battersea. In 1786 Busby and Arnold brought out a 'Musical Dictionary,' the success of which induced the former to issue a serial entitled 'The Divine Harmonist,' consisting of twelve folio numbers of music, partly selected and partly original. In this work are included some fragments of an oratorio by the editor, 'The Creation.' The 'Divine Harmonist' was followed by 'Melodia Britannica,' which was to be a collection of English music, but the work was unsuccessful, and was never completed. About the same time Busby completed a translation of Lucretius into rhymed verse. In 1798 he was elected organist of St. Mary Woolnoth. In the spring of 1799 his efforts to get an important musical work performed were crowned with success, and his early oratorio was produced by Cramer under the name of 'The Prophecy,' probably in order not to provoke comparison with Handel's 'Messiah.' The oratorio seems to have been well received, and Busby set to work upon settings of Gray's 'Progress of Poesy,' Pope's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day,' and a cantata from Ossian, 'Comala;' but it is doubtful whether any of these were performed. A so-called 'Secular Oratorio,' 'Britannia' (words by John Gretton), was more fortunate, as it was sung at Covent Garden in 1801 with Mara as the principal soprano. In the preceding year Busby wrote music for Cumberland's version of Kotzebue's 'Joanna,' which was produced at Covent Garden 16 Jan. 1800, without much success. Shortly afterwards he brought out 'A New and Complete Musical Dictionary,' and started the first musical periodical in England, 'The Monthly Musical Journal,' of which four numbers only saw the light. In June 1801 Busby obtained the degree of Mus. Doc. at Cambridge, for which purpose he entered at Magdalen College. His exercise on this occasion was 'A Thanksgiving Ode on the Naval Victories,' the words of which were written by Mrs. Crespigny. In 1802 he wrote music to Holcroft's melodrama, 'A Tale of Mystery,' the first play of this description which appeared on the English stage. It was produced at Covent Garden 13 Nov. 1802, and was very successful. In the following year Busby wrote music for Miss Porter's musical entertainment, 'The Fair Fugitives' (Covent Garden, 16 May 1803), but this was a failure. His connection with the stage ceased with Lewis's 'Rugantino' (Covent Garden, 18 Oct. 1805). The music to all these plays was pub-

lished, and shows Busby to have been but a poor composer, even for his day, when English music was at a very low ebb. From this time until his death he devoted himself more to literature. The translation of Lucretius was published in 1813, and was followed by an attempt to prove that the Letters of Junius were written by J. L. de Lolme (1816), 'A Grammar of Music' (1818), 'A Dictionary of Musical Terms,' 'A History of Music,' 2 vols. (1819)—a work which was successful in its day, though it is entirely a compilation from the Histories of Burney and Hawkins, 'Concert-room Anecdotes,' 3 vols. (1825), an amusing and useful collection, and a 'Musical Manual' (1828). In his latter years Busby lived with a married daughter at Queen's Row, Pentonville, where he died, aged eighty-four, on Monday, 28 May 1838. He was not an original genius, but a clever, hard-working man of letters. According to an obituary notice of him he was eccentric, and held 'loose notions on religious subjects.'

[Public Characters for 1802-3, 371; Concert-room Anecdotes, i. 93; Musical World for 1838, 80; Gonest's Hist. of the Stage, vii.; Times, 30 May 1838; British Museum Catalogue; Graduati Cantab. 1760-1856.]

W. B. S.

BUSH, PAUL (1490-1558), bishop of Bristol, according to Wood, was born in Somerset, 'of honest and sufficient parents,' in 1490. He studied at the university of Oxford, taking his degree of B.A. about 1517, by which time he was 'numbered among the celebrated poets of the university' (Wood). He subsequently read divinity, studying among the 'Bonhommes' (a reformed order of Austin Friars introduced into England from France by the Black Prince), whose house stood on the site of Wadham College. He also applied himself to the study of medicine, and gained the reputation of 'a wise and grave man, well versed both in divinity and physic, and not only a grave orator, but a good poet' (*Cole MSS.* x. 76). He took the degrees of B.D. and D.D., and having become a friar of the order, 'superstitiosus monachus,' according to Bale, he 'displayed his varied learning in the publication of many books,' 'superstitiose satis.' He rose to be provincial of the Bonhommes, and became provost of the house of this order at Edington, near Westbury, Wiltshire. He held the prebendal stall of Bishopston in Salisbury Cathedral, about 1539, and became one of the residentiary canons (*JONES, Fasti Eocl. Sarisb.* p. 446). He obtained royal favour and was made chaplain to Henry VIII, who, on the foundation of the bishopric of Bristol, selected Bush as the first bishop of the new see (*Rot. Parl.* 34 Hen. VIII, p. 2). His consecration

took place in the parish church of Hampton, Middlesex, on Sunday, 25 June 1542 (STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, lib. i. c. 24). His consecration is erroneously placed both by Bale and Pits in the reign of Edward VI. The latter writer maliciously adds that he was appointed bishop by the protestant monarch, 'though of an adverse creed, in consequence of the dearth of learned divines among the sectaries,' and also with the hope that promotion would induce him to desert the old faith for the new. In this, says Pits, those who chose him were disappointed, inasmuch as Bush kept firm to the creed of Rome, and 'never by word or writing professes heresy' (PITS, *De Illust. Angl. Script.* ætat. xvi. No. 997). Pits is so far correct in his last statement, that in Bush's replies to certain questions relative to 'the abuses of the mass,' proposed in 1548, he displays a strong leaning to the old faith, and in opposition to Cranmer allows of solitary masses, and masses for departed souls sung for hire. He also lays down that while every christian man ought to communicate, and no one can receive the Eucharist for another, yet one man may be spiritually benefited by others partaking. The bread and wine after consecration are 'the very body and blood of Christ.' He does not regard it as contrary to God's word that the gospel should be expounded to the people at the time of mass, but is wholly opposed to discarding the Latin tongue. His answer on this point is remarkable: 'If the mass should be wholly in English, I think we should differ from the custom and manner of all other regions; therefore if it may stand with the king's majesty's pleasure, I think it not good to be said all in English. *Per me Paullum Episcopum Bristollensem*' (BURNET, *Hist. of Reform.* vol. ii. appendix No. 25, pp. 133, 147, ed. 1681, fol.) In one point, however, that of marriage, Bush showed no repugnance to the practice of the reformers. He took to wife Edith Ashley, scurrilously called by Pits his 'concubine.' She died, somewhat opportunely, three months after the accession of Mary, 8 Oct. 1553; but the fact of her death did not prevent proceedings being taken against him as a married priest. The following year, 20 March 1554, a commission, of which Gardiner and Bonner were the chief members, passed sentence of deprivation on him, the execution of which he forestalled by a voluntary resignation in the following June, when the dean and chapter of Canterbury assumed the spiritual jurisdiction of the see, 21 June 1554. He is accused of having impoverished the see by granting the manor of Leigh to Edward VI in 1549. At that time, however, bishops had little option in

such matters. On his resignation Bush retired to the rectory of Winterbourne, near Bristol, which he held till his death, which occurred at the age of 68, a few days before Mary's death, 11 Oct. 1558. He was buried near the grave of his wife, on the north side of the choir of Bristol Cathedral, where his mutilated renaissance monument, bearing his effigy as a ghastly decaying corpse with a tonsured head, still stands. The inscription ends after the old fashion, 'cujus animæ propitiatur Christus.' A long epitaph, now decayed, bristling with plays upon his name, is preserved by Wood and Davies, and more correctly by Cole. In his will, dated 25 Sept. 1558, and proved 1 Dec., he styles himself 'late bishop of Bristol, parson of Winterbourne.'

Bush was the author of the following works: 1. 'A Lyttell Treatyse in Englyshe called the Exposycyon of Miserere mei Deus,' London, 1525 (the date 1501 of a supposed earlier edition is impossible, as Bush was then only a boy of eleven). 2. 'Certayne Gostly Medycynes necessary to be used among wel disposed peple, to eschew and avoid the comen plage of pestilence' (Redman; no date). This is a small tract of twelve leaves containing prayers and conjurations against the plague, with some stanzas addressed to the reader at the end; the whole 'collecte and sette forth in order by the diligent labour of the religious brother, Syr Paull Bushe, prest and bonhomme of the good house Eddynden.' 3. 'A Lyttell Treatyse in Englyshe called the Extripacion (*sic*) of Ignorancy, and it treateth and speketh of the ignorance of people, shewing them how they are bounde to feare God . . . compyled by Sir Paull Bushe, prest and bonhome of Eddyndon' (Pynson, 4to, no date). This is a little poetical tract, 'dedicated unto the yong and most hye renowned Lady Mary, prinses and daughter unto the noble progenytour and worthy souerayne Kyng Henry Eight.' 4. 'De laudibus Crucis' (no date). 5. 'Dialogus inter Christum et Mariam,' 1525. 6. 'An Exhortacyon to Margaret, wyf of John Burgess, clothier of Kingswood, in the county of Wilts, by Paul Bush, bishop of Bristol' (London, Cawood, 1554, 8vo). 7. 'Carminum diversorum liber unus.'

[Wood's *Athen.* Oxon. i. 269, 270; Burnet's *Hist. of Reform.* vol. ii. App. 25; Pits, *De Illust. Angl. Script.* ætat. xvi. No. 997; Bale's *Script. Bryt.* p. 723, ed. Basel; Wharton's *Specimen of Errors*, p. 133; Strype's *Cranmer*, lib. i. c. 29; Browne-Willis's *Account of Bristol Cathedral*, ii. 777; Davies's *Athen.* Brit. ii. 294; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* ed. Dibdin, ii. 562, iii. 242, iv. 393; Cole MSS. x. 76; Watt's *Bibl. Britan.* i. 177; Lowndes's *Bibliogr. Manual*; Le Neve's *Fasti*, i. 214.]

E. V.

**BUSHE, CHARLES KENDAL** (1767–1843), chief justice of the king's bench, Ireland, was the only son of the Rev. Thomas Bushe, of Kilmurry, co. Kilkenny, rector of Mitchelstown, co. Cork, and was born at Kilmurry on 13 Jan. 1767. His mother was Katherine Doyle, daughter of Charles Doyle, of Bramblestown, co. Kilkenny. Bushe received his early education at a private school in Dublin, and entered Trinity College, Dublin, in his sixteenth year July 1782. His university career was distinguished. He won high honours both in classics and in mathematics, was a scholar and a gold medallist. But his greatest triumphs were won in the famous 'College Historical Society,' founded by Grattan as a debating society for the students of Trinity College, and at that time numbering among its youthful orators Plunket (afterwards Lord Plunket), Magee, Curran, Shiel, and others. Here Grattan heard him, and declared that 'Bushe spoke with the lips of an angel.' He was called to the Irish bar in 1790, and soon acquired a good practice, a considerable portion of the proceeds of which he voluntarily devoted to the payment of the debts left by his father, and said to have amounted to 40,000*l*. In 1797 Bushe entered the Irish parliament as member for Callan. The struggle on the question of the union was just beginning, and Bushe joined the opponents of the measure. So anxious was Lord Cornwallis to silence the young barrister that he offered him the post of master of the rolls. Bushe declined the offer, and remained steadfast to his party. In the list of members of the last Irish House of Commons given by Sir Jonah Barrington in the appendix to his 'Historic Memoirs of Ireland,' the single word 'incorruptible' is placed after Bushe's name. He wrote as well as spoke against the union, and Lord Brougham says of one of his pamphlets on this question—'Cease your Funning'—that it reminded him of the best of the satires of Swift. For his efforts in defence of the legislative independence of his country, Bushe received among other honours the freedom of the city of Dublin.

On the dissolution of the Grenville administration in 1803, Bushe, though differing from the government on the question of catholic emancipation—a measure which he steadily advocated—accepted the office of solicitor-general for Ireland, and he appears to have held it uninterruptedly until 1822, when, on the retirement of Lord Downes, he was appointed lord chief justice of the king's bench. This high position he resigned in 1841, having filled it for nearly twenty years 'with a character the purest

and most unsullied that ever shed lustre on the ermine' (*Legal Reporter*, 6 Nov. 1841). Bushe died at his son's residence, Furry Park, near Dublin, and was buried in Mount Jerome cemetery, where there is a monument erected to him with the simple inscription, 'Charles Kendal Bushe, July 10th, 1843.' He married, in 1793, Miss Crampton, daughter of John Crampton, of Dublin, and had a large family.

[*Irish Quarterly Review*, March 1853; Brougham's *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the Time of George III*, 3rd ser.; *Nation*, 22 July 1843; *Legal Reporter*, 6 Nov. 1841.] G. V. B.

**BUSHELL, BROWN** (*d.* 1651), sea captain, son of Nicholas Bushell of Ruswarpe, near Whitby, and Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Cholmley (or Cholmondley) of Rookshy, Yorkshire, knight (*Harleian MSS.* 1487, fol. 464), was one of the garrison that, under the command of his cousin, Sir Hugh Cholmley, held Scarborough for the parliament in 1643. In the March of that year Cholmley determined to give up the castle to the queen, who was then at York. Before he did so, however, he wished to secure some valuable goods he had at Hull, and on 24 March sent his kinsman Bushell thither in a small vessel armed with seven pieces of ordnance. Hotham, who was in command at Hull, took Bushell prisoner, but two days afterwards allowed him to return to Scarborough on his promising to deliver the castle again into the hands of the parliamentarians. When Cholmley, having made his surrender, left for York, Bushell and his brother Henry conspired with the soldiers, who were highly dissatisfied with Cholmley's conduct, and with little difficulty seized the castle for the parliament. Before long, however, Bushell entered into correspondence with the royalists and handed the castle over to them. It was probably in consequence of this action that Sir T. Fairfax on 19 April 1645 was ordered to send him to London to answer a charge made against him. Bushell again joined the parliamentary party, and received the command of a fine ship under Admiral Batten [q. v.] When, early in 1648, the fleet lay in the Downs, Bushell, like divers other captains, delivered his ship to the Prince of Wales. He was apprehended by two men, to whom, on 25 April, the council awarded 20*l*. for the good service they had done, resolving at the same time to lodge the prisoner in Windsor Castle. As late, however, as 27 Dec. 1649, it is evident that Bushell had not such good quarters, for on that day the council, in consequence of a petition received from him, ordered his removal to Windsor, directing the

governor 'to provide for him as necessary for one of his quality.' On 26 June 1650 it was determined to allow him 5s. a day for his maintenance. The council at first resolved that he should be tried as a pirate by the admiralty court. Now, however, the attorney-general was ordered to consider his offences, with a view to his trial by the high court of justice, and on 7 Sept. witnesses against him were sent for from Scarborough. He was found guilty, and was executed on 29 April 1651. A small medallion portrait of him is given in the frontispiece of Winstanley's 'Loyall Martyrology,' published in 1665.

[Harleian MSS. 1487, fol. 464; Rushworth's Collection, pt. iii. vol. ii. 264, pt. iv. vol. ii. 1070; Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1649-50, 455, 1650 passim, 1651, 5; Whitelocke's Memorials, fols. 143, 302; Winstanley's Loyall Martyrology, 32; Markham's Life of the great Lord Fairfax, 91, 95; Sir Hugh Cholmley's Memoirs, 1; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (5th ed.), iv. 9.] W. H.

**BUSHELL, SETH, D.D.** (1621-1684), divine, the only son of Adam Bushell, of Kuerden, near Preston, by his wife Alice, daughter of John Loggan, of Garstang, was born in the year 1621. At the age of eighteen he became a commoner of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and lived at the university until Oxford was garrisoned by King Charles's forces, when he returned to Lancashire. In 1654 he is mentioned as minister of Whitley, in Yorkshire, a living which has not been identified. In that year he was at Oxford, and took his B.A. and M.A. His further degrees of B.D. and D.D. were conferred in 1665 and 1672. In 1664 he was vicar of Preston, and continued there until 1682. He was also incumbent of Fuxton before 27 Nov. 1649, to which place he succeeded by an order from the committee for plundered ministers. In 1682 he was appointed vicar of Lancaster, where he died 6 Nov. 1684, aged 63. He was a loyal, pious, and charitable man, courteous to the dissenters and respected by them. 'He discouraged persecution for religion, or prosecution of any of his parish for what was customary due,' as one of his quaker parishioners records. He was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of Roger Farrington, and secondly to Mary, daughter of William Stansfield, of Euxton—and was father of the Rev. William Bushell, incumbent of Goosnargh 1715-1721, and rector of Heysham, and grandfather of William Bushell, M.D., founder of the Goosnargh Hospital. There is a Latin epitaph to the memory of Dr. Seth Bushell in Lancaster parish church.

His published writings are: 1. 'A Warning-piece for the Unruly; in two Discourses,

at the Metropolitcal Visitation of Richard, Lord Archbishop of York, held at Preston, in Lancashire, and there preached May 8,' London, 1673 (4to). 2. 'The Believer's Groan for Heaven; in a Sermon at the Funeral of the Honourable Sir Rich. Hoghton, of Hoghton, Baronet, preached at Preston in Amounderness,' London, 1678 (4to). 3. A sermon preached on 25 Jan. 1658, which George Fox answered in his book, 'The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded,' 1659. 4. 'Cosmo-Meros, the Worldly Portion; or the best Portion of the Wicked and their Misery in the Enjoyment of it Opened and Applied. Together with some Directions and Helps in order to a Heavenly and Better Portion, enforced with many useful and divine considerations,' London, 1682 (12mo). He also wrote the preface to R. Towne's 'Reassertion of Grace,' &c. 1654, 4to. Bliss mentions a Latin dissertation, 'De Redemptione,' by him in the Cole MSS. in the British Museum.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon., ed. Bliss, iv. 161-2; Raine's Notitia Cestriensis (Chetham Society), xxii. 384, 428, 442; Lancashire and Cheshire Church Surveys (Record Society), p. 102; Fishwick's Hist. of Goosnargh, pp. 122-4; Fishwick's Lancashire Library, pp. 385-6; Autob. of William Stout, ed. Harland, p. 12.] C. W. S.

**BUSHELL, THOMAS** (1591-1674), speculator and farmer of the royal mines, was born about 1594, and was a younger son of a family of that name living at Cleve Prior in Worcestershire. At the age of fifteen he entered the service of the great Sir Francis Bacon, and afterwards acted as his master's seal-bearer. When Bacon became lord chancellor, Bushell accompanied him to court, and attracted the notice of James I by the gorgeousness of his attire (BIRCH, *Court of James I*, ii. 242). Anthony à Wood supposes that he received some education at Oxford, especially at Balliol College; but in any case his principal instructor was Bacon himself, who, observing the natural bent of his ingenious servant, imparted to him 'many secrets in discovering and extracting minerals.' Bacon's instruction was always gratefully acknowledged by Bushell, who admitted that his own mining processes were the outcome of his master's theories, of which, later on in life, he gave an account in a treatise entitled 'Mr. Bushell's Abridgment of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in Mineral Prosecutions' (London, 1650), and in the 'Extract by Mr. Bushell of the Abridgment [of Bacon's Theory], printed for the Satisfaction of his Noble Friends that importunately desired it' (London, 1660). Bacon further earned his protégé's gratitude 'by paying all my debts

several times,' for Bushell's various speculations and experiments more than once in his career involved him in money difficulties. On the occasion of Bacon's disgrace Bushell thought it prudent to retire to the Isle of Wight, where he lived for some time disguised as a fisherman. He afterwards returned to London; but on his master's death in 1626 went again into retirement, and lived for three years in a hut constructed 470 feet above the sea in 'the desolated isle called the Calf of Man, where, in obedience to my dead lord's philosophical advice, I resolved to make a perfect experiment upon myself for the obtaining of a long and healthy life, most necessary for such a repentance as my former debauchedness required, by a parsimonious diet of herbs, oil, mustard, and honey, with water sufficient, most like to that [of] our long-lived fathers before the flood.' On leaving this retreat he came to live in Oxfordshire, where he had an estate at Road Enstone, near Woodstock. At this place he had the fortune to discover a spring and a rock of curious formation, with which, we are told, he at once proceeded to make 'all the curious fine water-works and artificial conclusions that could be imagined,' constructing cisterns, laying 'divers pipes between the rocks,' and building 'a house over them, containing one fair room for banquetting, and several other small closets for divers uses.' Charles I, when in the neighbourhood, heard of the fame of the 'rock,' and paid Bushell an unexpected visit; his ingenious host managed to improvise an entertainment of 'artificial thunders and lightnings, rain, hail-showers, drums beating, organs playing, birds singing, waters murmuring all sorts of tunes,' &c. On a subsequent royal visit in 1636 the rock was presented to Queen Henrietta in a kind of masque, for which Bushell himself provided some passable verse (see *The Several Speeches and Songs at the Presentation of the Rock at Enston*, Oxon, 1636).

In 1635 we find Bushell's name occurring in a list of persons to whom was granted the exclusive right of manufacturing soap in a particular manner; but his acquaintance with the king soon led to his obtaining (in January 1636-7) the more important grant of the royal mines in Wales. The mines of Cardiganshire, as containing silver mixed with their lead, formed crown property. They had formerly been farmed by Sir Hugh Middleton, who sent up the silver which he extracted to be coined at the mint in the Tower of London. After the death of Middleton the mines were reported to be inundated and 'like to decay.' Bushell in purchasing the lease proposed not only to recover the inundated mines, but also to employ new and more expeditious methods

of mining; he also proposed the more convenient plan of erecting a mint on the spot, in the castle at Aberystwith, taking care that the lead ore which in former times had been recklessly sent out of the country without the extraction of its silver should now be refined at home for the benefit of the king of England and his subjects. The mint was established in July 1637 with Bushell as warden and master-worker, and English silver coins of various denominations were issued from it. Bushell's mining schemes seem to have been fairly successful, at any rate so far as concerned the mines in Wales. He was certainly more than a mere adventurer, and always professed, probably not without sincerity, that he carried on his mining operations with a view to the enrichment of his king and country, and in order to give employment to the poorest classes as miners (see especially *Mr. Bushell's Invitation by Letter to Condemned Men for Petty Felonies, to work in the Mines of their own Country rather than be banished to Slavery in Foreign Parts*, and his curious composition, *The Miner's Contemplative Prayer in his solitary Delves, which is conceived requisite to be published that the Reader may know his heart implores Providence for his Mineral Increase*). In any case his labours were indefatigable. Shortly after his connection with the Welsh mines began, 'a great deluge of water' occurred, which necessitated a very considerable expenditure. He was laughed at by his enemies and pitied by his friends; but 'after nigh four years night and day' spent in recovering the decayed mines of the principality, and 'by the continued maintenance and industry of 500 families and the expense of about 7,000*l.*, as a reward of my hazard . . . [God] brought me to reap the harvest of my hope.' He recovered 'several drowned mines,' and discovered other 'new branches of the old mines wrought by the Romans (viz.) at the mountains called Tallibont, Broomflood, Cambmervin, Geginan, Commustwith, Comsum Lock, and the Beacon Hill of the Daren.' 'I contrived,' he says, 'a way of adits, cutting through the lowest part of the mountain (and not beginning at the top and sinking downward), whereby the work was made . . . less subject to the casualties of damp and drowning . . . also avoiding the tedious and chargeable sinking of air-shafts, by conveying air through the mountain many hundred fathoms with pipe and bellows, a way before never used by any undertakers, but now approved by all.' He further prevented the waste of wood by refining his lead-ore with 'turf and sea-coal chark.'

During the progress of the civil war Bushell proved himself a devoted royalist, and a letter

addressed to him by Charles himself in June 1643 enumerates the 'manie true services you have actually done us in these times of trying a subject's loyalty : as in raising us the Darbyshire minors for our life guard at our first entrance to this warr for our owne defence, when the lord-lieutenant of that countie refused to appear in the service : supplyinge us at Shrewsbury and Oxford with your mint

[The Case of Thomas Bushell, of Enston, in the County of Oxford, Esquire, truly stated. Together with his progress in Minerals, London, 1649; A Just and True Remonstrance of His Majesty's Mines Royal . . . Presented by Thomas Bushell, Esq., London and Shrewsbury, 1642; Bushell's Tracts cited in the text and various printed documents relating to his mining schemes (see Brit. Mus. Catalogue); Calendar of State Pa-

your changing the dollars with weh wee paid our soldiers at six shillings a piece, when the malignant partie cried them down at ffive: your stopping the mutinie in Shropshire . . . your providing us one hundred tonnes of leadshot for our army without mony, when we paid before twentie pounds per tonne; and your helpinge us to twenty-six pieces of ordinance . . . your cloathing of our life guard and three regiments more, with suites, stockings, shoes, and mountereers, when wee were readie to march in the feild . . . [your invention of badges of silver for rewarding the forlorne hope]; your contractinge with merchants beyond the seas, for providing good quantities of powder, pistol, carabine, muskett, and bullen, in exchange for your owne commodities, when wee were wantinge of such ammunicion: with diverse other severall services.' Besides all this Bushell held Lundy Island for the king; but, with the royal sanction, surrendered it on 24 Feb. 1647. He now found it necessary to go into hiding; but at last, in August 1652, gave securities to the council of state for his future good behaviour. He obtained from the Protector a renewal of his lease of the mines royal, and a confirmation of his grant for coining the silver thence extracted. These privileges were confirmed in February 1658 by Richard Cromwell, who also protected and encouraged Bushell in his operations in connection with the lead mines in the forest of Mendip. Bushell's mining schemes in Somersetshire likewise received the sanction of Charles II; but little is known of the last few years of his life. It is probable that he was much embarrassed by pecuniary difficulties. The petition of 'Thomas Bushell, master workman of the royal mines,' dated March (?) 1663, prays the king 'for a royal protection from arrests for two years (on account of his) having contracted great debts in the service of the late king, which he hopes to repay in time from his mineral proceeds.' Bushell died in April 1674, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. His wife was Anne, widow of Sir William Waad, lieutenant of the Tower.

ber (?) 1660, 18 Nov. 1661, March (?) 1663; Ellis's Orig. Letters, 2nd ser. iii. 309; Memoirs of T. Bushell by Rev. A. de la Pryme (1878), printed in *Manx Miscellanies*, vol. ii. (1880); Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* iii. 1007-10, s. v. 'Thomas Bushell'; Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, vii. 199, 200, 235; Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, ii. 237-39; Hawkins's *Silver Coins*, ed. Kenyon; Hawkins's *Medallie Illustrations*, ed. Franks and Grueler (Charles II, Nos. 67-69; Bushell's 'Mining Share Ticket'); Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*) is in error as to there being a medallist named Bushell.] W. W.

**BUSHNAN, JOHN STEVENSON** (1808?-1884), medical writer, was born about 1808. After studying at Heidelberg, where he graduated M.D., he passed at Edinburgh in 1830 the examinations of the Royal College of Surgeons and of the Royal College of Physicians. Eventually he settled in London, where he filled the post of editor of the 'Medical Times and Gazette' from 1849 to 1852. He published 'A History of a Case of Animals in the Blood of a Boy,' 1833; and in the same year, from the German, Dieffenbach's 'Surgical Observations on the Restoration of the Nose,' and an 'Introduction to the Study of Nature.' This was followed in 1837 by the 'Philosophy of Instinct and Reason.' In 1840 he contributed to the Naturalist's Library an article on 'Ichthyology'; 'Observations on Hydrophathy,' 1846; and 'Cholera and its Cures,' 1850. In the same year he published an 'Address to the Medical Students of London'; and 'The Moral and Sanitary Aspects of the New Central Cattle-market,' 1851. In this year he engaged in a controversy with Miss Martineau, in 'Miss Martineau and her Master.' He wrote 'Homoeopathy and the Homoeopaths' in 1852; 'Household Medicine and Surgery' in 1854; and in the same year he contributed to Orr's 'Circle of the Sciences.' In 1860 he wrote 'Religious Revivals' and 'Our Holiday at Laverstock House Asylum'; and in 1861-2 two reviews in the 'Journal of Mental Science.'

Ultimately he became unfortunate in his affairs, his sight failed, and he ended his

days as a 'poor brother' of the Charter House, where he died on 17 Feb. 1884, aged 76.

[Medical Times and Gazette, 8 March 1884.]

J. D.

**BUSHNELL, MRS. CATHERINE**. [See HAYES-BUSHNELL, MADAME CATHERINE, 1825-1861.]

**BUSHNELL, JOHN** (d. 1701), sculptor, was a pupil of Thomas Burman, who, having seduced his servant girl, forced Bushnell into marrying her. Bushnell thereupon quitted England in disgust, and, after studying his profession for two years in France, travelled thence into Italy, where he stayed in the first instance at Rome, but latterly at Venice. In Venice he carved a sumptuous monument for a procuratore di San Marco, representing the siege of Candia and a naval engagement between the Venetians and Turks. Having now attained considerable proficiency in his art, he returned home, and among his first commissions were the statues of Charles I, Charles II, and Sir Thomas Gresham for the Royal Exchange. Probably his best works were the kings which formerly adorned Temple Bar, and the statue of John, lord Mordaunt, in Roman costume at Fulham church. The monuments of Cowley and Sir Palmer Fairbourn in Westminster Abbey are also by him. Bushnell was a man of a wayward and jealous temper, and various tales are told of his eccentricities by Walpole and other authors. He had agreed to complete the set of kings at the Royal Exchange, but hearing that Caius Cibber [q. v.], his rival, was also engaged, he would not proceed, although he had begun six or seven. To disprove the assertion of some of his brother sculptors that he could not model undraped figures, he undertook a nude statue of Alexander the Great, but failed conspicuously. He next attempted to demonstrate the possibility of the Trojan horse, and began to make one upon the same principles, of wood covered with stucco: the head was capable of containing twelve men sitting round a table, the eyes were to serve as windows. Before it was half completed, a storm of wind demolished this unwieldy machine. The two publicans, who had contracted to use his horse as a drinking-booth, offered to be at the expense of erecting it again, but Bushnell was too greatly discouraged to recommence, although his whim had cost him 500*l*. A still heavier failure was a project for bringing coals to London in vessels of his own construction. The collapse of these and other schemes, together with the loss by a lawsuit of an estate that he had bought in Kent, totally upset his already disordered

brain, and he died insane in 1701. He was buried in Paddington church, but the entry does not occur in the register, which is imperfect during that year (Lysons's *Environ of London*, iii. 340). He left issue two sons and a daughter, to whom, despite his losses, he was able to bequeath a sufficient maintenance.

The sons were as eccentric as their father, for they shut themselves up in a large house in Piccadilly, fronting Hyde Park, which had been built but left unfinished by Bushnell, having neither staircase nor floors. 'Here,' relates Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*, Wornum, ii. 623-4), 'they dwelt like hermits, recluse from all mankind, sordid and unpracticable, and saying the world had not been worthy of their father.' To this strange residence, Vertue, the engraver, after many previous attempts, gained admission during the owners' absence in 1725, and has related what he saw. Among other curiosities he was shown a bar of iron, 'thicker than a man's wrist,' which was alleged to have been broken by one of Bushnell's many inventions.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 65.]  
G. G.

**BUSHNELL, WALTER** (1609-1667), ejected clergyman under the Commonwealth, was the son of William Bushnell of Corsham, Wiltshire. He became a butler of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1628, at the age of nineteen. He proceeded B.A. 20 Oct. 1631, and M.A. 11 June 1634. He afterwards was appointed vicar of Box in his native county. He appears to have escaped disturbance through the civil wars, but he suffered much persecution at the hands of the commissioners appointed in August 1654 to eject 'scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters.' According to his own account he was summoned before the commissioners at Marlborough on 21 Jan. 1655-6, and charged with profaning the sabbath, gambling, drunkenness, a specific act of immorality, with using the common prayer and baptising with the sign of the cross, and with general disaffection to the existing government. The charges were preferred against Bushnell by a professional informer named John Travers, and Bushnell insisted on a public trial. On 28 April 1656 a court was held for the purpose at Market Lavington. A large number of parishioners were called as witnesses to support the case for the prosecution, but their testimony, even if genuine, merely proved that Bushnell conducted much parish business in alehouses, but was not known to drink to excess. The commissioners adjourned till 4 June, when they met at Calne. More testi-



mony of the vaguest character was there adduced against Bushnell, and at the defendant's request a further adjournment took place. On 1 July the court met at Marlborough, and Bushnell called witnesses for the defence, but their testimony was refused on the ground that they were 'against the Commonwealth and present government,' and their places were taken by more witnesses on the other side. On 14 July at Lavington the scene was repeated; on 23 July at Salisbury Bushnell was privately examined 'touching his sufficiency,' and was finally ejected from his living. Under a recent ordinance Bushnell could claim 'the fifths' of his living, and this pittance he obtained with some difficulty. His case does not differ from that of many other beneficed clergymen, but it is regarded as a typical one because Bushnell described his experience at full length in 'A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed by Oliver Cromwell for ejecting scandalous and ignorant Ministers in the case of Walt. Bushnell, clerk, vicar of Box in the county of Wiltshire.' Under the Commonwealth the publication of this work was prohibited, but in 1660 it was printed and became popular. Humphrey Chambers, the chief commissioner concerned, answered the charge somewhat lamely in a pamphlet published in the same year. To this answer was also appended a 'Vindication of the Commissioners,' by an anonymous writer. At the Restoration Bushnell was restored to his living. He died at the beginning of 1667, and was buried in the church at Box, 'having then,' says Wood, 'lying by him more things fit to be printed, as I have been informed by some of the neighbourhood.'

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iii. 760, and *Fasti* (Bliss), i. 460, 474; Walker's *Sufferings of Clergy*, pt. i. 189-94, where Bushnell's pamphlet is summarised at length.] S. L. L.

**BUSK, HANS**, the elder (1772-1862), scholar and poet, was descended from the family Du Busc of Normandy, one of whom was created Marquis de Fresney in 1668. The great-grandson of the marquis was naturalised in England in 1723. From his eldest son Lord Houghton was descended, and his youngest son was Sir Wordsworth Busk, treasurer of the Inner Temple. Hans Busk, the youngest son of Sir Wordsworth Busk and Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Parish of Ipswich and Walthamstow, was born on 28 May 1772. Possessing an estate at Glenalder, Radnorshire, he took an active interest in county business, was a justice of the peace, and for some time high sheriff. His leisure was devoted to classical studies and general

literature, and he published several volumes of verse, including 'Fugitive Pieces in Verse,' 1814; 'The Vestriad or the Opera, a Mock Epic Poem, in Five Cantos,' 1819; 'The Banquet, in Three Cantos,' 1819; 'The Dessert, to which is added the Tea,' 1820; 'The Lay of Life,' 1834. He died at Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park, on 8 Feb. 1862. By his wife, Maria, daughter and heiress of Joseph Green, he left two sons (the eldest of whom was Hans Busk, born 1815 [q. v.]), and five daughters.

[Burke's *Landed Gentry*, i. 242-3; *Annual Register*, civ. 336; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] T. F. H.

**BUSK, HANS**, the younger (1815-1882), one of the principal originators of the volunteer movement in England, son of Hans Busk, born 1772 [q. v.], was born on 11 May 1815. He was educated at King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1839, and M.A. in 1844. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1841. While still an undergraduate, he represented to the government the advisability of forming rifle clubs in the different districts of the kingdom for defence against invasion, and on receiving a discouraging reply from Lord Melbourne, he instituted a model rifle club in the university, and published a popular treatise on 'The Rifle and how to use it.' In 1858 he restored vitality to the Victoria Rifles, the only volunteer corps then existing, and the lectures he delivered throughout the country were instrumental in extending the movement over the whole kingdom. He also published a number of treatises and pamphlets, which proved to be of great practical value in the development of the movement, and have passed through numerous editions. They include 'The Rifleman's Manual,' 'Tabular Arrangement of Company Drill,' 'Handbook for Hythe,' 'Rifle Target Registers,' and 'Rifle Volunteers, how to organise and drill them.' He took an equal interest in the navy. Originally it was his intention to adopt a naval career, and, being forced to abandon it, he devoted much of his leisure to yachting. He mastered the principles of naval construction, and made designs for several yachts which were very successful. He was the first to advocate life-ship stations, and fitted out a model life-ship at his own expense. In 1859 he published 'The Navies of the World, their Present State and Future Capabilities,' a comprehensive description of the condition of the principal navies of Europe, with suggestions for the improvement of the navy of England. By his friends he was held in high repute as a *gastronome*, and characteristically turned his



special knowledge to practical account for the general good, by assisting to establish the school of cookery at South Kensington. Besides the technical works above referred to, he was the author of a number of minor pamphlets, including 'The Education Craze,' 'Hæc Viaticæ,' and 'Golden Truths.' In 1847 he was chosen high sheriff of Radnorshire. He died at Ashley Place, Westminster, on 11 March 1882. By his wife, Miss Dunbar, who died not long after her marriage, he left a daughter, well known as an authoress.

[Annual Register, cxxiv. 119-20; Men of the Time, 9th ed.; Burke's Landed Gentry, i. 242; Brit. Mus. Cat.] T. F. H.

**BUSS, ROBERT WILLIAM** (1804-1875), subject painter, was born in London on 4 Aug. 1804. He served an apprenticeship with his father, who was an engraver and enameller, and then studied painting under George Clint, A.R.A. For some years he confined himself to painting theatrical portraits, and many of the leading actors of the day sat to him, including Macready, Harley, Buckstone, Miss Tree, and Mrs. Nisbet. Later he essayed historical and humorous subjects, and was a frequent exhibitor of pictures of this class at the Royal Academy, British Institution, and Suffolk Street between 1826 and 1859. Among his principal works were 'Watt's First Experiments on Steam,' engraved by James Scott; 'Soliciting a Vote,' engraved by Lupton, 1834; 'The Stingy Traveller,' engraved by J. Brown, 1845; and 'The Bitter Morning,' lithographed by T. Fairland, 1834. He also contributed to the Westminster competition a cartoon of 'Prince Henry and Judge Gascoigne.' Buss illustrated Knight's editions of 'London,' Chaucer, Shakespeare, and 'Old England.' He published lectures on 'Comic and Satiric Art,' 'Fresco,' 'The Beautiful Picturesques,' and printed privately in 1874 'English Graphic Satire,' with etchings by himself. He at one time edited 'The Fine Art Almanack.' He died at Camden Town on 26 Feb. 1875.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 8vo, 1878; Athenæum, 1875, p. 366.] L. F.

**BUSSY, SIR JOHN** (d. 1399), speaker of the House of Commons, was sheriff of Lincoln in 1379, 1381, and 1391. He was first chosen a knight of the shire for Lincoln in 1388, and continued to sit for that county during the remaining parliaments of Richard II's reign. He was three times elected speaker, first by the parliament of 1393-4, and afterwards by the two parliaments of 1397. Though at first he showed some signs of a spirit of in-

dependence, he soon became a servile supporter of Richard's arbitrary and unconstitutional action. In the second parliament of 1397, which met at Westminster on 17 Sept., Sir John Bussy, Sir William Bagot, and Sir Thomas Green acted as prolocutors of the king's grievances, and Fitzalan, archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick were convicted of high treason. Bussy gained the favour of the king by grossly flattering his vanity. Holinshed, in his account of the trial of these nobles, says that 'Sir John Bushie in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour due and accustomed, but inuented vnused termes and such strange names as were rather agreeable to the diuine maiestie of God than to any earthlie potentate. The prince, being desirous of all honour, and more ambitious than was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech and gave good care to his talke' (ii. 340). This parliament was adjourned to Shrewsbury, where it met on 28 Jan. 1398, and Bussy was again formally presented as speaker. It sat there only three days, and by its last act delegated its authority to a committee of eighteen members—twelve lords and six members of the House of Commons—of whom Bussy was one. By his manipulation of this parliament Richard had contrived to become an absolute king, and every man of this committee was believed by him to be devoted to his interests. Upon the landing of Henry, duke of Lancaster, in England during the absence of Richard in Ireland, Bussy fled to Bristol. The Duke of York joined his nephew; they marched with their combined armies to Bristol, which quickly surrendered to them, and Bussy, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Sir Henry Green, three of the parliamentary committee, were put to death without trial on 29 July 1399. Shakespeare has introduced Bussy into the play of 'Richard II' (i. 4, ii. 2, iii. 1).

[Manning's Lives of the Speakers (1851), 14-21; Rot. Parl. iii. 310-85; Parliamentary Papers, 1878, lxii. (pt. i.) 235-56; Holinshed's Chronicles (1807), ii. 839-54; Stubbs's Constitutional History of England (1875), ii. 491-502].

G. F. R. B.

**BUTCHELL, MARTIN VAN** (1735-1812?), empiric, son of Martin van Butchell, tapestry maker to George II, was born in Eagle Street, near Red Lion Square, London, in February 1735. Having shown an aptitude for the study of medicine and anatomy, he became a pupil of John Hunter, and after successfully practising as a dentist for many years, he became eminent as a maker of trusses, and acquired celebrity by his skill

in treating cases of fistula. He was still more noted for the eccentricity of his manners. His long beard and extraordinary costume astonished all beholders, and it was his custom to ride about in Hyde Park and the streets on a white pony, which he sometimes painted all purple, sometimes with purple or black spots. To defend himself against rude molestation, he carried a large white bone, which was said to have been used as a weapon of war in the island of Otaheite. For many years he resided in Mount Street, Berkeley Square, and attracted numerous patients by his quaintly worded advertisements in the newspapers.

On the death of his first wife in 1775 he applied to Dr. William Hunter and Mr. Cruickshank to exert their skill in preventing, if possible, the changes of form after the cessation of life. The mode pursued in this embalment was principally that of injecting the vascular system with oil of turpentine and camphorated spirit of wine, coloured, so that the minute vessels of the cheeks and lips were filled, and exhibited their original hue, the body in general having its cavities filled with powdered nitro and camphor, so that it remained free from corruption; glass eyes were also inserted. The corpse was then deposited in a bed of thin plaster of Paris in a box with a glass lid that could be withdrawn at pleasure. For many years Van Butchell kept the mummy of his wife in his parlour, and frequently exhibited the corpse to his friends and visitors. On his second marriage it was found expedient to remove the body to the museum of the College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where it is still preserved. At the present time it is a repulsive-looking object.

Van Butchell appears to have been alive in 1812. There is an engraved portrait of him on his spotted pony in Kirby's 'Wonderful and Scientific Museum,' 1803.

[Gent. Mag. lxxiii. 5, 6, 165, lxxvi. 681, lxxxii. (i.) 326; Kirby's Wonderful Museum, i. 191; Eccentric Magazine (1812), i. 109; Malcolm's Curiosities of Biography, 333; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Lysons's Suppl. to 1st. edit. of Environs of London, 113; Timbs's Doctors and Patients, i. 129; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, 10664; Burning the Dead, by a member of the Royal Coll. of Surgeons (1857), 13.]  
T. C.

**BUTCHER, EDMUND** (1757–1822), unitarian minister, was born on 28 April 1757, at Colchester. He was descended from John Butcher, vicar of Feering, Essex, about 1667. The only son of an unsuccessful builder, he had early to struggle for a living. His primary education was given him by Dr. Tho-

mas Stanton, presbyterian minister at Colchester. At fourteen years of age he gave sign of precocious talent in an heroic poem, the 'Bruteis,' illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings (not printed). He was soon apprenticed to a London linendraper, and at this early age wrote for periodicals, sending the profits to his parents and sister. Subsequently the family inherited the small estate of their ancestor above mentioned. Butcher attended the ministry of Hugh Worthington, the eloquent Arian of Salters' Hall, who prepared him for the ministry. He entered Davenport academy, under Thomas Belsham, in 1783, having previously received some classical training from Richard Wright, presbyterian minister at Atherstone. He had been taught the assembly's catechism, but he says he never gave credence to the trinitarian doctrine, and his studies confirmed him in Arian views. His first settlement was at Sowerby, near Halifax, but he soon removed to London, where 'Worthington got him temporary engagements at Monkwell Street and Carter Lane. He was ordained 19 March 1789 as successor to Thomas Pope at Leather Lane, Holborn. In this ordination Belsham, who was still reputed orthodox, was associated, for the first time, with Lindsey, the only humanitarian minister in London, and five Arian ministers. While at Leather Lane Butcher took part with others in the Wednesday evening lecture established by Worthington (after 1792) at Salters' Hall. His feebleness of voice precluded him from popularity, and compelled his retirement from active duty in 1797. Butcher's lungs recovered tone, and in 1798 he became minister at Sidmouth. Here he remained till 1820, building a house on a piece of ground presented to him by a member of a wealthy Jewish family, who attended his services. Relinquishing all belief in a propitiatory atonement, his views gradually passed from the Arian to the humanitarian form of unitarianism. A paralytic stroke weakened the later years of his ministry, but did not prevent him from preaching. Early in 1821 he went to reside with his son at Bristol, and removed thence in November to Bath. A fall, which dislocated his hip, confined him to bed. He died on Sunday (his own wish), 14 April 1822, and was buried at Lyncomb Vale, near Bath. A tablet to his memory was placed in the Old Meeting House, Sidmouth. One who knew him describes him as 'a most lovable man in all respects.' He married, 6 July 1790, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Lawrence, a Shropshire landowner, and widow of Samuel Lowe; she died at Bath 25 Nov. 1831. By

her he had one son, Edmund, and a daughter, Emma. Butcher is known among topographers by his account of Sidmouth, and among poets by a few hymns of great merit. His hymn 'From north and south' won the warm commendation of Mrs. Barbauld. He published: 1. 'Sermons, to which are subjoined suitable Hymns,' 1798, 8vo (the hymns are original, and intended as 'poetical epitomes' of the twenty-one sermons; the second edition, 1805, 8vo, has title 'Sermons for the use of Families,' contains twenty-two sermons and no hymns). 2. 'Moral Tales,' 1801, 12mo. 3. 'The Substance of the Holy Scriptures methodised,' 1801, 4to, 2nd ed. 1813, 4to (intended as a sort of family Bible; Butcher assisted Worthington and others in its preparation, and contributed a hymn to each lesson). 4. 'An Excursion from Sidmouth to Chester in the Summer of 1803,' 2 vols. 1805, 12mo. 5. 'A Picture of Sidmouth,' the fourth edition, Exeter [1830], 12mo, has title 'A new Guide, descriptive of the Beauties of Sidmouth.' 6. 'Sermons for the use of Families,' vol. ii. 1806, 8vo. 7. 'Unitarian Claims described and vindicated,' 1809, 12mo (sermon on 2 Cor. x. 7, at Bridgwater, Wednesday, 5 July, before the Western Unitarian Society, of biographical interest as giving the process by which he reached his latest views). 8. 'Sermons for the use of Families,' vol. iii. 1819, 8vo (twenty-eight sermons printed at the Chiswick Press; the preface, 1 May, reproduces the autobiographical details of No. 7). 9. 'Prayers for the use of Families and Individuals,' 1822, 8vo (one for each sermon in his three volumes, and some for special occasions); and single sermons. Posthumous were 10. 'Discourses on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount,' Bath and London, 1825, 12mo (twenty-one sermons edited by his widow; the preface says he had selected the materials for another volume). 11. 'A Poetical Version of the Chronological History of the Kings of England,' 1827, 12mo. Besides these, Butcher contributed to the 'Protestant Dissenters' Magazine,' 1794-9 (see especially vol. i. pp. 120, 204, 246, 330, 373, 417, 460, for poetical pieces), and edited the later volumes.

[Evans, in *Monthly Repos.* 1822, p. 309 seq. (revised in *Christian Moderator*, 1827, p. 347 seq.); *Monthly Repos.* 1821, p. 345; 1822, pp. 285, 332, 471; 1832, p. 70; Belsham's *Mem. of Lindsey*, 1812, p. 292; Murch's *Hist. of Presb. and Gen. Bapt. Churches in W. of Eng.* 1835, p. 349 seq.; Lawrence's *Descendants of Philip Henry*, 1844, p. 21 seq.; Miller's *Our Hymns*, 1866, p. 265 seq.; Spears's *Record of Unit. Worthies* (1877), p. 211; private information.]

A. G.

**BUTCHER, RICHARD** (1583-1665 P), antiquary, was a native of Stamford, and became town clerk of that borough. He compiled 'The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamforde, in the county of Lincolne,' Lond. 1648, 4to, reprinted Lond. 1717, 8vo, and also with additions by Francis Peck, at the end of his 'Academia tertia Anglicana; or the Antiquarian Annals of Stanford,' Lond. 1727, fol. A manuscript by him, in two volumes, entitled 'Antiquity revived,' is preserved in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is a translation from Camden. Butcher's portrait has been engraved by Clamp.

[Gough's *British Topography*, ii. 29, 523; Granger's *Biog. Hist. of England* (1824), iii. 152; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* viii. 573; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 352.] T. C.

**BUTCHER, SAMUEL, D.D.** (1811-1876), bishop of Meath, eldest son of Vice-admiral Samuel Butcher, was born in 1811 at his father's residence, Danesfort, near Killarney, co. Kerry. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Townsend Herbert, of Cahirmane, in the same county. He was educated at home until his sixteenth or seventeenth year, when his father removed to Cork, and he was sent to the school of Drs. Hamblin and Porter. In 1829 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he won high honours in classics and mathematics, and obtained a foundation scholarship for classics in 1832. He graduated in 1834, obtained a fellowship in 1837, and was soon after appointed tutor and lecturer. The improvement in classical taste and scholarship which was observable about this time in the university of Dublin has been with justice attributed in no small degree to Butcher's lectures. In 1849 the degree of D.D. was conferred on him. In 1850 he was appointed to the professorship of ecclesiastical history, and two years later to the important office of regius professor of divinity, on which occasion he vacated his fellowship. In 1854 he accepted the college living of Ballymoney, co. Cork, which he continued to hold along with his professorship until, on the recommendation of Lord Derby, he was appointed in August 1866 to the vacant see of Meath, the premier bishopric of Ireland. Butcher ably supported the Irish church against external assailants, and his wise and moderate counsels contributed not a little to avert the dangers of disruption which threatened it after its disestablishment. He laboured unsparingly to reorganise the affairs of the church throughout Ireland, and especially in his own diocese. He took an active part in promoting the movement for securing

an endowment for the divinity school in Trinity College. On the important question of the revision of the prayer book 'Dr. Butcher rather sided with the revision party, to which undoubtedly his character, position, and learning contributed very considerable weight' (*Freeman's Journal*, 31 July 1876).

In the midst of these labours, and while still in the enjoyment of a remarkably vigorous constitution, he was suddenly prostrated by a severe attack of congestion of the lungs and bronchitis. In a moment of delirium he inflicted on himself a wound from which he expired almost immediately. He died on 29 July 1876, at his episcopal residence, Ardbraccan House, Navan. His public life was a solid and unbroken success, no less honourable to himself than useful to the university and the church to which he belonged. Within the private circle of his own family he was peculiarly happy and fortunate, and he possessed in the fullest degree the affection of his friends and the respect of the public. He was buried in the churchyard of Ardbraccan. He married, in 1847, Mary, second daughter of John Leahy, of South Hill, Killarney, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. His eldest son (S. H. Butcher) is now (1886) professor of Greek at Edinburgh.

His published works consist chiefly of occasional addresses, sermons, and charges to his clergy, and a treatise (published after his death) on the 'Theory and Construction of the Ecclesiastical Calendar,' London, 1877. Of his charges perhaps the one which excited most attention was that of October 1874 (Dublin), in which he dealt exhaustively with Professor Tyndall's address to the British Association, delivered in Belfast in 1874.

[Cork Examiner; Saunders's Newsletter, 8 Aug. 1866; Irish Times, 7 Aug. 1866; Daily Express, 31 July 1876.] G. V. B.

**BUTE, EARLS and MARQUISES OF.** [See STUART.]

**BUTLER, ALBAN** (1711-1773), hagiographer, was descended from the ancient family of the Butlers of Aston-le-Walls, in Northamptonshire. Towards the close of the seventeenth century that family was represented by two brothers, Alban and Simon. Alban, the elder, had issue only one daughter, who married Mr. Edward Plowden, of Plowden, Shropshire. She inherited the estate at Aston-le-Walls, and from her it descended to the Plowden family. The Appletree estate devolved to Simon, the younger brother. His son, also named Simon, married Ann, daughter of Thomas Birch, of Garscott, Staffordshire. They had issue three sons, Charles, Alban, and James. At a very early age Alban

Butler was sent to a school in Lancashire, where he distinguished himself by his intense application to literature, sacred biography being, even then, his favourite pursuit. When eight years old he was transferred to the English college at Douay, and about this time lost both his parents. After the usual course of study he was admitted an alumnus of the college, and appointed professor, first of philosophy, and then of divinity. He was ordained priest in 1735. The solicitude with which he tended the wounded English soldiers who were conveyed as prisoners to Douay, after the battle of Fontenoy, was brought under the notice of the Duke of Cumberland, who promised Butler a special protection whenever he should come over to England. While he remained at Douay his first publication made its appearance: 'Letters on the History of the Popes published by Mr. Archibald Bower' [q. v.] In 1745-6 he accompanied the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Hon. James Talbot and Thomas Talbot on their travels through France and Italy. He wrote a full account of the tour, which was published at Edinburgh in 1803 by his nephew, Charles Butler. On his return from his travels he was sent to the English mission. He had long been engaged in composing the 'Lives of the Saints,' and he naturally wished to be stationed in London for its literary resources; but the vicar apostolic of the midland district claimed him as belonging to that district, and appointed him to a mission in Staffordshire. Thence he removed to Warkworth, the seat of Mr. Francis Eyre, and next he was appointed chaplain to Edward, duke of Norfolk, and charged with superintending the education of Edward, the duke's nephew, and presumptive heir to the title. His first residence, after he was appointed to this situation, was at Norwich, in a house generally called the Duke's palace. Thither some large boxes of books belonging to him were directed, but by mistake were sent to the bishop's palace. The bishop opened them, and, finding that they contained catholic books, refused to deliver them. In this difficulty Butler appealed to the Duke of Cumberland, who immediately wrote to the bishop, and the books were sent to the owner.

Butler accompanied his pupil, Mr. Edward Howard, to Paris, where that young nobleman, who was the Marcellus of the English catholics, was suddenly taken ill and died a few days afterwards. During his residence in the French capital he completed his 'Lives of the Saints,' a monument of erudition on which he had been engaged for thirty years. The work was published anonymously in London, the full title being 'The Lives of

the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints; compiled from original monuments and other authentick records; illustrated with the remarks of judicious modern critics and historians.' The original edition, bearing the imprint of London, but without the printer's name, appeared in four bulky octavo volumes, the first two in 1756; the third, consisting of two parts, in 1757 and 1758; and the fourth in 1759. The notes were omitted from this edition on the suggestion of Bishop Challoner. The second edition was undertaken after Butler's death by Dr. Carpenter, archbishop of Dublin, and published in that city in 12 vols. 8vo, 1779-80. It contains all the notes omitted from the previous edition, and other matter prepared by the author. The third edition, also in 12 vols., appeared at Edinburgh in 1798-1800. Other editions were published at London, 12 vols., 1812; and at Dublin, 2 vols., 1833-6, 8vo. Dr. Husenbeth's edition was begun in 1857. A 'free' translation into French, by the Abbé Godescard, and Marie Villefranche, in 12 vols. 8vo, was published in 1763 and subsequent years; a new edition, in 10 vols., appeared at Besançon in 1843. The work has been translated into Italian by G. Brunati.

Soon after his return to England he was chosen president of the English college at Saint-Omer. This office he continued to hold during the remainder of his life. He was also appointed vicar-general to the bishops of Arras, Saint-Omer, Ypres, and Boulogne-sur-Mer. He died at Saint-Omer on 15 May 1773.

He projected many works besides the *Lives of the Saints*. His *'Life of Mary of the Cross, a nun in the English convent of Poor Clares at Rouën, appeared in his lifetime; but his treatise on the 'Moveable Feasts and Fasts, and other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church,' was left incomplete, and was published after his death by Bishop Challoner in 1774. He made large collections for lives of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More; and he began a treatise to explain the evidence and truths of natural and revealed religion, being dissatisfied with what Bergier had published on those subjects. He composed many sermons and an immense number of pious discourses. From what remained of the latter the 'Meditations and Discourses on the sublime Truths and important Duties of Christianity,' published by his nephew Charles Butler (1750-1832) [q. v.] (3 vols., London, 1791-3), were collected. He was also the author of *'The Life of Sir Tobie Matthews,'* published at London in 1795 by his nephew, who also edited his uncle's *'Travels through France and Italy, and part of**

*Austrian, French, and Dutch Netherlands, during the years 1745 and 1746'* (Edinburgh, 1803).

His portrait has been engraved by Finden.

[Life of his nephew, Charles Butler (Edin. 1800, with portrait); *Catholicon*, iv. 184; *Catholic Magazine and Review* (Birmingham, 1832), ii. 451; *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine* (1832-3), i. 166; *Notes and Queries* (1st series), viii. 387, ix. 360, (2nd series) ix. 502, x. 79, (3rd series) vi. 538, (5th series) vi. 409, vii. 35; *Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits*, ii. 65; *The True State of the Case of John Butler, B.D., a Minister of the True Church of England; in answer to the Libel of Martha, his sometimes wife* (Lond. 1697); *Lowndes's Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 332; *Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.*] T. C.

**BUTLER, CHARLES** (d. 1647), philologist and author of *'The Feminine Monarchie,'* was born at one of the Wycombes ('Great Wycomb, I suppose,' says Wood) in Buckinghamshire. He entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1579, and afterwards became a bible-clerk at Magdalen College, where he took the degree of B.A. on 6 Feb. 1583-4, and proceeded M.A. on 28 June 1587. On leaving the university he received the mastership of the free school in Basingstoke, Hampshire, which appointment, together with the cure of a small church named Skewres, he held for seven years. Afterwards he was advanced to the poor vicarage of Laurence-Wotton (three miles from Basingstoke), where he continued to officiate for forty-eight years. He died on 29 March 1647, and was buried in the chancel of Laurence-Wotton church.

Butler is the author of *'The Feminine Monarchie, or a Treatise concerning Bees and the due ordering of Bees,'* 1609, 8vo. Prefixed to the treatise are some commendatory verses by Warner, South, and H. Crosby; the preface to the reader is dated from Wotton, 11 July 1609. A second edition, with commendatory verses by Wither, and a frontispiece, appeared in 1623. The third edition (1634) is printed in phonetic spelling, under the title of *'The Feminin' Monarchi, or the Histori of Bees.'* A Latin translation by Richard Richardson, of Emmanuel College, was published in 1673. The most curious part of this entertaining book is the bees' song, a stave of musical notes, arranged in triple time, to represent the humming of bees at swarming. Butler had previously written a Latin treatise on rhetoric, *'Rhetoricæ Libri Duo. Quorum Prior de Tropis & Figuris, Posterior de Voce & Gestu præcipit,'* 4to, which is not known to have been published before 1629, although the dedicatory epistle to Lord Keeper Egerton is dated from Basingstoke '5 Idus Martii 1600.' In 1625 Butler pub-

lished a treatise displaying considerable learning on affinity as a bar to marriage. \*The title of the work is 'Συγγέμεια. De Propinquitatē Matrimonium impediēte Regula, quæ una omnes quæstionē hujus difficultatē facile expediāt,' Oxford, 4to. In 1633 appeared 'The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Words in the English Tongue. Whereunto is annexed an index of words like and unlike,' Oxford, 4to; 2nd ed. 1634, Oxford, 4to. The author dwells upon the capriciousness of English orthography ('neither our new writers agreeing with the old, nor either new nor old among themselves'), and proposes the adoption of a system whereby men should 'write altogether according to the sound now generally received.' Butler's last work was 'The Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting. With the two-fold vse thereof, Ecclesiasticall and Civil,' London, 1636; 4to, dedicated to Prince Charles. Hawkins commends this treatise as learned and valuable.

[Wood's Athenæ (ed. Bliss), iii. 209-10, Fasti, i. 223, 240; Hist. of Hampshire by Woodward, Willis, and Lockhart, iii. 230-2; Fuller's Worthies; Hawkins's History of Music, ed. 1853, p. 574.] A. H. B.

**BUTLER, CHARLES** (1750-1832), catholic and legal writer, was the son of James Butler, brother of the Rev. Alban Butler [q. v.], author of the 'Lives of the Saints,' and was descended from the ancient family of the Butlers of Aston-le-Walls, Northamptonshire. James Butler settled in London and carried on the business of a linen-draper at the sign of the Golden Ball in Pall Mall. There Charles Butler was born on 14 Aug. 1750. In his sixth year he was sent to a catholic school at Hammersmith, kept by a Mr. Plunkett. He remained there three years, and was then sent to Esquerchin, a school dependent on the English college at Douay, to which college, after three years, he was removed. He continued his studies to the end of rhetoric. About 1766 he returned to England, and in 1769 began the study of the law under Mr. Maire, a catholic conveyancer. On the decease of that gentleman he was placed under the care of Mr. Duane, a catholic conveyancer of much greater eminence. Here he formed a close friendship with John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon, who, after attaining to legal eminence, did not forget his old fellow-student. In 1775 Butler set up in business for himself, and entered at Lincoln's Inn. At this period a catholic could not be called to the bar nor hold any official position. In these circumstances Butler commenced practice

under the bar as a conveyancer, which department of the profession was then becoming particularly celebrated, and counted among its members Fearn, Booth, Duane, Shadwell, and others nearly as famous. For many years he was in the full swing of practice, and he was at the head of his profession as a landed property lawyer and a conveyancer until his seventy-fifth year, when he experienced a decay in his sight, and his business considerably declined. He had numerous pupils, and he took delight in making the fortunes of all the young barristers who studied under him. While he was drawing deeds, writing opinions, and delivering *dicta* to his pupils, he was editing 'Coke upon Littleton,' in conjunction with Mr. Hargrave, or composing some literary work. He would steal from his home, even in midwinter, at four in the morning, taking his lantern, lighting the fire in his chamber, and setting doggedly to work till breakfast-time. The whole of the day afterwards was given to the ordinary routine of business.

In the 31st George III, c. 32, an act passed for the relief of the catholics, a clause was inserted (§ 6), as it was understood by the instrumentality of Lord Eldon, then solicitor-general, for dispensing with the necessity of a barrister taking the oath of supremacy or the declaration against transubstantiation. Soon after the passing of this statute Butler availed himself of its provisions, and in 1791 he was called to the bar, being the first catholic barrister since the revolution of 1688. He took this degree rather for the sake of the rank than with any intention of going into court, and he never argued any case at the bar, except the celebrated one of 'Cholmondeley v. Clinton' before Sir Thomas Plumer and the House of Lords. His argument is printed at great length in the reports of Merivale and of Jacob and Walker. In 1832 the lord chancellor (Brougham) informed him that, if he chose to accept a silk gown, he was desirous of giving it to him, and he was accordingly called within the bar and made a bencher of Lincoln's Inn. He took the honour, however, without any view to practice, and he never appeared in court except on the day on which he received his rank, when the lord chancellor departed from the common rule and complimented him on his advancement. This honour was thrown open to him by the catholic relief act.

Butler acted as secretary to the committees formed for promoting the abolition of the penal laws. The first of these committees was appointed in 1782 at a general meeting of the English catholics. It consisted of five members, all laymen; it was to continue

for five years, and its object was to promote and attend to the affairs of the catholic body in England. Dr. (afterwards bishop) Milner, who was Butler's constant and uncompromising antagonist, writing in 1820, says that 'here probably begins that system of lay interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of English catholics which . . . has perpetuated disorder, divisions, and irreligion among too many of them for nearly the last forty years.' The only measure which engaged the attention of the committee was an abortive scheme for the establishment of a regular hierarchy by the appointment of bishops in ordinary instead of vicars apostolic. This first committee was succeeded by another, formed in 1787, consisting of ten lay members, to whom were added, in the year following, three ecclesiastics. In 1788 the committee resolved that Butler, their secretary, should prepare a bill for the repeal of the laws against the catholics. This was accompanied by a declaration of catholic principles, known as the 'Protestation,' which was transmitted to the vicars-apostolic, and eventually, but very reluctantly, signed by them. The committee soon framed an oath containing a new profession of faith, in which they adopted the extraordinary name of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*. The oath was formally condemned by the unanimous decision of the four vicars-apostolic (October 1789), but in spite of this Butler wrote an 'Appeal' addressed to the catholics of England, in defence of the 'protestation' and 'oath,' which appeal was signed by two clerical and five lay members of the committee, who also signed a long letter to the vicars-apostolic, remonstrating against their censure. These papers form the contents of the first of the three famous 'blue books,' so called from their being stitched up in blue, or rather purple covers. Two of the vicars-apostolic died soon after the condemnation of the oath, and these deaths led to active intrigues on the part of the committee to procure the appointment of two successors who might favour their views. Various publications appeared, the object of which was to persuade the clergy and laity that they had a right to choose their own bishops and to procure their consecration by any bishop without reference to the pope. This scheme fell through, and two new vicars-apostolic having been appointed by the holy see, they joined with Dr. Walmsley, the vicar-apostolic of the western district, in an encyclical letter, condemning the proposed oath and disapproving the appellation of protesting catholic dissenters. Instead of submitting, however, the committee published a

'protest,' drawn up by Butler, against the encyclical, and pressed forward the bill containing the condemned oath. At this juncture Dr. Milner was appointed by the two new vicars-apostolic to act as their agent, and he exerted himself to the utmost to circumvent the designs of the committee. His efforts were crowned with success. Soon after the bill was introduced the ministry obliged the committee to drop their new appellation, and they resumed their proper name of Roman catholics. The condemned oath was discarded by parliament, and the Irish oath of 1778 was substituted for it, as the bishops had petitioned.

After the passing of the bill on 7 June 1791 the services of the committee were no longer required, but the members determined to preserve its principles and spirit in another association. Accordingly the *Cis-Alpine Club* was established (12 April 1792), its avowed object being 'to resist any ecclesiastical interference which may militate against the freedom of English catholics.' Eventually a reconciliation was effected between the members of the club and the vicars-apostolic, by means of what was called at the time 'the mediation,' and the catholic board was founded in 1808. At a later period Butler was strongly in favour of giving the government a veto on the appointment of catholic bishops, and this led him into another fierce conflict with Milner, who again achieved a triumph. Butler was, in fact, an ultra-Gallican in regard to his religious views, while his political opinions coincided with those of his distinguished friend, Charles James Fox, and his sympathy was with the French revolution in its civil, though not in its religious, aspect. Towards the close of his life he retracted some of the opinions contained in his writings, and, to quote the words of a personal friend of his, 'he then became a Gallican within the limits of orthodoxy.' He died at his house in Great Ormond Street, London, on 2 June 1832, aged 82. He married Mary, daughter of John Eyston, of East Hendred, in Berkshire, and left two surviving daughters. The elder, Mary, married Lieutenant Charles Stonor, and Theresia, the younger, became the wife of Andrew Lynch, of Lynch Castle, in the town of Galway. His portrait has been engraved by Sievier from a painting by Barry.

As a lawyer he will be remembered chiefly on account of his having continued and completed Hargrave's edition of 'Coke upon Littleton.' In 1785 Hargrave relinquished his part of this arduous undertaking, having annotated to folio 190, being nearly one half of the work, which consists of 393 folios.



The other half was undertaken by Butler, and published in 1787. The merits of this edition of Lord Coke's first institute have been proved by numerous reprints, and Butler's notes have been universally considered the most valuable part of the work. In 1809 he brought out the sixth edition of Fearn's 'Essay on Contingent Remainders.'

His 'Philological and Biographical Works,' published in 5 vols. in 1817, comprise: In vol. i. 'Horræ Biblicæ,' being a connected series of notes on the text and literary history of the bibles or sacred books of the Jews and christians; and on the bibles or books accounted sacred by the Mahometans, Hindus, Parsees, Chinese, and Scandinavians. This work, published first in 1797, has been translated into French. In vol. ii., 'History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Germany,' originally published in 1806. 'Horræ Juridicæ Subsecivæ,' or notes on the Grecian, Roman, Feudal, and Canon Law, published first in 1804. In vol. iii., 'Lives of Fénelon, Bossuet, Boudon, De Rancé, Kempis, and Alban Butler. In vol. iv., 'An Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith, or Symbolic Books of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and principal Protestant Churches,' published originally in 1816; and various essays. In vol. v., 'Historical Memoirs of the Church of France.'

Among his works not included in the above collection are: 1. 'Biographical Account of the Chancellor l'Hôpital and of the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, with a short historical notice of the Mississippi scheme,' 1814. 2. 'Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics since the Reformation; with a succinct account of the principal events in the ecclesiastical history of this country antecedent to that period, and in the histories of the established church and the dissenting congregations,' 4 vols., London, 1819-21, 8vo; 3rd edit., considerably augmented, 4 vols., London, 1822, 8vo. This book contains much useful information, but Butler's statements should be received with caution. Some of them are corrected in Bishop Milner's 'Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics,' 1820. 3. 'Continuation of the Rev. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints to the Present Time,' with some biographical accounts of the Holy Family, Pope Pius VI, Cardinal Ximenes, Cardinal Bellarmine, Bartholomew de Martyribus, and St. Vincent of Paul; with a republication of his historical memoirs of the Society of Jesus, 1823. 4. 'Reminiscences,' 4th ed., 2 vols., 1824. 5. 'The Book of the Roman Catholic Church,' in a series of letters addressed to Robert Southey,

Esq., on his 'Book of the Church,' 1825. Southey's rejoinder was entitled 'Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,' 1826, and Dr. Phillpotts, afterwards bishop of Exeter, answered the theological part of Butler's book. Altogether ten replies appeared on the protestant side; another reply was composed by the Rev. Richard Garnett, but this still remains in manuscript. To these Butler rejoined in the two following publications: 6. 'A Letter to the Right Rev. C. J. Blomfield, bishop of Chester, in vindication of a passage in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, censured in a Letter addressed to the Author, by his lordship,' 1825. 7. 'Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church,' 1826. After the appearance of the 'Vindication,' six additional replies were published by the writers on the protestant side of the question, in reference to which Butler added an Appendix to his 'Vindication.' 8. 'The Life of Erasmus, with Historical Remarks on the state of Literature between the tenth and sixteenth Centuries,' 1825. 9. 'The Life of Hugo Grotius, with brief Minutes of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of the Netherlands,' 1826. 10. 'Memoir of the Life of Henry Francis d'Aguesseau, with an account of the Roman and Canon Law,' 1830.

His letter-books, containing transcripts of his correspondence between 1808 and 1818, are preserved in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS.* 25127-25129). These valuable volumes were presented to the museum by Mr. William Heslop, who rescued them from destruction as waste paper.

[Rev. W. J. Amherst on the Jubilee of Emancipation in Catholic Progress, 1879-84; C. Butler's Reminiscences, and his Memoirs of English Catholics; Catholic Magazine and Review (Birmingham, 1831-4), i. 571, ii. 262, 448, 451, v. 206; Catholicon, iv. 184; Dibdin's Literary Reminiscences, i. 129; Edinburgh Catholic Magazine (1832-3), i. 101, 166; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, ii. 65; Gent. Mag., N.S., cii. (ii.), 269, 661; Georgian Era, iii. 568; Prefaces to Hargrave and Butler's edition of Coke upon Littleton; Hist. MSS. Comm., 3rd Rep. 257; Home and Foreign Review, ii. 536; Husenbeth's Life of Bishop Milner; Legal Observer, iv. 113; *Addit. MSS.* 25127-25129, 28167 ff. 85-87; Martineau's Hist. of England (1850), ii. 190; Milner's Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics; Moore's Journals and Corresp. iv. 261, v. 19; Nichols's Illust. of Lit. v. 615, 618, 680, 692, viii. 333; Notes and Queries (2nd series), viii. 494; Pamphleteer, Nos. 2, 14, 45, 49; Parr's Life and Works, viii. 505-12; Southey's Life and Corresp. v. 204, 207, 234; Tablet, 17 April, 1875, p. 493.] T. C.

**BUTLER, EDMUND** (d. 1551), archbishop of Cashel, illegitimate son of Piers,



eighth Earl of Ormonde, studied at Oxford, became a canon regular of St. Augustine, and was appointed prior of the abbey of that order at Athassel in the county of Tipperary. In 1524 Butler was nominated by the pope to the archbishopric of Cashel, with permission to retain the priory of Athassel. The consecration of Butler took place in 1527. He was a member of the privy council in Ireland, held a provincial synod at Limerick in 1529, and, on the dissolution of religious houses in Ireland, surrendered the abbey of Athassel to the crown.

Butler was present in the parliament at Dublin in 1541 which enacted the statute conferring the title of 'King of Ireland' on Henry VIII and his heirs. The communication addressed to the king on this subject, bearing the signature of the Archbishop of Cashel, has been reproduced on plate lxxi in the third part of 'Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland.' Butler's autograph and archiepiscopal seal were attached to the 'Complaint' addressed to Henry VIII in 1542 by 'the Gentlemen, Inheritors, and Freeholders of the county of Tipperary.' This document also appears in the same 'Facsimiles.' A letter from Butler to the Protector, Somerset, in 1548, is preserved among the state papers in the Public Record Office, London. In 1549-50 Butler took part at Limerick with James, Earl of Desmond, and the king's commissioners, in the enactment of ordinances for the government of Munster. References to Butler and his proceedings concerning public affairs in the districts of Ireland with which he was connected occur in the English governmental correspondence of his time. Butler died in March 1550-1, and was buried in the cathedral, Cashel, under an elaborate marble monument which he had erected, but which does not now exist.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 757; *Archiepiscoporum Casselliensium Vitæ*, 1626; Ware's *Bishops of Ireland*, i. 482-3; *Hibernia Sacra*, 1717; *State Papers, Ireland*; *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, 1848; Shirley's *Original Letters*, 1851; Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, 1876.]

J. T. G.

**BUTLER, SIR EDWARD GERARD** (1770-1825), one of the heroes of the affair at Villiers-en-Couche, entered the army by purchasing a cornetcy in the 15th light dragoons in 1792. He was at once sent to Flanders on the outbreak of the war. In 1793, and on 24 April 1794 was one of the officers of the two companies of his regiment which overthrew a French army and saved the life of the emperor. Landrecy was closely invested by the Austrian and English armies, when a corps of 10,000 Frenchmen moved from Caesar's

camp to raise the siege. Their march was so rapid that they were close to the allied lines, and on the point of taking the emperor himself prisoner as he was riding along the road almost unattended, when General Otto perceived the danger, and ordered the only cavalry he had at hand, namely, 160 of the 15th light dragoons and 112 Austrian hussars, to charge the French, in order rather to save the emperor than to defeat the enemy. They charged, and the French were seized with an unaccountable panic and fled, leaving three guns behind them. For this gallant charge the emperor conferred upon every one of the eight English officers who were present the order of Maria Theresa, and the king of England, at the emperor's request, knighted them all. Butler had been promoted lieutenant in the 11th light dragoons in May 1794, and he was in 1796 gazetted major without purchase in the newly raised 87th regiment. With it he served in the West Indies in 1797 at Trinidad and Porto Rico, and remained in garrison there till 1802. In 1804 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel, and in 1806 the 87th was ordered to form part of the expedition under Sir Samuel Auchmuty to Monte Video. In the attack on Monte Video Butler especially distinguished himself, and also in Whitelocke's attempt on Buenos Ayres, where the 87th had 17 officers and 400 men killed and wounded. From 1807 to 1810, while the 2nd battalion, under Colonel Hugh Gough, was distinguishing itself in the Peninsula, the 1st battalion of the 87th, under Butler, garrisoned the Cape of Good Hope. In 1810 he was second in command of a force ordered from the Cape to assist Major-general Abercromby in the reduction of the Mauritius, but the island was already taken when the contingent arrived. Nevertheless, though he saw no more service, Butler was promoted colonel in 1811 and major-general in 1814, and made a C.B. in the latter year. He died in Normandy in June 1825.

[*Royal Military Calendar*, ed. 1820, for the affair of Villiers-en-Couche, and contemporary journals; *Records of 87th Regiment*.] H. M. S.

**BUTLER, LADY ELEANOR** (1745?-1829), recluse of Llangollen, was the youngest daughter of Walter Butler, by Ellen, daughter of Nicholas Morres of Latargh, Tipperary. Her father was a collateral descendant and only lineal representative of James Butler, second duke of Ormonde, who had been attainted in 1715. Her brother John (1740-1795) claimed the Irish titles of his family, which had been forfeited by the act of attainder, and in 1791 he was acknowledged seventeenth earl of Ormonde by the Irish House of Lords. The rank

of an earl's daughter was at the same time bestowed on Eleanor and her sisters. Some years previously—in 1774 according to one account, and in 1779 according to another—Lady Eleanor and a friend, Sarah Ponsonby, daughter of Chambre Brabazon Ponsonby, cousin of the Earl of Bessborough, had resolved to live together in complete isolation from society. According to a writer in 'Notes and Queries,' 4th ser. iv. 12, they were both born on the same day of the same year at Dublin, and lost their parents at the same time. But the obituary notice of Miss Ponsonby in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1831, pt. i. 272, is probably correct in making her ten years younger than her companion. Their relatives dissuaded them from their plan, and, when they first left their homes, brought them back. Soon afterwards, however, they made their way to a cottage at Plasnewydd in the vale of Llangollen, accompanied by a maid-servant, Mary Caryll. Their names were not known in the neighbourhood, and they were called 'the ladies of the vale.' Here they lived in complete seclusion for some fifty years, and neither left the cottage for a single night until their deaths. Their devotion to each other and their eccentric manners gave them wide notoriety. All tourists in Wales sought introduction to them, and many made the journey to Llangollen for the special purpose of visiting them. Foreigners of distinction figured largely among their visitors, and they received a number of orders from members of the Bourbon family. In 1796 Miss Anna Seward wrote a poem, 'Llangollen Vale,' in their honour. In September 1802 she addressed a poetical farewell to them. Madame de Genlis, another visitor, has given an account of them in her 'Souvenirs de Félicie.' De Quincey saw them during his Welsh ramble (*Confessions*, 1856, p. 121). In 1828 Prince Pückler-Muskau saw them at their cottage, and wrote a very elaborate description of them. He says that his grandfather had visited them half a century before, that 'the two celebrated virgins' were 'certainly the most celebrated in Europe.' According to the prince they were invariably dressed in a semi-masculine costume. Lady Eleanor Butler died 2 June 1829, and her companion, Miss Ponsonby, died 8 Dec. 1831. With their servant, Mary Caryll, who died before either of them, they lie buried in Plasnewydd churchyard under a triangular pyramid inscribed with their names. Portraits of them and their cottage are often met with. A painting of them by Lady Leighton has been engraved by Lane.

[Gent. Mag. 1829, ii. 175-6, and 1832, i. 274; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. iv. 12, 220 (where

Prince Pückler's account is translated from his *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*; Stuttgart, 1831, i. 18-22); Burke's *Patrician* (1841), v. 486; Brit. Mag. (ed. S. C. Hall), 1830, p. 8; Burke's *Peerage*, s.v. 'Ormonde'; Seward's *Letters*, iii. 70-80, 345.]  
S. L. L.

**BUTLER, GEORGE, D.D.** (1774-1853), head master of Harrow and dean of Peterborough, was born in Pimlico, London, 5 July 1774, being the second son of the Rev. Weeden Butler, the elder [q. v.], by Anne, daughter of Isaac Louis Giberne. He was educated in his father's school, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, and then became a foundation scholar of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he was senior wrangler and senior Smith's prizeman, January 1794, graduated B.A. in the same year, took his M.A. 1797, and his B.D. and D.D. in 1804 and 1805. His college elected him a fellow, and for some years he acted as mathematical lecturer, and then as classical tutor. It was also probably during this period that he commenced keeping his terms at Lincoln's Inn. He was elected a public examiner at Cambridge in 1804, and in 1805 was nominated one of the eight select preachers before the university. In April 1805 he became head-master of Harrow School in succession to Dr. Joseph Drury. In 1814 he was presented by his college to the rectory of Gayton, Northamptonshire. He continued in his arduous office at Harrow until 1829, when, after a head-mastership of four and twenty years, he retired to the living of Gayton, and devoted himself with the same unwearied zeal to the duties of a parish priest. In November 1836 he was named chancellor of the diocese of Peterborough, and he was appointed by Sir Robert Peel to the deanery of Peterborough 3 Nov. 1842. Few men could compete with Butler in versatility of mind, and in the variety of his accomplishments. Besides his great mathematical attainments he was also a distinguished classical scholar, and spoke German, French, and Italian with correctness and fluency. He was practically versed in chemistry and other branches of physical science. He was a good physician and draughtsman, and he excelled in all athletic exercises. His affection for Harrow School, in the service of which so many of the most active years of his life had been passed, amounted to a passion, and he maintained with his successors a constant and most friendly intercourse. On leaving Harrow he was presented by his pupils and others who had left the school with a piece of plate of the value of nearly 500*l*. His latter years were years of suffering; in 1849 disease of the heart declared itself, and a gradual failure of sight.

ensued, ending in almost total blindness. His death was quite sudden; while seated at table with his family he became rapidly insensible, and in the course of ten minutes passed away, almost without a struggle, at the Deanery, Peterborough, 30 April 1853. He was buried at Gayton church. A monument by Richard Westmacott, R.A., to the memory of Butler was erected in Harrow Church in July 1854. He married, 18 March 1818, Sarah Maria, eldest daughter of John Gray of Wembley Park, Middlesex. He lived to see four sons obtain distinguished honours at the universities. His youngest son, Henry Montagu, was also headmaster of Harrow from 1859 to 1885. He wrote or compiled: 1. 'Extracts from the Communion Service of the Church,' 1839; second edition 1842. 2. 'Statutes of Peterborough Cathedral, translated by G. Butler,' 1853. 3. 'Harrow, a selection of the Lists of the School, 1770-1828, with annotations upon the later fortunes of the scholars,' 1849. The addition of two sermons preached in 1830 and 1843 completes the short list of his publications.

[Gent. Mag. xxxix. 662-64 (1853), and xlii. 153-64 (1854); Illustrated London News, xxii. 343, 483 (1853), and xxv. 257 (1854).] G. C. B.

**BUTLER, GEORGE SLADE** (1821-1882), antiquary, was the son of Richard Weeden Butler, a surgeon in large practice at Rye, Sussex, by his third wife, Rhoda Jane, only daughter of Daniel Slade, of London and Rye. Born at Rye, 4 March 1821, he was educated at a private school at Brighton, and, adopting the law as his future profession, was admitted a solicitor in Hilary term, 1843. He soon attained considerable business in his native town, where, among other valuable appointments, he held the town-clerkship and the registrarship of the county court. His 'Topographica Sussexiana,' which originally appeared in the 'Collections' of the Sussex Archaeological Society, and was afterwards reprinted in one volume, is a creditable attempt towards forming a list of the various publications relating to the county. Butler also contributed to the same serial many papers on the antiquities of Rye, where he died, 11 April 1882. He had been elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in March 1862.

[Information from Mr. Slade Butler; Hastings and St. Leonards News, 21 April 1882; Hastings and St. Leonards Independent, 13 April 1882; Law List.] G. G.

**BUTLER, JAMES**, second **EARL OF ORMONDE** (1331-1382), was descended from the same family as Theobald Butler [q. v.] The

grandfather of the second earl of Ormonde was created earl of Carrick, but this title according to Mr. J. H. Round, was not inherited by the son, who was created earl of Ormonde after his marriage to Eleanor de Bohun, granddaughter of Edward I. The second earl, surnamed the 'noble earl' (because the son of a princess), was born at Kilkenny on 4 Oct. 1331. On his father's death in 1377 he was given in ward to Maurice, earl of Desmond, and afterwards to Sir John d'Arcy, whose daughter he married during his minority. His royal descent, as well as his personal services, commended him to the favour of Edward III and Richard II, from whom he received many grants of lands. On 18 April 1359 he was made viceroy of Ireland as lord justice, and after a short absence in England, during which the office was held by Maurice FitzThomas, earl of Kildare, he was again appointed on 15 March 1360. When Lionel, duke of Clarence, was sent to Ireland as viceroy in 1361 in order to take more energetic measures for its reduction, he was appointed one of the three chief officers of his army at the pay of 4s. a day. He did great service in assisting the prince, and, according to records preserved in the corporation books of Kilkenny, slew at Teagstoffin, in the county of Kilkenny, 600 of MacMorrough's men on the feast of St. Kenelm, 1362. During Lionel's absence in 1364-6 he was appointed deputy along with Sir Thomas Dale. He was again made lord justice in 1376, and continued in this office till the first of Richard II. He died on 18 Oct. 1382 in his castle of Knocktopher, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. He left one son, James, who succeeded him as third earl.

[Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxx-i; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, iv. pp. 8, 9; Gilbert's Viceroys of Ireland; Genealogist, new ser. vol. ii. (1885), p. 188.] T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JAMES**, fourth **EARL OF ORMONDE** (d. 1452), commonly called the 'white earl,' son of the third earl of Ormonde [see under **BUTLER, JAMES**, second earl], and Anne, daughter of John, Lord Welles, succeeded his father in September 1405, not being at that time of full age. Owing to the care his father had taken in his education, he excelled in learning most of the noblemen of his time. While still under age, he was in 1407 appointed deputy during the absence of Sir Stephen Scrope in England. After the arrival soon afterwards of Thomas of Lancaster, the lord-lieutenant, he contracted with him an intimate friendship, and in 1412 accompanied him on his travels in France. Having attended Henry V in his French wars, he was on his return appointed in 1420

lord-lieutenant. In 1422 he invaded the territory of the O'Mores, and pursued his army through the red bog of Athy, when, according to the chroniclers, the sun favoured him by miraculously standing still for three hours. Violent feuds had long existed between the Butlers and the Talbots, and in 1422 Sir John Talbot arraigned the Earl of Ormonde for treason, but the crown and council in 1423 ordered the annulment of all proceedings connected with the dispute. After the death of Henry V, the Earl of Ormonde was replaced in the government of Ireland by Edmund Mortimer, but on several occasions he acted as deputy before he was again appointed viceroy in 1440. Attempts were again made by the Talbots to overthrow his influence, and Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, having been delegated in November 1441 to lay various requests before the king, took the opportunity of representing the advantages that would accrue to Ireland by his removal from office; but notwithstanding this he was appointed lord-lieutenant in 1443. Owing, however, to representations that he was old and feeble, he was dismissed in 1446. In 1447 John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who had succeeded him as lord-lieutenant, accused him of high treason, but the king dismissed the complaint, and by patent, 20 Sept. 1448, declared that 'no one should dare, on pain of his indignation, to revive the accusation or reproach of his conduct.' He died at Atherdee in the county of Louth, on 23 Aug. 1452. He specially interested himself in history and antiquities, and bequeathed lands to the College of Heralds. By his first wife, Johan, daughter of Gerald, fifth earl of Kildare, he had three sons—successively earls of Ormonde—and two daughters; but by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Bergavenny and widow of Lord Grey, he had no issue.

[Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormonde* (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxiv–viii; Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, iv. 11–14; Gilbert's *Viceroy of Ireland*.]

T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JAMES**, fifth EARL OF ORMONDE and EARL OF WILTSHIRE (1420–1461), was the eldest son of James Butler, the fourth

1420. He was knighted when very young by Henry VI, and he attended Richard, duke of York, regent of France, in his expedition into that kingdom. On account of his zealous support of the Lancastrian interest, he was on 8 July 1449, during the lifetime of his father, created a peer of England by the title of earl of Wiltshire. In the following year he was

constituted a commissioner, to whom the town and castle of Calais, with other French fortresses, were committed for five years. In 1451 he was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland in the absence of the Duke of York, and on the death of his father he was in 1453 appointed viceroy for ten years. In the same year, along with the Earl of Salisbury and other great lords, he undertook the guarding of the seas for three years, receiving the tonnage and poundage to support the charge thereof. On 13 March 1455 he was appointed lord high treasurer of England, and shortly afterwards fought for the king at the battle of St. Albans, when, the Yorkists prevailing, he fled, casting his armour into a ditch. He was superseded as lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of York, but in 37 Henry VI was restored to the post of lord-treasurer, and next year made a knight of the Garter. Soon afterwards he fitted out a fleet of five ships at Genoa, with which he sailed to the Netherlands against the Earl of Warwick, but returned before the battle of Wakefield on 31 Dec. 1460, in which he commanded a wing of the army which enclosed and slew the Duke of York. On 2 Feb. 1461, along with the Earl of Pembroke, he suffered a disastrous defeat from Edward, earl of March, at Mortimer's Cross, and on 29 March was taken prisoner at the battle of Towton, Yorkshire. He is said to have been beheaded at Newcastle on 1 May following. In the first parliament of Edward IV he was attainted, along with his brothers John and Thomas, and his estates forfeited and resumed. As he left no issue, the earldom of Wiltshire lapsed with him, but he was succeeded in the earldom of Ormonde by his brother, Sir John de Ormonde.

[Stow's *Annals*; Dugdale's *Baronage*, ii. 235; Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, iv. 14–16; Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormonde* (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxix–lxxxii; The *Ormonde Attainders*, by Hubert Hall, in the *Genealogist*, new ser. i. 76–9; The *Barony of Arklow*, by J. H. Round, in vol. i. of *Foster's Collectanea Genealogica*.]

T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JAMES** (fl. 1631–1634), military adventurer, was one of the many members of the Irish house of Butler who in the seventeenth century gained reputation as soldiers. Not less than six officers of the name appear to be distinguishable in the imperial service during the thirty years' war. The James Butler in question is said to have belonged to the branch of his house which traced its origin to the first viscount Mountgarret, the second son of Pierce, eighth earl of Ormonde and Ossory [q. v.] He is first met with in Poland, where he levied at his own

expense a regiment of not less than fifteen companies (ten being the usual number in the imperial army). Very possibly, since Gustavus Adolphus is said to have cherished a deadly hatred against him, he was the Butler who, after having in 1627 shared in a defeat of the Poles near Danzig, in the following year contributed to the Polish success against the Swedes at Osterode. It was certainly he who early in 1631 opportunely brought up his regiment, which was largely officered by Irishmen, including his kinsman Walter Butler [q. v.], to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in Silesia, where the imperialists under Tiefenbach were awaiting the approach of Gustavus Adolphus at the head of a much superior force. Before the arrival of the Swedes, James Butler, in order if possible to obtain more soldiers and supplies for Frankfort, proceeded to the camp of Tilly, who was marching upon Magdeburg. Butler came too late, but he appears to have taken part in the siege of Magdeburg, the result of which terribly avenged the fall of Frankfort. After the capture of Magdeburg and before the battle of Breitenfeld he appears to have rejoined Tiefenbach, who had invaded Lusatia with such forces as he could command, but whom the news of the great defeat of Tilly obliged to retreat into Bohemia, where he occupied Nimburg on the Elbe, November 1631. A Saxon army under Arnim having taken position on the other side of the river, Butler was with his Irish regiment, as it is now called, sent across a wooden bridge to fortify and hold the *tête de pont* on the enemy's side; and his defence, ending with the burning down of the bridge, was so vigorous that finally Arnim returned to Prague.

Not long afterwards, however, the Irish colonel, who had many adversaries or rivals, quitted the imperial service, and, making use of the liberty which he had reserved to himself, returned into Poland, where he fought against the Muscovites in the war which lasted from 1632 to 1634. He was at least in so far consistent in his choice of side, that he served against an enemy who on principle excluded mercenaries professing the faith of Rome (HERRMANN, *Geschichte des russischen Reiches*, iii. 54). After this nothing certain is known of him, for there seems no reason for accepting a conjecture which identifies him with a Butler said to have fallen at Ross in March 1642, fighting on the side of the Irish catholics under General Preston against the royal troops under the head of his house James Butler, earl (afterwards marquis and twelfth duke) of Ormonde.

[Carve's *Itinerarium*, pars i. (1st ed. 1639), and the *Series Butlerianæ Prosapiæ* in pars ii.

(1st ed. 1641); La Roche's *Der dreissigjährige Krieg vom militärischen Standpunkte, &c.*, vol. 7. (1851); Hess's *Biographien &c. zu Schillers Wallenstein* (1859) pp. 392, 396.] A. W. W.

**BUTLER, JAMES**, twelfth EARL and first DUKE OF ORMONDE (1610–1688), was the eldest son of Thomas, Viscount Thurles, and Elizabeth Poyntz, and grandson of Walter Butler of Kilcash, eleventh Earl of Ormonde in 1614 [q. v.]. He was born on 19 Oct. 1610 at Clerkenwell. His pedigree reaches back to Theobald Butler [q. v.], hereditary butler of Ireland. His earliest infancy was spent at Hatfield under the care of a carpenter's wife, during his parents' absence, but in 1613 they sent for him to Ireland. In 1619 his father was drowned at sea, and his mother then took him back to England and placed him at school under a Roman catholic tutor at Finchley. On his father's death he became, by some legal subtlety, a royal ward, although holding no lands in chief of the crown. The king, anxious to bring up the head of so powerful a family as a protestant, placed him at Lambeth under the tutelage of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, where, however, he appears to have received a very meagre education, and where, the whole estate of his family being in sequestration, he was in great want of money, 40*l.* a year being all that was allowed him. His grandfather [see BUTLER, WALTER] was released from the Fleet prison in 1625, and the youth, who was termed by courtesy Lord Thurles, went to reside with him in Drury Lane. Here he continued for two years in the enjoyment of town life, and in constant attendance on the court. Upon the occasion of the Duke of Buckingham's projected expedition to Rochelle, he went to Portsmouth in the hope of being allowed to volunteer for service, but the duke refused permission on finding that he had not secured his grandfather's consent. Six months later he fell in love with his cousin, Elizabeth Preston, the sole daughter and heir of Richard, earl of Desmond, and Elizabeth Butler, the daughter of his grandfather's brother, Earl Thomas. She was herself a ward of the crown, or rather of the Earl of Holland, upon whom Charles I had bestowed the wardship. A marriage between them appeared a convenient way of putting an end to the lawsuits between the families, and of uniting the Ormonde and Desmond estates. The opportune deaths of the Duke of Buckingham, who had warmly espoused the cause of the Desmond family, and of the Earl of Desmond, the lad's guardian since 1624, removed the chief obstacles to this step; while Lord Holland's approval was purchased for 15,000*l.* Charles gave his con-

sent by letters patent of 8 Sept. 1629, and the marriage took place at Christmas of the same year. The following year Lord Thurlus spent with his wife at his uncle's, Sir Robert Poynitz, at Acton in Gloucestershire, where he studied Latin for the first time, and at the end of 1630 they went to live with his grandfather, Earl Walter, at Carrick, until his death in 1632, when James succeeded to the earldom of Ormonde and Ossory. In 1631 he made a journey to England, travelling through Scotland, and showed his activity by riding from Edinburgh to Ware in three days. In the beginning of 1633, his grandmother too having died, he returned to Ireland, accomplishing the whole journey to Carrick between four in the morning of Saturday and three o'clock on Monday afternoon. Throughout his life he was distinguished for his physical strength and comeliness, for his attention to dress, and for the dignity of his carriage. His own tastes were simple—it is recorded that his favourite dinner was a boiled leg of mutton (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep. 486 b)—but he was careful always to observe an almost regal display in the conduct of his household. Upon the arrival of Wentworth in Ireland as deputy in July 1633, Ormonde at once attracted his attention, as much by his distinguished appearance as by his readiness to assist in raising the supplies of which Charles was in need. On 14 July 1634, at the opening of parliament, he carried the sword before Wentworth. There shortly occurred a characteristic instance of his independence of spirit. Wentworth, fearing scenes of violence in the parliament, had ordered that none should enter wearing their swords. Ormonde refusing to give up his sword, and the usher insisting, 'the earl told him that if he had his sword it should be in his guts, and so marched on to his seat, and was the only peer who sat with a sword that day in the house.' When sent for by Wentworth he replied that he had seen the proclamation, but was only obeying a higher order, inasmuch as his writ summoned him to come to parliament *cum gladio cinctus*. It was clear to Wentworth that he must either crush so independent a man or make a friend of him; wisely enough he determined to take the latter course, and shortly reported most highly of him to the king, finishing the eulogium with 'He is young, but take it from me, a very staid head.' Ormonde and Wentworth lived on the best terms until the latter's death. Ormonde actively supported the deputy in the parliament of 1640; and when Wentworth left the country in April to join Charles, he committed to Ormonde the entire care of levy-

ing and raising the new army. Since 1631 he had been in command of a troop of horse, and in 1638 had raised a second troop of cuirassiers. A regiment of cavalry was now given to him; he was made lieutenant-general of the horse, and commander-in-chief of all the forces in the kingdom during Strafford's absence. So active was he in his charge that by the middle of July the troops came to the rendezvous at Carrickfergus in complete readiness for action. Ormonde was, however, unable himself to join them in consequence of his wife's illness.

Towards the end of 1640 a remonstrance against Strafford's government was passed by the Irish House of Commons and published in England, but Ormonde successfully opposed a similar remonstrance in the House of Lords. On the death of Wandesford, Strafford urged Charles to make Ormonde deputy; the opposition, however, in the Irish Commons, who were now acting in a great degree under the inspiration of the English parliament, was too strong. He supported Strafford against the attacks made upon him in the parliament of 1641, and, as chairman of the lords' committee on privileges, strongly opposed the commons in the dispute which arose in the Fitzgerald case (*CARTE, Ormond*, i. 250, *Clar. Press* edit.) Strafford had, it is stated, urged the king, as one of his last requests, that the garter which his death left vacant might be bestowed upon Ormonde. The latter, however, declined it on the ground that such a gift might possibly engage some other person to the crown, and desired that rewards to himself might be reserved until all danger was over. This story is vouched for by Sir Robert Southwell in his manuscripts, p. 18.

Upon the news of the outbreak of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641 reaching Charles, he at once appointed Ormonde lieutenant-general of his army. Twice also he sent him private instructions to gather into one body the Irish army which was being disbanded, and to seize Dublin Castle in his name by the authority of the Irish parliament, hoping to win the Irish to his cause by the grant of religious liberty (*GARDINER, Hist. Eng.* x. 7, ed. 1884). He does not, however, appear to have moved in this direction. His proposal to collect immediately all available forces and march against the rebels was overruled by the lords justices, who appear to have been jealous of his power, and who were in correspondence with the English commons. Their policy, indeed, appears to have been to employ him as little as possible in his military capacity, and the jealousy with which they regarded him was of the greatest disadvantage at the time of the dis-

affection of the English pale and the insurrection of Munster. In January 1641-2, however, Ormonde made a short expedition to drive the rebels out of the Naas, and, fresh forces having arrived from England, attacked and defeated a body of 3,000 rebels at Killsalghen, and in March he received orders from the lords justices to march with fire and sword into the pale, after the rebellion had drawn in the catholic gentry of English descent. He raised the siege of Drogheda, but from the further march on Newry which he proposed he was stopped by letters of recall from the lords justices. The success of the expedition was recognised by the English parliament in a letter written by the speaker on 9 April. He received their approbation a second time in a letter drawn up by Hollis on 20 July, accompanied by a jewel of the value of 620*l.*, and it is stated that on 10 May the House of Commons moved the lords to join in an address to the king that he should offer Ormonde the garter (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 147). On 15 March he had fought and won the bloody battle of Kiltrush with great slaughter of the rebels, displaying sound generalship and personal courage. In June of the same year he was employed in quieting Connaught. A dispute with Lord Leicester, the lord-lieutenant, on the subject of the power of appointment in the army, was ruled by the king in Ormonde's favour, and a warrant was shortly afterwards signed under the great seal, 16 Sept., whereby he was appointed to the lieutenant-generalship immediately under the crown instead of, as heretofore, under the lord-lieutenant. At the same time he was created a marquis by the king. His appointment to the independent command of the army was of great importance at this juncture, as endeavours were being made to engage the Irish forces for the parliament. The continued obstructions, however, from the lords justices, and a violent illness which threatened his life, prevented him from taking an active part in suppressing the rebellion during the autumn of 1642. Meantime Thomas Preston had landed at Wexford with abundant supplies for the rebel army, a general assembly had been held at Kilkenny, and a complete political organisation established by the rebels. The catholic nobility and gentry having desired to lay their grievances before Charles, Ormonde sent their request to the king, and in January 1642-3 was appointed with others by him to receive and transmit their statement of grievances. He therefore on 3 Feb. sent to Kilkenny to request the discontented lords and gentry to send a deputation to meet himself and his fellow-commissioners

at Drogheda on the 23rd. The meeting took place at Trim on 17 March. Meanwhile much against the desire of the lords justices, he insisted upon leading the expedition to Ross, leaving Dublin on 2 March with 3,000 men. He reached Ross, in which the rebels were entrenched, on the 12th, but in an assault was beaten off, and through want of provisions was compelled to raise the siege on the 17th, and give battle on the 18th to Preston, who had under his command nearly 7,000 men. In this battle Ormonde showed considerable generalship, and won an important victory with slight loss. He returned to Dublin, where he received from the meeting at Trim the remonstrance of the rebels, which he at once transmitted to Charles. The lords justices had taken advantage of his absence to write a letter to the king urging him on no account to consent to a peace, but they refused to accept Ormonde's motion for sending also an account of the present state of the country, and Ormonde, to counteract them, drew up, in conjunction with other leading loyalists, an account of the desperate condition of the army and the immediate need of further help. Charles, however, was not capable of sending the required assistance, nor could it be obtained from the English parliament. On 23 April, therefore, the king sent Ormonde a commission, 'with all secrecy and convenient expedition,' to treat with the rebels and agree to a cessation of arms. Meantime, in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught the rebels had been carrying all before them, and it was only in Ulster that they were severely checked in the rout of Owen O'Neill by the Scotch forces under Stewart. The treaty for the cessation began in June, but, through Ormonde's refusal to accept the conditions of the rebels, was broken off in July. The Scotch had now declared for the parliament and raised an army against the king; peace in Ireland became more than ever necessary, and on 2 July Ormonde received fresh instructions to conclude the cessation for a year. He reopened the negotiations at once on 26 Aug., and the cessation was signed on 15 Sept. The king now required all the Irish troops that could be spared for England, and in November, having first extracted from his officers an oath of loyalty to the king and the church, which only two of them, Monck being one, declined to take, Ormonde managed to send over some 5,000 men under Lord Byron, who did good service in Cheshire until routed by Fairfax, at Nantwich, in January 1644. At the same time, in obedience to special instructions, he exerted himself to keep the Scotch army from joining their fellows in Scotland.



An attempt by Ormonde to induce the Irish catholics also to carry out the articles of the cessation and furnish the king with an army was entirely futile. Meanwhile the king called for Lord Leicester's resignation, and made Ormonde lord-lieutenant by a commission which he received in January 1643-4. In pursuance of his instructions he vigorously forwarded the expedition of the Irish forces, prepared by the Earl of Antrim, to assist Montrose in Scotland; and to prevent a renewal of the war gave favourable terms to the catholics. He was not, however, able to prevent many of the English troops from joining the Scotch forces in Ulster in taking the covenant, or wholly to keep the latter, a point much pressed by Charles, from joining their fellows in Scotland. In April, Monroe, who commanded in Ulster, received a commission from the English parliament to command in chief all the forces in Ulster, both Scotch and English. He at once seized Belfast, and in breach of the cessation marched against the Irish. Ormonde knew that Monroe was acting in the parliament's interest. At the same time the council of Kilkenny urged him to declare the Scots rebels, and the council offered him the command of all their forces. It appeared therefore that he must either assist the parliamentary party or that of the catholic rebels. He refused to listen to the suggestion of the Irish, and contented himself with assisting them to send agents to the king at Oxford to represent them at the treaty then being carried on. The demands, both of protestants and catholics, were referred by the English council to him for settlement on 26 July, and negotiations for a definite peace, the cessation having been renewed, were opened on 6 Sept. at Dublin. So irreconcilable, however, were the rival demands, that they were broken off in October, and not again renewed until April 1645. Ormonde meanwhile had, in despair of any favourable settlement, urgently requested to be relieved of his government. Charles refused to comply with this request, and not only appointed a commission to inquire into the amount of his personal sacrifices in his service and to arrange for their repayment, but sent him full discretionary powers for concluding a peace, even to the restoring of the rebels, who should submit, to their estates and possessions; the entire repeal of the penal statutes was alone denied him. Meantime his government was much harassed by frequent plots among discontented officers. He succeeded, however, in making a temporary arrangement with Monroe, the commander of the Scotch forces, whereby union was established until the arrival in October of Sir R. King and Arthur

Annesley, who came as a commission from the English parliament. Through great difficulties the treaty of peace gradually drew to a conclusion. As the weakness of the king became more apparent the demands of the rebels increased. On the subject of the penal laws they insisted upon entire freedom being granted, and they refused Ormonde's demand for the restoration of the churches to the protestant clergy; while they further insisted upon the maintenance of their provisional government until every article had been confirmed by act of parliament. These demands Charles utterly refused, and Ormonde then drew up a list of the 'concessions' which he thought proper for the king's consideration. There were exemptions from penalties and incapacities on the score of religion, concessions of places of command, honour, and trust, and the removal of many minor grievances. It was at this point that the Glamorgan episode occurred which cut the ground from Ormonde's feet. On 25 Aug., representing himself as empowered by the king, who had given him merely a roving commission, Glamorgan signed a private treaty with the Irish agents, by which the catholics obtained the entire repeal of the penal laws, the possession of all the churches which they had seized since 23 Oct. 1641, exemption from all jurisdiction of protestant clergy, and the enjoyment of the tithes, glebes, and church revenues then in their possession. In return they promised a force of 10,000 men for England under Glamorgan's leadership. The warrant which Glamorgan produced was utterly repudiated by Charles and his ministers as a forgery, and Glamorgan was imprisoned at Dublin. This naturally excited the Irish to the utmost, and the difficulties in the way of the treaty were rendered still greater by the indefatigable efforts of the pope's nuncio to defeat it. Nevertheless Ormonde succeeded in bringing it to a conclusion on 28 March 1646, upon the basis of the above-mentioned 'concessions,' with the condition that it should not be held of force until the Irish had despatched 10,000 men to England by 1 May. Meantime Charles, now in the hands of the Scots, sent to Ormonde, through the Prince of Wales, private assurances of his full confidence; and Digby, on the king's part, declared that the immediate conclusion of the peace was absolutely necessary. The peace was therefore published, although the conditions had not been fulfilled, on 29 July. Supported, however, by the pope's nuncio, the Irish rebels strongly opposed it, and it seemed probable that Dublin would fall into their hands. In this extremity Ormonde determined to apply to the



English parliament for help. By 2 Nov. Dublin was for a few days besieged by Preston and O'Neile. On the 14th the parliamentary commissioners arrived, and a treaty with them was immediately begun, but conditions could not be arranged, and the commissioners were forced to retire to Ulster. The agreement between Preston and the nuncio, however, and the rejection of the peace by the general assembly of the catholics at Kilkenny in February 1646-7, on the nuncio's advice, determined Ormonde again to approach the parliament. Dublin was relieved by an English force in the spring, and on 7 June the commissioners of the parliament again arrived. On the 19th the treaty was concluded. Ormonde was to give up the sword on 28 July or sooner, on four days' notice. The protestants were to be secured in their estates; all who had paid contributions were to be protected in person and estate; all noblemen, gentlemen, and officers who wished to leave Ireland with Ormonde were to have free passes; popish recusants who had remained loyal were to be in all respects favourably regarded by the parliament; and the debts he had incurred in the defence of Dublin were to be paid. This last condition was very imperfectly fulfilled. On the 28th Ormonde delivered up the regalia and sailed for England, landing at Bristol on 2 Aug. Having reached London, he had an interview with Charles at Hampton Court, when he received a full approval of his conduct in Ireland, and where he had directions to agree, if possible, upon measures with the Scotch commissioners, who had just arrived in London. Warned in February 1647-8 that the parliament intended to seize his person, he escaped to France, and at Paris found the Irish agents who had been sent by the Kilkenny assembly to treat with the queen and Prince of Wales, with the particular object of inducing the latter to come over with arms and money, but also with wide demands for the restoration of the native Irish to their estates. Under Ormonde's advice an answer was returned that the queen and the prince would send a representative to treat with the assembly on the spot, and in August he himself began his journey thither. On leaving Havre he was shipwrecked and had to wait in that port for some weeks; but at the end of September he again embarked, arriving at Cork on the 29th. At the end of October he received full instructions from Charles, who was in the Isle of Wight. He was ordered to obey the queen's commands, and to disobey all issued by the king publicly till he should give him notice that he was free from restraint. On 6 Oct. Ormonde had published

a declaration against both the rebels and the independents, promising equal favour to all who remained loyal. Having pacified the mutiny which had broken out in the army under Inchiquin, he succeeded in bringing about a general peace between the royalists and the Irish rebels on 17 Jan. 1649.

Upon the death of the king Ormonde at once proclaimed Charles II, and strongly urged the young king to come to Ireland. With the utmost difficulty he collected forces to attack Dublin. He took Drogheda, and in July blockaded the capital, but was defeated at Rathmines, with the loss of all his artillery, by Jones, who commanded in Dublin, and who made a determined sally. He thereupon managed to conclude a treaty with O'Neile, who had kept aloof from the general pacification; but all dreams of reconquering the country were finally ended by the landing of Cromwell on 15 Aug. On 9 Sept. Drogheda, which Ormonde had strongly garrisoned, was stormed by Cromwell, Ulster was overrun, Wexford betrayed, and Ross surrendered. So hopeless were the king's affairs, that in December Ormonde requested to be recalled. Charles, meanwhile, had come to terms with the Scots at Breda, and Ormonde was commanded to remain until it was seen whether the alliance would not bring about a more favourable state of things in England. Cromwell's uninterrupted successes again brought Ormonde to the necessity of leaving the kingdom. To the last, however, he held haughty language. To Cromwell, who had sent a pass to him to leave the kingdom through Dean Boyle, he replied: 'I have by this trumpeter returned your papers, and for your unsought courtesy do assure you that when you shall desire a pass from me, and I think fit to grant it, I shall not make use of it to corrupt any that commands under you' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1650, p. 236). The bishops in August 1650 requested Ormonde to give up the government, and raised forces independently of him. Under the pressure of the extreme covenanting party in Scotland, moreover, Charles had on 16 Aug. unwillingly annulled the Irish peace of 1648 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 695 a), and in his letter announcing this step urged Ormonde to mind his own safety and withdraw to Holland or France. This advice he repeated in November. Leaving Clanricarde therefore as his deputy, Ormonde set sail on 6 Dec., and, after delaying to consider some proposals made by a number of nobles and bishops assembled at Loughreagh, arrived, after a three weeks' voyage, at Perose in Brittany. He had left his family at Caen on his return to

Ireland, and after a short stay with them joined the queen at Paris on 21 Jan. 1650-1. In June he was again at Paris waiting upon the Duke of York. After settling the duke's household he returned to Caen, and remained there until the young king's arrival at Paris after the battle of Worcester (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1-11 Nov. 1651), when, being at once placed on the privy council and consulted on all important business, he took up his permanent residence there. He was at this time in such dire straits for money that his wife went over in August 1652 to England to endeavour to claim Cromwell's promise of reserving to her that portion of their estate which had been her inheritance. After many delays (*ib.* 1652, 25 May, 1 June, 1 Aug.) she succeeded in getting 500*l.* in hand and an allowance of 2,000*l.* a year from estates around Dunmore House (*ib.* 1653, p. 145). Ormonde meanwhile had been in constant attendance on Charles, and accompanied him to Cologne when driven from France by Mazarin's treaty with Cromwell in 1655. He probably incurred at this time the queen mother's enmity by frustrating, at Charles's request, the attempts which she made to induce the Duke of Gloucester to become a catholic. During his absence at Paris on this mission he was reduced to such straits for money as to be compelled to pawn both his garter and the jewel presented him by parliament (CARTE, but cf. LODGE's *Portraits*). He was employed also in negotiating a treaty with the Duke of Neuburg. In May he was at Antwerp (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1656, p. 319). In the end of 1656, when the king was residing at Brussels, he had the command of one of the six regiments formed out of the English and Irish on the continent for the service of Spain (*ib.* 1657, p. 5), and in October 1657 was quartered at Furnes. He attended Charles when the latter accompanied Don John in a reconnaissance on the works at Mardyke, and had his horse killed under him by a cannon-shot (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 149). In 1658, after being employed in Germany (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1658, p. 259), he volunteered to go in disguise to England to collect information, and landed at Westmarsh in Essex in the beginning of January (EVELYN, 8 June 1658). Finding the chances of success in a rising very small, he persuaded the royalists to risk nothing at present, and after a month's stay in London succeeded in reaching Dieppe in March; thence he went to Paris, where he lay in strict concealment from Mazarin from February to April. With great difficulty he finally succeeded in joining Charles once more at Brussels in May. He was con-

tinually employed in all important transactions, such as the correspondence with Montague, the reconciliation of Charles with his mother, and the conference with Mazarin in 1659. He afterwards attended Charles at the treaty of Fontarabia. It was at this time that Ormonde discovered Charles's change of religion, and it was his revelation of the fact to Clarendon and Southampton that led to the insertion in the act for the security of the king's person of a clause making it treason to assert that the king was a catholic. He was actively engaged in all the secret transactions with the English royalists and Monck immediately before the Restoration, upon which event he went in the king's train to England.

In the distribution of honours which followed he had a considerable share; he was at once placed on the commission for the treasury and navy, made lord steward of the household, a privy councillor, lord-lieutenant of Somerset, high steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol, chancellor of Dublin University, Baron Butler of Llanthony, and Earl of Brecknock in the English peerage, and on 30 March 1661 he was created Duke of Ormonde in the Irish peerage, and lord high steward of England, carrying the crown in that capacity at the coronation (see PEPRS, 23 April 1661). At the same time the county palatine of Tipperary, seized by James I from his grandfather Walter, was restored to him, and he recovered his own Irish estates, which had been parcelled out among the adventurers, as well as those which he had mortgaged, and the prisage of wines, hereditary in the family, while large grants in recompense of the fortune he had spent in the royal service were made by the king. In the following year the Irish parliament presented him with 30,000*l.* His losses, however, according to Carte, exceeded his gains by nearly a million, a sum incredibly large (CARTE, iv. 418, Clar. Press). As lord steward he was present at the birth of the Duchess of York's child. He was at once engaged in Irish affairs; the restoration of episcopacy was of course a foremost aim, and in August he secured the appointment of the four archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics, while he did much to improve the condition of the inferior clergy. He appointed Jeremy Taylor to the vice-chancellorship of the Dublin University to carry out useful reforms, and aided its prosperity in every way. He refused, however, to be mixed up in the disputes over the Bill of Settlement in 1661, until on 4 Nov. he was again made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. His journey thither was delayed by the king's marriage, when, as lord steward, he was sent to Ply-

mouth to meet the infants, and it was not until 27 July 1662 that he landed at Dublin after a journey characterised by the utmost pomp. He was at once occupied in dealing with the grievances caused by the Act of Settlement, in purging the army of its dangerous elements, and in quieting the presbyterians after the blow of the Act of Uniformity. His office was a most responsible one. Plots of various kinds were formed during 1663 for seizing Dublin Castle and for a general insurrection, but were crushed with firmness, though without undue severity.

Ormonde had now become the mark of much jealous intrigue in England. Sir Henry Bennet plotted against him from private pique and as the friend of Clarendon; Lady Castlemaine hated him for having stopped the king's grant to her of the Phoenix Park; Buckingham was irritated at his backwardness in forwarding his ambitious schemes; and the queen mother was angered at the firmness of his refusal to regard the case of her protégé Antrim with favour. Ormonde's character made him the natural object of the attacks of all that was base in the court. He had been noted for purity of life and purpose, and for unswerving devotion, even when such qualities were not rare in the court of Charles I. But in that of Charles II he was almost the sole representative of the high-toned virtues of a nobler generation. By force of what is emphatically called 'character,' far more than by marked ability, he stood alone. The comrade of Strafford, one who had willingly sacrificed a princely fortune for a great cause, he held aloof while persons like Bennet intrigued and lied for office, money, or spite. His strict purity of life was a living rebuke to the Sedleys and Castlemaines, who turned the court into a brothel. Compelled to see the councils of the king guided by dishonour or greed, he acquired over him the influence which Charles was always ready to concede to nobility of character (PEPYS, *Diary*, 19 May 1668). Proud of the loyalty of his race, unspotted through five centuries, he bore in after years calumny, envy, and his seven years' loss of court favour, waiting until his master should be shamed into an acknowledgment of the wrong. In investigating the careers of other men of this time we are always face to face with intrigue and mystery. Ormonde's and his son Ossory's are unique in their freedom from any suspicion of double dealing.

Meantime Ormonde was sorely puzzled how to frame an explanation of the Act of Settlement which should soothe the prevailing discontent. With this purpose he went to London in June 1664, and from 29 July

until 26 May 1665 was busily engaged with a committee of council on the work, in the course of which he appears (CARTE, iv. 211, *Clar. Press*) to have exhibited much self-sacrifice. This 'explanation' having received the seal, he returned to Ireland in August, but did not make his solemn entry, which was the occasion of excessive display, until 17 Oct. He succeeded in passing the Act of Explanation through parliament on 23 Dec., which fixed the general rights of the several parties in Ireland. Ormonde's heart was thoroughly in his government and the welfare of his country. He vehemently opposed the bill passed in England prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle; and, when it was passed, he prohibited the import of Scotch linen, and further obtained leave for a certain number of Irish vessels to trade with the foreign enemies of England. In every way he encouraged native manufactures and learning, and it was to his efforts that the Irish College of Physicians owed its incorporation. He watched carefully over its internal peace, and promptly suppressed the disturbance at Carrickfergus, where the garrison had mutinied for arrears of pay.

In 1667 and 1668 Buckingham put himself at the head of all those who had grievances against Ormonde, and proceeded to find matter in the few arbitrary acts for which evidence was forthcoming whereon to frame an impeachment. In his almost irresponsible government of Ireland during troublous times Ormonde had no doubt acted now and then in a way which offered advantages to men eager for his overthrow. He had, for instance, billeted soldiers on civilians and executed martial law (PEPYS, 4 Nov. 1667). Ormonde was urgently pressed to return to England, whence he had intelligence that Orrery was secretly plotting against him. He therefore left Dublin on 24 April, arriving in London amid general respect on 6 May. An inquiry into the management of the Irish revenues was at once set on foot, and Buckingham, probably with Arlington's assistance, caballed vigorously for Ormonde's removal from the lord-lieutenancy (*ib.* 4 Nov. 1668, and 1 Feb. 1669). To this constant insistence Charles at length unwillingly gave way, and on 14 March 1669 appointed Lord Robarts in his room. Ormonde received the dismissal, which was made with every public expression of trust and satisfaction in his services by Charles, with perfect dignity, and earnestly enjoined all his sons and friends on no account to quit their posts in the army or elsewhere, while he continued to fulfil with dignified persistence all the

duties of his other offices. He speedily received every possible consolation from the public. He was chosen chancellor of Oxford on 4 Aug., while in January 1669-70 the city of Dublin, ignoring the lord-lieutenant, conferred the freedom of the city upon Ossory, his eldest son, with an address composed chiefly of compliments to himself. This followed immediately upon the publication of various libellous pamphlets and of a series of charges, similar to those brought by Buckingham the year before. In 1670 Peter Talbot, the titular archbishop of Dublin, having come over to oppose the remonstrants, or loyal catholic gentry and clergy, who were being persecuted by the ultramontane party, Ormonde was active in their favour, though to little avail in the face of the opposition of Buckingham and Berkeley, who had succeeded Roberts in the lord-lieutenancy.

In the same year occurred the remarkable attempt upon his life by the notorious ruffian Blood [see BLOOD, THOMAS]. On the night of 6 Dec. Blood with five accomplices stopped Ormonde's coach in St. James's Street, dragged the duke from it, placed him on horseback behind one of his companions and rode off. By whom Blood was instigated is not known, though Ossory publicly before the king laid the blame on Buckingham, and there declared aloud that should his father come to his end by violence or poison he would pistol Buckingham though he stood behind the king's chair. Nothing appears to have saved Ormonde's life but the whim of Blood to hang him at Tyburn. The delay thus caused and Ormonde's vigorous resistance gave time to rescue him (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 486*b*). What was the mysterious connection between Blood and the court has never been known; but it is certain that when Blood was captured Charles himself asked Ormonde to pardon him.

In January 1670-1 Richard Talbot was sent by the discontented Irish gentry to obtain if possible the repeal of the Act of Settlement. Ormonde was at first placed on a committee for investigating the petition which Talbot brought; but his opposition to the petitioners led to a second committee being formed in February for a full revision of the settlement, from which he was excluded. This was, of course, at the time when Charles, by the Declaration of Indulgence, was endeavouring to dispense with the penal laws, and it is noticed that whereas Ormonde would never permit a papist to be a justice of the peace, such an appointment was now allowed. The committee was superseded in July 1673, and the attempt to upset the settlement fell to the ground.

During the seven years which elapsed between his dismissal from office and his second appointment—seven years of coldness on the king's part and enmity from the courtiers—Ormonde bore himself without reproach. At the end of June, however, tired of his disagreeable position, he returned for a while to Ireland, and on 14 July waited upon Essex, the lord-lieutenant, at Dublin, where he was received with enthusiasm. In April 1675 he returned to London at the special request of Charles, who wished to consult him about the course to be pursued in parliament. During the next two years he was occupied almost exclusively with refuting the charges brought against his government by Ranelagh, the mischiefs of whose 'undertaking' he had strongly represented to the king. For nearly a year Charles had not spoken to Ormonde, when suddenly he received a message that his majesty would sup with him that night. Charles then declared his intention of again appointing him to Ireland, saying next day: 'Yonder comes Ormonde; I have done all I can to disoblige that man, and to make him as discontented as others; but he will not be out of humour with me; he will be loyal in spite of my teeth; I must even take him in again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland.' How far this restoration was due to the desire of James to keep Monmouth from obtaining the post is uncertain.

In the beginning of August 1677 Ormonde set out for Ireland, passing through Oxford, where he held a convocation with great ceremony, and entering Dublin with royal display. His first and most important work was to get the revenue into some sort of order. On the subject of limiting the royal grants he seems to have made his own terms with Charles (*CARE, iv.* 532, *Clar. Press*), and he took a bold step in insisting that when the revenue ran short it should be the pensions and not the civil or military lists that suffered. He was enabled, moreover, shortly to increase the army, build a military hospital at Kilmainham and a fort at Kinsale, and put many others in repair. It was now too that he formed the magnificent collection of manuscripts at his house of Kilkenny (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. passim*). Upon the breaking out of the popish terror in England Ormonde took energetic measures. On 7 Oct. he was informed that the plot had extended to Ireland. On the 14th the council met. A proclamation was issued banishing all ecclesiastics whose authority was derived from Rome, dissolving all popish societies, convents, and schools, requiring catholics to bring in their arms within twenty

days, and all merchants and shopkeepers, both protestants and papists, to make a return of the amount of powder in their possession. The militia was put on guard, arms were sent from England, and Dublin Castle was jealously guarded. Ormonde was urged to measures still more severe, and refused to use them, thus raising the bitterest disappointment among those who hoped to profit by confiscations, and drawing upon himself the attacks of Shaftesbury and the other patrons of the plot. Ossory defended his father in the Lords with spirit, and Charles refused to consent to the removal of his old and tried servant. Ireland kept perfectly quiet, and the credit of the plot in England suffered in consequence, but a fictitious plot was concocted to give it support. In the midst of the trouble that ensued Ormonde heard of the death of his pure and gallant son Ossory, between whom and himself there had always existed the utmost affection and confidence. He shortly lost both his sister and his wife, the latter on 21 July 1685 (*ib.* vii. 498), and, later, several of his grandchildren. In the beginning of May 1682, the country having quieted down as soon as the king had mastered the exclusionists, Ormonde went to court, where he was at once employed in furnishing an answer to Anglesey's letter on Castlehaven's memoirs, in which the memory of Charles I was reflected on. He was now in constant attendance on the king, and was particularly active in securing the election of tory sheriffs for London, which compelled Shaftesbury to leave the country. On 9 Nov. an English dukedom, being vacant by the death of Lauderdale, was conferred upon Ormonde. In the following February he was dangerously ill (*ib.* vii. 376 *a*), but recovered sufficiently to set out again for Ireland in August. Scarcely had he reached Dublin, however, before he was recalled to make way for the Earl of Rochester. This was in October. The causes of this sudden decision are not clear, though it is probable that Charles had made up his mind to favour the catholics in a manner which he thought Ormonde would not approve. Before he had time to hand over his government, however, the king died, and Ormonde's last act was to cause James II to be proclaimed in Dublin. His arrival in London on 31 March 1685 was signalised by a show of popular respect even more remarkable than on former occasions. At the coronation of James he carried the crown as lord steward, but otherwise lived as retired a life as possible. In January 1685-6 his second son, Richard, the earl of Arran, died, and in February Ormonde re-

tired to Cornbury in Oxfordshire, leaving it only to attend James in August on his progress in the west. He signalised his loyalty to protestantism and the church of England in 1687 by opposing the attempt of James to assume the dispensing power in the case of the Charterhouse, and it is to the credit of James that in spite of Ormonde's refusal to yield to his solicitation in this matter, or to listen to endeavours now made to induce him to turn catholic (CARTE, iv. 685, Clar. Press), he retained the duke in all his offices and held him in respect and favour to the last. The king paid Ormonde two personal visits when laid up with gout at Badminton. In 1688 he was taken for change of air to Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire, where in March he had a violent attack of fever from which he recovered with difficulty. On 22 June he was seized with ague, and on Saturday, 21 July, the anniversary of his wife's death four years before, died quietly of decay, not having, as he rejoiced to know, 'outlived his intellectuals.' He was buried in Westminster Abbey on the night of Saturday, 4 Aug. He had eight sons and two daughters, of whom only the two daughters—Elizabeth, married to Philip Stanhope, the earl of Chesterfield, and Mary, married to Lord Cavendish, the first duke of Devonshire—survived him. His grandson, James Butler (1665-1745) [q. v.], son of Thomas Butler, earl of Ossory [q. v.], his second child, succeeded him in the title.

[The chief authorities for Ormonde's life are Carte, especially the letters in the Appendix, and the Carte Papers in the Bodleian; Cox's and Leland's Histories of Ireland; Pepys's and Evelyn's Diaries, and the other diaries and memoirs of the period; the article in the *Biographia Britannica*; Burke's *Peerage and Lodge's Portraits*; while Mr. J. T. Gilbert's description and analysis of the Ormonde manuscripts at Killenny (which had previously neither been catalogued nor arranged), in the *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep., are of the utmost value.] O. A.

**BUTLER, JAMES**, second DUKE OF ORMONDE (1665-1745), was born in Dublin Castle, 29 April 1665, the second but eldest living son of Thomas, Earl of Ossory [q. v.], and of his wife Emilia, daughter of de Beverweert, governor of Sluys. In 1675 he was sent to France 'to learn the French air and language, the two things which' the first duke his grandfather 'thought the best worth acquiring in that country' (CARTE). But his tutor, one de l'Ange, having 'in a manner buried' the boy among the tutor's relations at Orange, and having otherwise proved unsatisfactory, the duke summoned his grandson home and entered him at Christ Church,

Oxford, where he resided till Lord Ossory's death in 1680. From his father he seems to have inherited some of the personal qualities which afterwards helped to make him one of the most popular men of his age. The young Earl of Ossory now resided with his grandfather in Ireland till the duke's return to England in 1682. After this various matches were proposed for him, and he was married 15 July 1682 to Anne, daughter of Lawrence, Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester. Her premature death, 25 Jan. 1684, no doubt helped to determine him in April of the same year to betake himself to the siege of Luxemburg, of which he witnessed the surrender in June. In July he was again summoned home by his grandfather, whom he accompanied to Ireland, where he had been appointed colonel of a regiment of horse. The duke was, however, recalled after a few months, and on his way back had to leave his grandson, who had been seized with small-pox at sea, to recover at Knowsley. Although the new king James II had treated the Duke of Ormonde with studied disrespect, Lord Ossory was soon after his recovery appointed a lord of the bedchamber, and served in the army despatched against Monmouth in the west. In the same year, 3 Aug. 1685, he married his second wife, Mary, eldest surviving daughter of the first Duke of Beaufort, by whom he had a son, who died in infancy, and five daughters. The death of the Duke of Ormonde, 21 July 1688, raised his grandson to the dukedom at a very critical moment; for three weeks previously the seven bishops had been acquitted, and the invitation to William of Orange despatched. In order at once to secure a chief whose loyalty to the church of England could be absolutely depended upon, the convocation at Oxford without delay elected by a majority the young Duke of Ormonde successor to his grandfather in the chancellorship of the university. As it proved, they only escaped Jeffreys by a couple of hours (MACAULAY; and cf. the correspondence in Appendix to *Diary of Henry, earl of Clarendon* (1828), ii. 489-92).

Ormonde, who had no reason for loving James II, and was connected by family ties with the United Provinces, pursued an independent course during the brief remainder of the reign. After the landing of the Prince of Orange he joined in the petition of 17 Nov. which called upon King James to summon a free parliament. The king's ungracious answer may have finally determined his course. Together with Prince George he supped at King James's table at Andover 25 Nov., and then with Lord Drum-

lanrig accompanied the prince in his ride to the quarters of the Prince of Orange. In the House of Lords Ormonde afterwards voted in the minority which approved the proposal of a regency; but he must have readily acquiesced in the decision actually arrived at, for at the coronation of William and Mary he acted as lord high constable, and declared defiance against all who should deny the title of the new sovereigns. In return, he was gratified by a garter, together with the offices of gentleman of the bedchamber and colonel of the second troop of life guards. His support was above all valuable on account of the position held by him in Ireland; and it was in his house in London that the Irish proprietors met to discuss the situation and to request King William if possible to come to terms with Tyrconnel. When the decision of arms was resorted to, Ormonde showed no hesitation. His name had been included in the great Act of Attainder passed at Dublin in May 1689, and his vast Irish estates, of which the annual income was valued at 25,000*l.*, had been declared confiscate to the crown. In the following year he served in King William's army at the head of his life guards, and was present at the battle of the Boyne. Immediately afterwards he was despatched with his uncle Lord Auverquerque to secure Dublin; and 19 July he had the satisfaction of entertaining King William in his ancestral castle at Kilkenny, which he had been sent forward to recover. In January 1691 he accompanied William to the Hague, and in 1692 took part, though not as active a part as he desired, in the battle of Steinkirk. At the battle of Landen, 29 July 1693, after nearly losing his life amidst the terrible carnage of the day, he was taken prisoner by the French; but after a brief captivity at Namur, where he found opportunities of munificence towards his fellow-prisoners, he was exchanged for the Duke of Berwick. His name headed the list of those specially excepted from the hope of any future pardon in the declaration issued by King James in April 1692, on the eve of the battle of La Hogue (CLARKE, *Life of James II*, ii. 485).

He had thus been consistently loyal towards William III, though, in accordance with the traditions of his house, he was reckoned among the Tories. A certain independence of action marked his conduct on the occasion of the debates about Fenwick's attainder in 1696 (MACAULAY, iv. 759-762); and he was in some measure identified with the popular sentiment of aversion to the foreigners in the service of the king. In 1699 William promoted his Dutch favourite

Albemarle over the heads of Ormonde and Rivers to the command of the first troop of life guards. Ormonde then resigned his command of the second troop; whereupon not only did fifty members of parliament join in expressing to him their sympathy, but there was talk of bringing in a bill to exclude all foreigners from official employment. The affair was, however, arranged by a compromise, and Ormonde magnanimously withdrew his resignation (KLOPP, viii. 341-2). It had been further hoped that of the Irish forfeitures resumed by parliament those in Tipperary would be bestowed upon him; but instead of this a proviso forgiving him the debts owed by him to persons whose property had been confiscated by the crown was introduced into the abnormal arrangements forced upon both king and lords by the spleen of the commons. These transactions, however, seem to have occasioned no personal estrangement between William III and Ormonde; for in March 1702 the latter was among the Englishmen who stood by the deathbed of the king.

Such was the popularity of Ormonde, that when in the new reign war had been actually declared, general satisfaction was caused by his appointment, 20 April 1702, to the command of the English and Dutch land forces which accompanied Sir George Rooke's fleet on the expedition against Cadiz (August). In June he was further gratified by being made lord-lieutenant of Somersetshire. His hope to prevail by pleasant words upon the governor of Cadiz, his former companion in arms in Flanders, proved as futile as his grandiloquent proclamation to the inhabitants. His plan for seizing the city by a *coup de main* having been outvoted, he assented to a counter-proposal that the troops should be landed midway between the towns of Rota and Puerto de Santa Maria. The former fell at once into the hands of the allies, and Santa Maria too was easily taken. Ormonde, whose headquarters were at Rota, failed to repress the excesses which followed on the part of his soldiery, though he held a court of inquiry into the conduct of his lieutenants. The attempt to capture Fort Matagorda failed, and discretionary powers having arrived, leaving it open to Rooke and Ormonde either to winter in Spain or to send part of the ships and troops to the West Indies and return home with the rest, a long series of bickerings ensued, which ended in the defeat of the general's wish to effect another landing in Spain. On 30 Sept. the fleet ingloriously weighed anchor; but a fortunate accident enabled the commanders before their return home to cover their discomfiture by a brilliant success.

The land forces under Ormonde had a share in the operations, which, after the taking of the batteries at Redondela, ended in the destruction of many Spanish and French ships, and the capture of part of the treasure of the Plate fleet, in Vigo harbour (12 Oct.) After this victory Ormonde would gladly have attempted to seize Vigo and hold it during the winter, but Rooke refused his co-operation, and both returned to England. Here they were most warmly received, and their achievements joined with Marlborough's in the vote of thanks from the two houses, and in the thanksgiving ceremony at St. Paul's, where Ormonde was hailed with special acclamations. He, however, notwithstanding the objections raised by his friends, insisted upon and ultimately obtained a parliamentary inquiry into the Cadiz miscarriage. It ended honourably for Rooke, Ormonde generously abstaining from taking any part in the final decision. The queen had sought to soothe him by naming him a privy councillor; and in 1703 he was appointed to the government of Ireland, which his father-in-law, Rochester, the queen's uncle, had just wrathfully resigned. Ormonde had a kind of ancestral claim to the lord-lieutenancy, and the history of his house was closely bound up with the protestant and loyal interest in Ireland. It is therefore not wonderful that he should have been enthusiastically received by the Irish parliament, which he opened 21 Sept. and which speedily voted the necessary supplies. But the session after all proved an unfortunate one. The cruel intolerance of the act against popery was little to the taste of the lord-lieutenant, though he promised to do his best for it in England; here, however, much to the vexation of the Irish parliament, a clause devised on the principle of the Test Act was added which bore hardly upon the presbyterians. Furthermore, some of Ormonde's subordinates were believed to have cooked the public accounts, and he was supposed to have held but a slack rein over the cupidity of those who surrounded him. The parliament, which had become violently incensed against him, was abruptly prorogued. In 1705, when a dispute raged between the commons and the lower house of convocation, he twice resorted to the same expedient, and in June he embarked for England. He was in the following year superseded in the government of Ireland by the Earl of Pembroke. On the overthrow of the whigs in 1710 he was reappointed to the same post, recently held by Wharton, but within less than two years he was called away from the exercise of its duties. In December 1711 Marlborough had been dismissed from all



his offices, and soon afterwards Ormonde, besides being appointed colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, was appointed to succeed him in the post of captain-general and in the conduct of the campaign in Flanders, for which he took his departure in April 1712. Burnet declares that he was 'well satisfied both with his instructions and his appointments; for he had the same allowances that had been voted criminal in the Duke of Marlborough.' His instructions were to inform the States-General and Prince Eugene that the queen intended vigorously to push the war. The coldness of the reception, however, which he met with from Pensionary Heinsius, was speedily justified by the conduct of the government, which had selected an honourable man for the performance of a more than dubious task. Within a fortnight of his landing he was warned by St. John to be extremely cautious about engaging in any action, and at the end of May, just after he and Prince Eugene had reviewed the allied forces near Douai, arrived the orders, which were afterwards notorious as the restraining orders, but which he was instructed to keep secret, forbidding his joining in any siege or engaging in any action without further commands. The allies crossed the Scheldt, while Villars, whose position had seemed nearly desperate, at once found a pretext for entering into communications with Ormonde. They greatly embarrassed the British general, who, in reply to a pressing invitation from Prince Eugene, felt himself constrained to avow that he could not join in any operation before receiving further instructions from home. The true nature of his position was now an open secret, and as such was hotly discussed both at the Hague and in the houses of parliament at Westminster. When in June Prince Eugene gave orders for the siege of Quesnoy, Ormonde, in accordance with the declaration of ministers in parliament that such an operation was within his powers, consented to cover the siege in conjunction with the imperialist commander; but no sooner had the fall of the place become imminent than he informed Prince Eugene (25 June) that he was instructed to proclaim a cessation of arms for two months. Quesnoy, however, capitulated (10 July), and Ormonde failed to induce the commanders of the German troops in the queen's pay, headed by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, to follow him to Dunkirk, which Louis XIV had agreed provisionally to give up to Great Britain. Instead of half the allied army, only the native British troops, 12,000 in number, now obeyed Ormonde's orders. Hav-

ing proclaimed a cessation of arms, he withdrew at the head of these troops (16 July) and marched upon Ghent and Bruges, which were already in British occupation, and which nearly alone among the places in Flanders opened their gates to our forces. Here and hereabouts they spent the winter, while Dunkirk was also nominally in British occupation. When the spring came, peace had been made.

Humiliating as Ormonde's experiences had been during his command—for his own officers and soldiers had expressed their share in the indignation excited by the policy which he was doomed to carry out—it does not seem as if his personal credit had permanently suffered from these proceedings. A general impression, more complimentary to his integrity than to his intelligence, prevailed that he had been employed because he did not at first penetrate the motives of his employers. The government rewarded him for his services by conferring on him the wardenship and admiralty of the Cinque Ports and the constableness of Dover Castle, together with a pension of 5,000*l.* a year upon the Irish revenues, this last in compensation of the recent restoration to the crown of some royalties in Tipperary which had formerly been for a time in his family. Inasmuch as he still held both the lord-lieutenancy and the captain-generalship, he was during the last part of Queen Anne's reign one of the most important personages in the state, and one on whom a large share of responsibility rested as to the conduct and policy of its government. As lord-lieutenant he at least found occasion for an act creditable both to his sense of justice and to his moral courage; for it was to 'his brother' Ormonde, in whose gift the preferment lay, that Swift primarily owed his appointment to the deanery of St. Patrick by an arrangement concerted, as he relates, between the queen, the duke, and the lord treasurer Oxford (*Journal to Stella*, 18 April 1713). It is less easy to determine the more important question, to what extent Ormonde was prepared to further the Jacobite designs rife in the last years of the reign. He was not a man usually capable of acting for himself, and he seems to have followed the lead of Bolingbroke rather than that of the more cautious Oxford, though the former afterwards explicitly denied having been at any time 'in his secret' (*Letter to Windham*). As captain-general he co-operated in the purification of the army from the leaven of Marlborough; and though as lord warden of the Cinque Ports he was specially responsible for the safety of the south coast, he was actually engaged in correspondence



with the Duke of Berwick (*Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, cited in MACKNIGHT'S *Life of Bolingbroke*, 392). When Bolingbroke had at last succeeded in ousting Oxford from office and intended to form an essentially Jacobite administration of his own, Ormonde was to have been included in it (STANHOPE). Instead of this, his name together with Bolingbroke's figured among the signatures under the proclamation notifying the death of Queen Anne and the accession of King George. It was noticed that at the proclamation of the king, when Oxford was hissed and Bolingbroke met with a dubious reception, Ormonde was lustily cheered by the crowd (*Ford to Swift*, 5 Aug. 1714, cited by WYON, ii. 529-530).

On the arrival in England of the new king, it seemed at first as if Ormonde were to be received into the royal favour. But 18 Sept. he was deprived of the captain-generalship; and though 9 Oct. he was named of the privy council in Ireland and confirmed in the lord-lieutenancy, he was a few days afterwards dismissed from both offices, being however apprised through Lord Townshend that the king would be glad to see him at court. When parliament met in March 1715, Stanhope, who in the debate on the address hinted at the willingness of ministers to call their predecessors to account, spoke of 'a certain English general who had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Marshal Villars.' But Ormonde continued to maintain an attitude of dignity and even of defiance, holding receptions at Richmond to which Jacobites were openly admitted, and enjoying the huzzas of the London mob. To what extent he was at this time involved with the Pretender, who, according to Bolingbroke, had conferred upon Ormonde a commission 'with the most ample powers that could be given' for the conduct of a rising in England, will probably never be known. There seems even now to have existed among the whigs a wish to avoid prosecuting him with the other late tory leaders, and to induce him to recant his errors instead (see the letter from Cardonnel to Marlborough cited by STANHOPE, *History*, i. 122 note). But it was ultimately determined otherwise. On 21 June Stanhope moved his impeachment, and after a protracted debate, in which several known friends of the protestant succession spoke in his favour, the motion was carried by a majority of forty-nine. Yet it was still hoped that an audience with the king might set matters right, and many of his Jacobite friends urged him to take a conciliatory course, which still seemed open to him. Others wished him to co-operate in

the scheme for an insurrection in the west, to which he was already privy. But he refused to accept either advice, and once more following Bolingbroke's lead fled to France on 8 Aug. (for the story of his parting interview with Oxford in the Tower see STANHOPE, i. 127). He arrived, if Bolingbroke is to be believed, 'almost literally alone,' and for a time the two exiles lived together in the same house. On 20 Aug. he was attainted, his estates were declared forfeited, and his honours extinguished, and on 26 June followed an act vesting his estates in the crown. Another act, however, passed in 1721, enabled his brother the Earl of Arran to purchase them, and this was done.

Ormonde, who had not yet lost heart, and was still, in Bolingbroke's phrase, 'the bubble of his own popularity,' took a prominent part in the unfortunate enterprise of 1715. Trusting in the promises of the Jacobites in England and in the pretences of the regent Orleans or his agents, he embarked in Normandy for the neighbourhood of Plymouth, where the country was to rise for King James. But on his arrival he was soon convinced of the futility of his expectations, and speedily sailed back to France. He never again returned to this country. In 1719, when Alberoni had resolved to assist the Pretender with a Spanish armada sailing from Cadiz, the conduct of it was offered to Ormonde, who was to join the fleet at Corunna, and there assume its command, with the title of captain-general of the King of Spain. In Ireland a reward of 10,000*l.* and in England one of 5,000*l.* were proclaimed for his apprehension on landing, and about the same time his house in St. James's Square was sold by auction by the crown. He was himself altogether distrustful of the success of the expedition, which numbered not more than 5,000 soldiers (partly Irish), and wrote from Corunna to Alberoni requesting that it might be postponed, which was tantamount to its being abandoned. But the fleet was dissipated off Cape Finisterre by a hurricane which lasted twelve days, and only two frigates reached the Scottish shore. In 1721, St. Simon found him resident at Madrid, and in favour with the queen and the court; and either there or later the Spanish government acknowledged his services, or his distinction, by a pension of 2,000 pistoles. Many years afterwards—in 1740—he was again in the Spanish capital, where he and Earl Marischal hoped to take advantage for the Jacobite cause of the breach between Spain and England. He was once more disappointed; nor could he well have now participated in any military enterprise.

The latter years of his life were spent chiefly at Avignon, where Lady Mary Wortley Montagu saw him in 1733, the year of his second wife's death. He died himself 16 Nov. 1745. His remains were brought to England and buried in the family vault in King Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey. With the death of his brother Charles, earl of Arran, in 1758 the titles of the family became extinct.

The second Duke of Ormonde, though in a sense born to greatness, certainly did not contrive to achieve it. The exceptional popularity which he enjoyed in England in the earlier half of his life is easily accounted for. Swift, describing the French ambassador to Stella, says that 'he is a fine gentleman, something like the Duke of Ormonde, and just such an expensive man.' He was not less munificent than he was wealthy, gracious in manner, and high-church in opinions. In other respects, too, he fell in with the then popular ideal of a patriotic English statesman, though really as little capable in the cabinet as on the battle-field, where, according to Prior (*Carmen Seculare*), his glory paled neither before that of his ancestors nor before that of King William himself. His loftiness of spirit was, however, not altogether for show, if St. Simon's anecdote be true, that he refused large domains offered to him in Spain as the price of conversion to the church of Rome, while we know that he declined to follow Bolingbroke in attempting to persuade the Pretender to abandon this faith. Except by virtue of his rank and position, he was as a politician throughout his life what Lady Mary Wortley Montagu says he was in 1733, quite insignificant. He never accomplished anything of importance except when by separating the British troops from those of the allies in Flanders he enabled his tory colleagues to conclude peace with dishonour.

There is a half-length portrait of the duke by Michael Dahl in the National Portrait Gallery.

[A useful biographical sketch of the second Duke of Ormonde is given in Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, ed. Archdall, 1789, iv. 69-64 note. Several facts concerning his early days and family connections will be found in Carto's *Life of [the first] James, Duke of Ormonde*, vol. iv. ed. 1851. Of his proceedings immediately before and after his flight to France, Bolingbroke gives an untrustworthy account in the *Lettor to Sir William Windham*. Other modern authorities are Lord Macaulay's *History of England*; Lord Stanhope's *Reign of Queen Anne* (1870), and *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht* (1858); Smollett's *History of England*; O. Klopp's *Fall des Hauses Stuart* (1875-1881); Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*; and, more especially, F. W.

Wyon's *History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne* (2 vols. 1876).]

A. W. W.

**BUTLER, JAMES ARMAR** (1827-1854), captain in the army, born in 1827, was the fourth son of Lieutenant-general the Hon. Henry Edward Butler, who had served in the 27th regiment in Egypt, and afterwards as a colonel in the Portuguese army at Busaco, where he was wounded. He was nephew of Somerset Richard Butler, third earl of Carrick. He was educated on the continent and at Sandhurst, and received his commission as an ensign in the 90th regiment in 1843. He served in the Caffre war of 1846-7, was promoted lieutenant in 1847, and purchased his captaincy in the Ceylon rifle regiment in May 1853. He was in England on furlough in the summer of 1854, when the war between Russia and Turkey had just broken out, and since he could not hope to be ordered with the expeditionary force, he set out with a friend, Lieutenant Charles Nasmyth, of the Bombay artillery, to see the fighting. The two friends went first to Omar Pasha's camp at Shumla; but as he did not seem inclined to advance, they asked leave to join the garrison at Silistria, to which the Russian army had laid siege on 19 May. Butler and Nasmyth soon obtained over the garrison the same absolute power that Eldred Pottinger acquired at Herat. The key to the fortress was believed to be the earthwork known as the Arab Tabia, and this work was perpetually bombarded and mined by the Russians, and attacked by heavy columns at all hours of the day and night. Mussa Pasha, the Turkish commandant, was killed, and so was the Russian commanding engineer; but still Omar Pasha would not send help, and when General Cannon (Behram Pasha) did introduce his brigade, he dared not keep it there, and retired within two days. On 13 June Butler had been slightly wounded in the forehead; privation and hard work made the wound dangerous, and on 22 June, two hours before the Russians retired, the hero of Silistria—who deserves the credit, though but a young English captain of twenty-seven, of defeating a whole Russian army—died peacefully without knowing of his triumph. On 14 July, before the news of his untimely death arrived, he had been gazetted a major in the army, and lieutenant and captain in the Coldstream guards.

[For the siege of Silistria see Nasmyth's letters to the Times in 1854; for a short memoir, Nolan's *Illustrated History of the War against Russia*, 2 vols. 1855-7; and generally, for the effect of the defence, Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, chap. 80.]

H. M. S.

**BUTLER, JOHN**, sixth **EARL OF ORMONDE** (d. 1478), brother of James, fifth earl [q. v.], was with his brother attainted by the first parliament of Edward IV, but was soon afterwards pardoned and restored in blood by Edward, and to all his estate except his lands in Essex, which had been granted by the king to his sister Anne. The attainder by the Irish parliament at Dublin, 2 Edward IV, was not however repealed till 16 Edward IV. Previous to succeeding to the earldom he was known as Sir John de Ormonde, having been knighted at Leicester by the Duke of Bedford, the king's uncle, for adherence to Henry VI. Edward IV used to say of him that he was 'the goodliest knight he ever beheld and the finest gentleman in Christendom; and that if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world, they might all be found in John, earl of Ormonde.' He had a thorough mastery of every European language, and had been an ambassador to nearly every European court. He died in the Holy Land during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1478. He was unmarried, and was succeeded in the earldom by his brother Thomas.

[Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, iv. 14-16; Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxxi; The Ormonde Attainders, by Hubert Hall, in the Genealogist, new ser. i. 76-9; The Barony of Arklow, by J. H. Round, in vol. i. of Foster's Collectanea Genealogica.] T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JOHN, D.D.** (d. 1800), catholic bishop of Cork, styled by courtesy Lord Dunboyne, was the third son of Edmond Butler, of Dunboyne, co. Meath, by courtesy eighth Baron Dunboyne (he died in 1732), and Anne, daughter of Oliver Grace, of Shanganagh, co. Tipperary. In his early days he devoted himself to the service of the church, but in consequence of his having lost an eye his ordination was delayed till the consequent canonical impediment had been dispensed with at Rome. The dignity of his birth and the interest of powerful friends procured his appointment to the see of Cork by brief of Pope Clement XIII, dated 16 April 1763, and he was consecrated in June the same year. After having occupied that see for twenty-three years he resigned his position and renounced his creed under very peculiar circumstances. On the death in December 1785 of his nephew, Pearce Edmond Creagh Butler, styled the eleventh Baron Dunboyne, the title and estates devolved on him. He expected from Rome a dispensation from the obligations of his episcopal character and permission to marry, but his application to the Holy See was an-

swered by Pius VI. in language of stern rebuke. With the hope of perpetuating his name and family he violated his vow of celibacy and married at Clonmel a protestant young lady, a cousin of his own, and daughter of Theobald Butler, of Wilford, co. Tipperary. On the intelligence being conveyed to Rome of the bishop's marriage the pope addressed to him a letter couched in severe terms. The original of this document, dated 9 June 1787, and an English translation are printed in England's 'Life of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary' (pp. 227, 332). Dr. Butler paid no heed to this document, but read his recantation of the distinctive doctrines of catholicism in the parish church of Clonmel on 19 Aug. 1787. He never officiated, however, in the protestant church. After his apostasy he frequented the services of the established religion on Sundays; and on one or two occasions, when ordinations were held in the chapel of Trinity College, during his residence in Dublin, he was invited to assist at the imposition of hands, but he anxiously declined to do so (*Life of O'Leary*, 226). No issue came of his marriage. Lord Dunboyne, as he was called, being by courtesy the twelfth baron, died at his residence, Dunboyne Castle, on 7 May 1800, having been a few days previously reconciled to the catholic church by William Gahan, D.D., a celebrated Augustinian friar. His widow survived him sixty years. She afterwards married J. Hubert Moore, of Shannon Grove, King's County, barrister-at-law, but died without issue in August 1860, aged 96.

By his will he bequeathed the Dunboyne estate to Maynooth College for the education of youths intended for the priesthood, devising his other estates to his heir-at-law and family. The bequest was disputed in December 1801, in a suit against the trustees of Maynooth, on the ground that any one 'relapsing into popery from the protestant religion was deprived of the benefit of the laws made in favour of Roman catholics, and was therefore incapable of making a will of landed property under the penal laws.' Dr. Gahan was examined at the assizes at Trim, on 24 Aug. 1802, to elicit from him whether he administered the last sacraments to Lord Dunboyne, and, on his refusing to reveal the secrets of the confessional, was sentenced to imprisonment in the gaol of Trim for contempt of court by Lord Kilwarden; but the jury having found, on a separate issue submitted to them, that the deceased had died a catholic, the judge directed the witness's release after a week's confinement.

The title of Dunboyne in the peerage of Ireland was created by Henry VIII in 1541, but was forfeited in the person of James, fourth baron, for his implication in the rebellion of 1641; he was outlawed in 1691 for adherence to the cause of King James II. The attainder was not reversed till 26 Oct. 1827, when James, thirteenth baron, was restored by the reversal of the outlawries affecting the title.

[England's Life of Arthur O'Leary; Brady's Episcopal Succession, ii. 95; Notes and Queries, 5th series, xi. 8, 31, 69; Universe, 20 Jan. 1866, p. 5; Burke's Peerage (1885), 444; Foster's Peerage (1882), 233; Madden's Revelations of Ireland, 61.] T. C.

**BUTLER, JOHN** (1717-1802), bishop of Hereford, was born at Hamburg. As a young man he was a tutor in the family of Mr. Child, the banker (CHALMERS). He was not a member of either university, though in later life he received the degree of LL.D. from Cambridge. He married for his first wife a lady who kept a school at Westminster; his second was the sister and coheiress of Sir Charles Vernon, of Farnham in Surrey, and this marriage considerably improved his social standing. Having taken orders he became a popular preacher in London, and in 1754 he published a sermon, preached at St. Paul's before the Sons of the Clergy. In the title-page he is described as chaplain to the Princess Dowager of Wales. In the same year he also published a sermon preached before the trustees of the Public Infirmary. He was installed as a prebendary of Winchester in 1760. In the title-page of a sermon preached before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the occasion of a general fast in 1758, he is described as minister of Great Yarmouth and chaplain to the Princess Dowager. In spite of this relation to the princess's household, in 1762 he issued a political pamphlet addressed to the 'Cocoa Tree' and signed 'A Whig.' In this pamphlet, which ran to three editions, he bitterly attacked Bute and the conduct of the ministry since the accession of George III. He was appointed chaplain to the Bishop of London (Dr. Hayter), received the living of Everley, Wiltshire, and on the recommendation of Lord Onslow was made one of the king's chaplains. In 1769 he was made archdeacon of Surrey. During the American war he issued a number of political pamphlets, under the signature of 'Vindex,' in which he strongly supports the policy of Lord North. He reaped the reward of his services in 1777, when he was appointed bishop of Oxford, being consecrated at Lambeth on 25 May. Butler had now adopted strong tory principles, and on

30 Jan. 1787 preached before the House of Lords on the death of Charles I. While bishop of Oxford he helped Dr. Woide to transcribe the Alexandrine MS. of the Bible. In 1788 he was translated to the bishopric of Hereford. He died in 1802, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, leaving no children. At the advanced age of sixty he had undergone the operation of cutting for the stone. His published works are: 1. 'An Answer to the Cocoa Tree, by a Whig,' 1762. 2. 'A Consultation on the Subject of a Standing Army,' 1763. 3. 'Serious Consideration on the Character of the Present Administration.' 4. 'Account of the Character of the Rt. Hon. H. B. Legge.' 5. Sermons and charges of various dates, republished in a collective edition, 1801.

[Gent. Mag. lxxii. pt. i. 233, ii. 1170; Letter to the Cocoa Tree, by a Whig, in Collected Pamphlets B. (Brit. Mus.); Chalmers's Biog. Dict. vii. 455; Watt's Bibl. Brit. i. 177; Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Angl.; Nichols's Lit. Anec. ix. 10.] B. C. S.

**BUTLER, JOSEPH** (1692-1752), bishop of Durham, was born at Wantage 18 May 1692. He was the youngest of the eight children of a well-to-do draper who had retired from business, and occupied a house called 'The Priory,' on the outskirts of the town. The room in which the bishop was born is still shown. He was first sent to the Latin school under the Rev. Philip Barton. Long afterwards, on becoming dean of St. Paul's, he bestowed one of his first pieces of patronage, the rectory of Hutton, in Essex, upon his old schoolmaster. (According to a statement by G. Lavington in the 'Rawlinson MSS.' he was educated at St. Paul's School. The statement is made on behalf of Butler, who 'doth not care to fill up' Rawlinson's form. He 'likes not to have his life wrote while he is living.') Butler's father intended him for the presbyterian ministry. He therefore sent the boy to a dissenting academy kept by Samuel Jones at Gloucester, and afterwards at Tewkesbury. Among Butler's fellow-pupils were Secker, afterwards archbishop, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship; Maddox, afterwards bishop of Worcester; and a well-known dissenting divine, Samuel Chandler. Jones's academy is described in a letter from Secker to Dr. Watts (GIBBONS, *Memoirs of Isaac Watts* (1780), p. 346). There were sixteen pupils who studied logic, Hebrew, mathematics, and classics. Butler's intellectual development is proved by the correspondence which he carried on while still at Tewkesbury with Samuel Clarke, a philosopher frequently consulted by youthful inquirers. Butler in his

first letter (4 Nov. 1713) advances two objections to the arguments by which Clarke in the Boyle Lectures of 1704-5 sought to demonstrate the existence and 'attributes of God. Butler doubts whether it is a contradiction to assert the 'self-existence of a finite being,' but declares himself convinced (in his fourth letter) by Clarke's arguments. He also doubts whether it is a contradiction to suppose the existence of two independent self-existing beings. This latter difficulty, after some discussion, resolves itself into a question as to the nature of time and space; and at the close of the correspondence Butler is still in doubt. At a later period he professed himself to be fully satisfied upon this point also (STEERE'S *Remains*, p. 18). Butler did not give his name, and sent his letters to the post through his friend Secker, describing himself to Clarke as 'a gentleman from Gloucestershire.' [The letters are given in Butler's 'Works,' and in Clarke's 'Works,' vol. ii. 1738.] He declares in the fourth that he designs 'the search after truth as the business of his life,' and his obvious candour and ability made a favourable impression upon Clarke, with whom he soon afterwards corresponded under his own name. He had decided to conform to the church of England, and persuaded his father, after a little trouble, to allow him to enter at Oriel, March 1714-15, to pursue the necessary studies. He expresses to Clarke his dissatisfaction with Oxford. He regrets that he is obliged to quit his divinity studies by the want of encouragement to independent thinkers (STEERE'S *Remains*, p. 12). He has made up his mind (30 Sept. 1717) to migrate to Cambridge to avoid the 'frivolous lectures' and 'unintelligible disputations' by which he is 'quite tired out' at Oxford (*European Magazine*, xli. 9). Meanwhile he had become intimate with Edward Talbot, son of the bishop of Salisbury. In 1717 Talbot became vicar of East Hendred, near Wantage; and from entries in the parish registers it appears that Butler helped him in some of his duties. Butler took his B.A. degree on 16 Oct. 1718, and the B.C.L. on 10 June 1721. He was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Talbot at Salisbury in October and December 1718 (*Rawlinson MSS.* fol. 16, 144), and was appointed in July, through the influence of Clarke and Talbot, to the preacher-ship at the Rolls Chapel. His friend Talbot died in December 1720, leaving a widow and a posthumous daughter, who became the intimate friend of Mrs. Carter, and speaks with warmth of Butler's continued courtesy and kindness to her through his life (*Memoirs of Mrs. Carter*, i. 128). Mrs. Talbot and her daughter became inmates of Secker's family

after his marriage in 1725. Talbot had on his deathbed recommended Butler and Secker (known to him through Butler) to his father, the bishop. In 1721 Butler became prebendary of Salisbury. In the same year Bishop Talbot was translated to Durham, and in 1722 gave Butler the rectory of Houghton-le-Skerne, near Darlington. Butler was still a poor man, and received money at times from an elder brother, the last sum paid being 100*l.* in January 1725. A taste for building, which he showed through life, led him to spend more than he could afford upon repairing the Houghton parsonage. Meanwhile Bishop Talbot had ordained Secker in 1722, and in 1724 presented him to the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring. Secker, we are told, now used his influence with the bishop, due in the first instance to Butler's friendship, by inducing him to bestow upon Butler, in 1725, the rectory of Stanhope in Weardale, known in the north as the 'golden rectory.' Butler then became independent for the first time; and in the autumn of 1726 he resigned his preacher-ship, and published the celebrated 'Fifteen Sermons.' In the preface to the second edition, dated 6 Sept. 1729, he says that the selection of these from many others preached in the same place was 'in great measure accidental.' Butler led a secluded life at Stanhope, and little is known of his pursuits. A tradition, collected by Bishop Phillpotts, a successor in the living, tells us that he 'rode a black pony, and rode very fast' (BARTLETT'S *Butler*, p. 76), though a remoter tradition adds that he fell into reveries, and allowed his pony to graze at will (EGGLESTONE). We are also told that he found it hard to resist the importunity of beggars, and would try to escape them by shutting himself up in his house. His main occupation must have been the composition of the 'Analogy,' which was published in 1736. The 'Analogy' is dedicated to Charles, lord Talbot, who became chancellor in 1733, 'in acknowledgment of the highest obligations to the late Lord Bishop of Durham' (Talbot's father) 'and himself.' Talbot, on becoming chancellor, had appointed Butler his chaplain, and upon this occasion Butler took the D.C.L. degree at Oxford in December 1733. Talbot further made him a prebendary of Rochester (July 1736), and the same month he had become clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline. The old connection with the Talbots might well account for these preferments, to which, however, we are told that Secker again contributed. Queen Caroline took great interest in philosophical discussions. The controversy between Clarke and Leibnitz had been carried on through her, and Clarke, Berkeley, Hoad-

ly, and Sherlock had held conversations in her presence. Butler, as a friend of Clarke's, may have been introduced at these during his preachingship at the Rolls. Secker, who in 1733 had become chaplain to the king, mentioned his friend soon afterwards to the queen, who said that she thought he had been dead. She repeated this to Archbishop Blackburne of York, who replied, 'No, madame, he is not dead, but he is buried.' However this may be, the queen became interested in Butler, and commanded his attendance, we are told, every evening from seven till nine. The queen died next year (20 Nov. 1737), and just before her death commended Butler to Potter, the new archbishop of Canterbury. Butler, according to Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, ii. 529), was the only person whom she recommended 'particularly and by name' during her illness. A month later, as Secker told Jekyll, who told Dr. Thomas Wilson, son of the bishop of Man, he preached a sermon before the king upon profiting by affliction; his hearer was much affected, and promised to 'do something very good for him' (STEERE'S *Remains*, p. 5).

George II, in any case, desired to carry out the queen's wishes. Butler received next year an offer from Walpole of the bishopric of Bristol, from which Dr. Gooch was translated to Norwich. In a letter to Walpole (dated Stanhope, 28 Aug. 1738) Butler accepts the offer, but says that it was 'not very suitable either to the condition of my fortune or the circumstances of my preferment, nor, as I should have thought, to the recommendation' (that is the queen's) 'with which I was honoured.' The bishopric was in fact the poorest in England. Butler was allowed to hold his prebend at Rochester (resigning that at Salisbury) and his rectory at Stanhope *in commendam*, until 1740, when he was appointed dean of St. Paul's. He was installed 24 May, and resigned his other preferments. Butler spent considerable sums in improving the bishop's palace at Bristol; some reports mention from three to five thousand pounds, others the whole income of the see for twelve years (BARTLETT'S *Butler*, p. 89; STEERE'S *Remains*). The merchants of the town offered a large gift of cedar, part of which he carried afterwards to Durham. The few glimpses of Butler's private life belong to this period. In March 1737 John Byrom was introduced to him by the famous David Hartley, at whose house they met. A long argument took place, in which Butler supported the claims of reason, while Byrom defended the claims of authority. Byrom ends by wishing that he had 'Dr. Butler's temper and calmness, yet not quite,

because I thought he was a little too little vigorous' (BYROM'S *Remains* (Chetham Soc.), ii. 96-9). Byrom dined with Butler 14 Feb. 1749, when the bishop entertained a party of fifteen, and was 'very civil and courteous' (*ib.* p. 456). In August 1739 Wesley had an interview with Butler. Wesley was at the beginning of his career as a preacher, and his sermons had caused some of those phenomena which to Wesley appeared to be proofs of divine power, while Butler would regard them with suspicion as symptoms of 'enthusiasm' in the bad sense of the word. They had caused scandal, and the bishop probably felt it a duty to remonstrate. After some argument about faith and works, Butler spoke with horror of claims to 'extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Spirit;' he spoke of people falling into fits at the meetings of the society, and ended by advising Wesley to leave his diocese. Wesley declined to give any promise (TYERMAN'S *Life of Wesley*, i. 247). At Bristol, Butler made the acquaintance of Josiah Tucker, afterwards the well-known dean of Gloucester. Butler made Tucker his domestic chaplain, and gave him a prebend in the cathedral. Tucker tells us that Butler used to walk for hours in the garden behind his palace at night, and upon one such occasion suddenly asked his chaplain whether public bodies might not go mad as well as individuals, adding that nothing else could account for most of the transactions in history (TUCKER'S *Humble Address and earnest Appeal to the Landed Interest*, p. 20, note).

On the death of Archbishop Potter in 1747 an offer of the primacy was made to Butler, who had in 1746 been made clerk of the closet to the king (on the death of Egerton, bishop of Hereford). Butler is said to have declined it on the ground that 'it was too late for him to try to support a falling church' (BARTLETT, p. 96). One of his nephews, John Butler, a rich bachelor, had previously shown his appreciation of the 'Analogy' by exchanging a presentation copy from his uncle for an iron vice belonging to a 'shrewd Scotch solicitor' named Thomson. Hearing, however, that his uncle had a chance of the archbishopric, he came up to town prepared to advance 20,000*l.* to meet his first expenses. In 1741 the bishopric of Durham was offered to Butler. It was proposed to him that the lord-lieutenancy of the county, previously attached to the bishopric, should be given to a layman, and that the deanery of St. Paul's to be vacated by him should be conferred upon Secker on condition that Butler should give the stall at Durham vacated by Secker to Dr. Chapman (master of Magdalene, Cam-

bridge). Butler declined to allow the dignity of the see to be diminished by the separation of the lord-lieutenancy, or to agree to a contract which he thought simoniacal. He was accordingly appointed to the bishopric unconditionally. The arrangement, however, as to Chapman and Secker was carried into effect. The lord-lieutenancy was not separated from the bishopric till the next vacancy. A plan for establishing bishops in the American colonies was suggested at this time by Butler (*Annual Register*, 1765, p. 108). It came to nothing, but was noticed in a later controversy between Secker and a Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, in 1763. A contemporary reference is made in R. Baron's 'Cordial for Low Spirits' (1751, preface to vol. iii.) [see BARON, R.] Butler was translated to Durham in July 1750, succeeding E. Chandler. He delivered a charge in 1751 (printed in his works). In this, after speaking strongly of the 'general decay of religion in the nation,' and speaking of the evil effects of light conversation in promoting scepticism, he insists upon the importance of observing outward forms, of maintaining churches, and regular services, as well as impressing the people by proper personal admonitions. He speaks incidentally of the influence of outward form in strengthening the beliefs, superstitions, and religions of heathens, Mahomedans, and Catholics. This passage gave very needless offence, and in 1752 Archdeacon Blackburne published an anonymous pamphlet called 'A Serious Enquiry into the Use and Importance of External Religion,' &c., in which Butler was accused of a tendency to Romanism. This pamphlet was republished with Blackburne's name by R. Baron, in a collection called 'The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken,' and is included in Blackburne's works. It is only worth notice as partly accounting for the report afterwards spread, that Butler had died a catholic. Another circumstance which aroused the suspicions of his contemporaries was his erection in the chapel of his palace at Bristol of a slab of black marble over the altar, with an inlaid cross of white marble. It remained till the destruction of the palace in the Bristol riots of 1831.

The assertion that Butler died a catholic was made in 1767 in an anonymous pamphlet called 'The Root of Protestant Errors Examined' (attributed to Blackburne or Theophilus Lindsey). Secker replied in a letter to the 'St. James's Chronicle' (9 May), signed 'Misopseudes,' challenging the author to produce his authority. 'Phileleutheros,' the author, replied, giving no reasons beyond rumour, made probable, as he thought, by the circumstances of the Bristol cross and the

Durham charge. Secker on 23 May said that he regretted the cross, but emphatically denied the truth of the rumour. Other letters appeared in the same paper, showing only that the writers were determined to believe, though without a tittle of evidence. Secker in a letter of 21 July replied, exposing sufficiently the utter groundlessness of the statement. Butler's 'natural melancholy' and his fondness for 'lives of Romish saints and other books of mystic piety' are noticed and apparently admitted by the archbishop. He says that Butler was 'never a communicant in any dissenting assembly;' that he attended the established worship from his early years, and became 'a constant conformist' from his entrance at Oxford. (A full account is given in the notes to Halifax's preface to Butler's *Works*, i. p. xxxiii.)

Butler does not appear to have taken any part in politics. He had been wafted to his see, says Horace Walpole, 'in a cloud of metaphysics, and remained absorbed in it' (*George II*, i. 148). He had, however, a house at Hampstead, which had once belonged to Sir Henry Vane. Butler had filled the windows with painted glass, including some figures of the apostles, presented to him by the pope, according to 'local tradition.' Miss Talbot describes it to Mrs. Carter as a 'most enchanting, gay, pretty, elegant house' (*Letters* of 29 Feb. and 9 April 1751). The house was sold upon his death (see PARKER'S *Hampstead*, p. 269). During his short tenure of the see of Durham, Butler showed great liberality, received the principal gentry three times a week, subscribed liberally to charities, and visited his clergy. The story was told that, in answer to some application for a subscription, he asked his steward how much money he had in the house. 'Five hundred pounds,' was the reply; upon which the bishop bestowed the whole upon the applicant, saying that it was a shame for a bishop to have so much.

Butler's health was failing, and his physicians sent him to Bristol and afterwards to Bath, where he died on 16 June 1752. He was buried in the cathedral at Bristol. Bishop Benson (Secker's brother-in-law) and Nathaniel Forster, Butler's chaplain, were in attendance. The last tells Secker that Butler was constantly talking of writing to his old friend, even when unable to express himself clearly. By his will he left 200*l.* to Forster, whom he appointed executor. The balance of his estate after various bequests, including 500*l.* to the Newcastle Infirmary and 500*l.* to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was to be distributed among his nephews and nieces. The total amount left seems to



have been between 9,000*l.* and 10,000*l.* (BARTLETT, 277). He also directed that 'all his sermons, letters, and papers whatever, which are in a deal box locked, directed to Dr. Forster, and now standing in the little room within my library at Hampstead, be burnt, without being read by any one, as soon as may be after my decease.' A writer in Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes' (ix. 292) says that he has reason to know that some of Butler's manuscript sermons 'are still (1815) in being.'

One portrait of Bishop Butler is in the Newcastle Infirmary, and was taken during his last illness. It is engraved in the Oxford edition of his works. A second was painted by Hudson for his nephew Joseph, and a third by Vanderbank in 1732, which is engraved in Bartlett's 'Life.' The last two were both at Kirby House, the residence of his nephew's grandson.

Butler's position in contemporary speculation was unique. The deist controversy, which culminated about 1730, is throughout in his mind, though he designedly abstains from special references. The method of abstract metaphysical reasoning applied by his early friend Clarke both to ethical and theological speculations had led to a system which tended to reduce the historical element of belief to a secondary position or to eliminate it entirely. Butler, while admitting the validity of Clarke's reasoning, adopts the different method of appealing to observation of facts (*Preface to Sermons*, p. vii). His ethical system is therefore psychological, or appeals to the constitution of human nature, as the 'Analogy' to the constitution of the world at large. In the sermons and the dissertation on 'The Nature of Virtue' he assails especially the egoistic utilitarianism of which Hobbes had been the great teacher in the previous age, and which was maintained both on *à priori* and empirical grounds. In this he follows Shaftesbury (the only writer to whom he explicitly refers), who had endeavoured to show the general harmony between virtue and happiness; but he tries to fill a gap in Shaftesbury's argument by showing the natural supremacy of conscience, and therefore the existence of moral obligation, even where self-interest is opposed to conscience. The main result of the sermons is therefore the psychological system, in which the conscience is represented as holding a supreme position by its own self-evidencing authority among the various faculties which constitute human nature; while other passions, and in particular self-love and benevolence, are independent but subordinate. The psychology, though some-

what perplexed, shows remarkable acuteness, and the argument that self-love, instead of being the sole or supreme faculty, really presupposes the existence of co-ordinate passions, is especially noteworthy. Butler greatly influenced the common-sense school of Hutcheson and his followers, who are also allied to Shaftesbury; and his influence upon Hume is perceptible, especially in Hume's admission of independent benevolent impulses, in connection with a utilitarian principle which had generally been interpreted as leading to pure egoism. Hume (it may be noticed) desired in 1737 to be introduced to Butler, and sent him a copy of the 'Treatise on Human Nature' on its publication in 1739. He expressed his pleasure in 1742 upon hearing that his first set of essays (which did not include those offensive to the orthodox) had been 'everywhere recommended' by Butler (BURTON'S *Hume*, i. 64, 106, 143).

The famous 'Analogy' is an endeavour to show that, as the particular frame of man reveals a supreme conscience, so the frame of nature shows a moral governor revealed through conscience. Assuming the validity of the *à priori* arguments for theism and the immortality of the soul, he maintains that the facts of observation fall in with the belief that this life is a probationary state where men are, as a matter of fact, under a system of government which encourages virtue as such and discourages vice, and therefore imply the probability that in a future life there will be a complete satisfaction of the claims of justice. This leads to a consideration of the problem of free will and necessity, while the second part argues for the conformity between the doctrine thus taught by fact and the nature of the christian revelation.

The impressiveness of Butler's argument, the candour of his reasonings, and the vigour and originality of his thought have been denied by no one. It is remarkable, indeed, that the greatest theological work of the time, and one of the most original of any time, produced little contemporary controversy. The only works directed against him during his life were a short and feeble tract, 'Remarks upon Dr. Butler's sixth chapter, &c., by Philanthropus' (Mr. Bott) [see BOTT, THOMAS], in 1737, and 'A Second Vindication of Mr. Locke, wherein his sentiments relating to personal identity are cleared up from some mistakes of the Rev. Dr. Butler,' &c., 1738, by Vincent Perronet, vicar of Shereham. This is a sequel to a vindication of Locke against Bishop Browne, and includes an answer to Andrew Baxter. These pamphlets are worthless. Butler's contemporaries



were perhaps deterred by the fear of venturing into the profundities of his argument. Hume's writings on theology, indeed, especially the essay upon 'A Providence and a Future State,' contain an implicit criticism of the 'Analogy.' At a later period the proofs of Butler's influence are abundant. To some thinkers he appears as the most profound apologist of christian theology, while others have held that his argument leads to scepticism, because, while conclusive against the optimism of the deists, it really shows only that the difficulties in revealed theology are equalled by the difficulties of natural religion. It is a retort, not an explanation, and therefore sceptical in essence. This was the view taken by James Mill, in whose mental history the study of the 'Analogy' was a turning point, according to his son (J. S. MILL's *Autobiography*, p. 38). A similar view is stated by Mr. James Martineau, who says (*Studies of Christianity*, p. 93) that Butler has unintentionally 'furnished . . . one of the most terrible persuasives to atheism ever produced.' A different view is expressed by Cardinal Newman, who says (*Apologia*, part iii.) that the study of the 'Analogy' formed an 'era in his religious opinions.' He learnt from it the view that the world is a 'sacramental system' in which 'material phenomena are both the types and instruments of the things unseen;' and he was deeply impressed by Butler's characteristic doctrine that 'probability is the guide of life.' Other references may be found in Mr. Hunt's 'History of Religious Thought in England;' Mr. Pattison's essay on the 'Tendencies of Religious Thought in England (1688-1750);' Hennell's 'Sceptical Tendency of Butler's "Analogy,"' 1865; Mr. Matthew Arnold's 'Butler and the Zeitgeist' in 'Last Essays on the Church and Religion;' and Mr. Lucas Collins's 'Butler' in Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics.'

Butler's works are: 1. 'Fifteen Sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel,' 1726 (dedicated to Sir Joseph Jekyll). 2. 'The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. To which are added two brief dissertations: (1) Of Personal Identity; (2) Of the Nature of Virtue,' 1736. 3. 'Six Sermons preached upon Public Occasions,' viz.: (1) before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, 16 Feb. 1739; (2) before the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, and the governors of the several hospitals of the city of London, Monday in Easter Week, 1740; (3) before the House of Lords, 30 Jan. 1740-1; (4) at the annual meeting of the charity children at Christ

Church, 9 May 1745; (5) before the House of Lords on the anniversary of his majesty's accession to the throne, 11 June 1747; (6) before the governors of the London Infirmary, 31 March 1748. 4. 'A Charge delivered to the Clergy at the Primary Visitation of the diocese of Durham in the year 1751.'

These, together with the correspondence with Clarke, form Butler's works. The first collected edition was published at Edinburgh in 1804. It contains a Life by Kippis from the 'Biographia,' and a preface and notes by Halifax, bishop of Gloucester. It has been reprinted, at Oxford in 1807 and subsequently. An edition of the 'Analogy,' with a careful collation of the first editions, an index, and a life, was published at Dublin in 1800 by W. Fitzgerald, bishop of Cork. A sermon attributed to Butler was first printed in the appendix to Bartlett's 'Life.' An 'Enquiry concerning Faith,' London, 1744, has been attributed to him, but without probability (*Notes and Queries*, 1st series, vi. 198). A list of writings upon the Bangorian controversy by a Mr. Herne says that 'a letter of thanks from a young clergyman to the Rev. Dr. Hare for his visitation sermon at Putney in 1719' was written by the author of some papers in the 'Freethinker,' including No. 125 (1 June 1719) upon 'Optical Glasses.' In the reprint of this list in Hoadly's 'Works' (1761) this author is identified with Butler. In all probability this is due to some confusion with Archbishop Boulter of Dublin, bishop of Bristol, 1719-24, who helped Ambrose Philips in the 'Freethinker.'

[The first Life of Butler is in the supplement to the Biog. Britannica (1753), with information from a nephew; a further Life by Kippis in his edition of the Biographia is prefixed to Butler's Works; Rawlinson MSS. fo. 16,144, 8vo, v. 221, vi. 63; the Life by Thomas Bartlett (1839) gives the fullest information and refers to unpublished documents; see also *Some Remains* (hitherto unpublished) of Bishop Butler, 1853 (preface by E. Steere, chiefly from MSS. in the British Museum); Stanhope Memorials of Bishop Butler by W. M. Egglestone, which adds very little; *Porteus's Life of Secker*; *Le Neve's Fasti* (Hardy), ii. 403, 584, 667.] L. S.

**BUTLER, SIR PIERCE** or **PIERS**, eighth **EARL OF ORMONDE** and first **EARL OF OSSORY** (d. 1539), was descended from the Butlers, baronets of Poolestown, and was the son of Sir James Butler and Sawe (Sabina), daughter of Donnell Reogh MacMurrough Cavenagh, prince of his sept. He succeeded Thomas, seventh earl of Ormonde, in 1515. He took a prominent part in suppressing the Irish rebellions, and when the Earl of Surrey, who was his intimate friend, left the

kingdom in 1521, he was appointed lord-deputy. Owing to the representations of the Talbotts he was removed from the government in 1524, but the king, to indicate his disagreement with the decision of the commissioners, created him on 13 May lord-treasurer of Ireland. At the special request of the king he surrendered the earldom of Ormonde to Sir Thomas Boleyn (or Bullen), grandson of the seventh earl of Ormonde and brother of Anne Boleyn, and in lieu thereof he was created Earl of Ossory by patent dated 23 Feb. 1527-8. By Lodge and other authorities it is stated that the earldom of Ormonde was restored to Sir Pierce Butler on 22 Feb. 1537-8, on the death of Sir Thomas Boleyn; but, as is shown by Mr. J. H. Round (*FOSTER, Collect. Geneal.* vol. i.), the grant of the earldom was made before the death of Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, and that the earldom was a new one is sufficiently attested by the fact that it was limited to heirs male of his body. After its conferment 'the Earl of Wilts,' as is mentioned in the 'Carew State Papers,' was content to be so named earl of Ormonde in Ireland, semblably as the two Lords Dacres be named the one of the south and the other of the north' (*Calendar, Carew MSS.* 1515-1574, p. 127). The Earl of Ormonde manifested the sincerity of his loyalty by his activity in taking measures for crushing the insurrection of his brother-in-law, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and after the latter's execution he was rewarded by a large grant of lands. He afterwards turned his arms against the Earl of Desmond, who submitted and took an oath of fidelity. He died on 21 or 26 Aug. 1539, and was buried in the chancel of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. He is stated to have been 'a man of great honour and sincerity, infinitely good-natured.' He brought over to Kilkenny artificers and manufacturers from Flanders and the neighbouring provinces, whom he employed in working tapestry, diaper, Turkey carpets, and similar industries. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, he had three sons and six daughters. His second son, RICHARD, created Viscount Mountgarret, 23 Oct. 1550, was grandfather of Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret [q.v.] His eldest son, JAMES, created Viscount Thurles in 1535, became ninth Earl of Ormonde, married Lady Joan Fitzgerald, daughter and heiress of James, eleventh earl of Desmond, was suspected of hostility to the English government, and was poisoned while in London at a supper at Ely House. He died on 28 Oct. 1546. His son Thomas (1532-1614) [q.v.] succeeded to the earldom.

[*Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde* (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxxvi-xciii; *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, iv. 19-22; Paper on the Barony of Arklow by J. H. Round in *Foster's Collectanea Genealogica*, vol. i.; and on the Ormonde Attainders in the *Genealogist*, new ser., vol. i. No. 7, 186-9; *State Papers, Irish Series*; *Calendar of Carew MSS.*] T. F. H.

BUTLER, PIERCE, third VISCOUNT GALMOY (1652-1740), was descended from Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormonde [q.v.], and was the son of Edward, second viscount Galmoy, and Eleanor, daughter of Charles White of Leixlip, and widow of Sir Arthur Aston. He was born on 21 March 1652. On 6 Aug. 1677 he was created D.C.L. of Oxford. By James II he was appointed a privy councillor of Ireland, and lieutenant of the county of Kilkenny. As colonel of a regiment of Irish horse he was at the siege of Londonderry, where the protestants accused him of barbarity and treachery (*MACAULAY*, c. xii.) He fought at Aughrim and the Boyne, and was afterwards outlawed. He was Irish commissioner at the capitulation of Limerick, and included in the amnesty (3 Oct. 1691). He retired to France, and was created Earl of Newcastle by James II. His English estates were forfeited and he was attainted in 1697. In France he was named colonel of the second queen's regiment of Irish horse in the service of that country, and served with distinction in various continental wars. He died at Paris on 18 June 1740. His only son, JAMES, by Elizabeth, daughter of Theobald Matthew, was killed at Malplaquet. A nephew, James, assumed the title of third viscount Galmoy.

[*Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, iv. 48, 49; *O'Callaghan's Irish Brigades in the Service of France*; *List of Oxford Graduates*; *Burke's Extinct Peerages*, 97.] T. F. H.

BUTLER, RICHARD, third VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET (1578-1651), was the son of Edmund, second viscount Mountgarret, and Grany or Grizzel, daughter of Barnaby, first lord of Upper Ossory, and was born in 1578. His first wife was Margaret, eldest daughter of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and having joined in his father-in-law's rebellion, he specially distinguished himself by his defence of the castles of Ballyragget and Cullihill. His estates were nevertheless confirmed to him on the death of his father in 1605, and he sat in the parliaments of 1613, 1615, and 1634. At the rebellion of 1641 he was appointed joint governor of Kilkenny with the Earl of Ormonde, but being alarmed by designs said to have been formed against the lords of the Pale, he, after writing an explanatory letter to the Earl of Ormonde,

took possession of Kilkenny in the name of the confederates. He then detached parties to secure other adjacent towns, which was done with such success that in the space of a week all the fortresses in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary were in their power. After this he was chosen general of the confederates; but the county of Cork having insisted on choosing a general of its own, his forces were thereby considerably weakened, and he was defeated by the Earl of Ormonde at Kilrush, near Athy, on 10 April 1642; but, returning to Kilkenny, he was chosen president of the supreme council formed there in the following summer. In 1643 he was at the battle of Ross, fought by General Preston against the Marquis of Ormonde, and he took part in the capture of various fortresses. He died in 1651, but was excepted, though dead, from pardon for life or estate by the crown in the act of parliament for the settlement of Ireland passed on 12 Aug. 1652. He was buried in the chancel of St. Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny, under a monument with a eulogistic Latin inscription. By his first wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, he had three sons and six daughters, of whom Edmund became fourth viscount. He was again twice married: to Thomasine (afterwards named Elizabeth), daughter of Sir William Andrews of Newport, and to Margaret, daughter of Richard Branthwaite, serjeant-at-law, and widow of Sir Thomas Spencer of Yarnton, Oxfordshire, but by neither of these marriages had he any issue.

[*Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, iv. 49-66; *State Papers, Irish Series*; *Oarew State Papers*; *Cox's History of Ireland*; *Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde*.]  
T. F. H.

**BUTLER, RICHARD** (*d.* 1791), major-general in the United States army, was a native of Ireland, and went to America some time before 1760. At the outbreak of the war of independence he became a lieutenant-colonel of the Pennsylvania troops, and in 1777 held that rank in Morgan's rifle corps, with which he distinguished himself on various occasions. In 1781 he was with Lafayette in Virginia, and at the close of the war was lieutenant-colonel of the 9th Pennsylvania regiment. About 1787 he was agent for Indian affairs in Oregon; and in St. Clair's expedition against the Indian tribes in 1791 commanded the right wing of the force, with the rank of major-general. The troops, composed of United States regulars and militia, were attacked in their camp, about twenty miles from Miami Towns, by the Indians, on

the morning of 4 Nov. 1791, and defeated with heavy loss. Butler, after fighting bravely on foot in the front line, was shot down just as he mounted his horse, and was tomahawked and scalped.

[*Drake's American Biography* (1852); *Diary of Colonel Winthrop Sargent, adjutant-general, U.S. army, in the campaign of 1791, edited by his grandson (Wormsloe, 1851, 4to.)*] H. M. C.

**BUTLER, SAMUEL** (1612-1680), poet, was the fifth child and the second son of Samuel Butler, a Worcestershire farmer, and a churchwarden of the parish of Strensham, where the poet was baptised on 8 Feb. 1612. The entry is in his father's handwriting. The elder Samuel Butler owned a house and a piece of land, which was still called Butler's tenement fifty years ago; the value of this was about 8*l.* a year (see *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, iv. 387, 469). According to Aubrey, however, the poet was not born in this Strensham house, but at a hamlet called Bartonbridge, half a mile out of Worcester. The father, according to Wood, leased of Sir Thomas Russell, lord of the manor of Strensham, an estate of 300*l.* a year. The boy was educated in Worcester free school. He has been identified, but against probability, with the Samuel Butler who went up to Christ Church, Oxford, from Westminster in 1623; another legend, somewhat better supported, says that he proceeded for a short time, about 1627, to Cambridge. It is probable that the first of several situations which he occupied was that of attendant, with a salary of 20*l.* a year, to Elizabeth, countess of Kent, at her residence of Wrest in Bedfordshire. The fact that he found Selden under the same roof makes it probable that this occurred in 1628. Selden seems to have interested himself in Butler's talents, and to have trained his mind. The young man spent several years at Wrest, and employed his leisure in studying painting under Samuel Cooper, or more probably with him, for Cooper was not yet illustrious. Butler is said to have painted a head of Oliver Cromwell from life; his pictures were long in existence at Earl's Coombe in Worcestershire, but were all used, in the last century, to stop up broken windows. Butler spent some years of his early life at Earl's Coombe as clerk to a justice of the name of Jeffereys. He seems to have served as clerk or attendant to a succession of country gentlemen. One of these was Sir Samuel Luke of Cople Hoo, near Bedford, a stiff presbyterian, and one of Cromwell's generals. This person sat for the character of Hudibras.

A Knight as errant as e'er was;

but some of the touches are said to be studied from another puritan employer of Butler's, Sir Henry Rosewell of Ford Abbey in Devonshire. It is supposed that Butler spent some time in France and Holland, which indeed his own writings show. He is not known to have published anything, or to have attained the smallest reputation, until after the death of Cromwell. In 1659, at the age of forty-seven, he first appeared before the public with an anonymous prose tract, in favour of the Stuarts, entitled '*Mola Asinaria*.' Perhaps in reward for this service, he was appointed secretary to Richard, earl of Carbury, when he was made lord president of Wales in 1660. Lord Carbury made Butler steward of Ludlow Castle. Some bills in which his name occurs are published in '*Notes and Queries*' (1st ser. v. 5). He married soon after this, his wife being differently described as a spinster of the name of Herbert and as a widow of the name of Morgan. Whatever her name was, she was supposed to be well dowered, and Butler probably had the rashness to resign his appointment at Ludlow on that account, for he certainly did not hold it more than a year. He lived comfortably on his wife's jointure for a time, till the money was lost on bad securities. The obscurity which hangs over every part of Butler's life makes it impossible to say whether he did or did not succeed in securing the patronage of George, duke of Buckingham. Wycherley told a lively story which, if true, shows that Butler was not so successful; but Butler has left a sketch of Buckingham which, though extremely satirical, seems founded on such study as a secretary alone would have the opportunity of making.

At the age of fifty Butler suddenly became famous. Fifteen years before, in the puritan houses where he had lived, he had strung his pungent observations and jingling satirical rhymes into a long heroi-comic poem. The times had changed, and this could now be produced without offence to the ruling powers. On 11 Nov. 1662 was licensed, and early in 1663 appeared, a small anonymous volume entitled '*Hudibras*: the first part written in the time of the late wars.' This is the first genuine edition, but the manuscript appears to have been pirated, for an advertisement says that 'a most false and imperfect copy' of the poem is being circulated without any printer's or publisher's name. Exactly a year later a second part appeared, also heralded by a piracy. The book was introduced at court early in 1663 by the Earl of Dorset, and was instantly patronised by the king. Copies of the first editions of '*Hudibras*' not very unfrequently have inscriptions show-

ing that they were the gift of Charles II to their first owner. Butler has himself recorded this royal partiality for his book:—

He never ate, nor drank, nor slept,  
But '*Hudibras*' still near him kept;  
Nor would he go to church or so,  
But '*Hudibras*' must with him go.

It was, however, the scandal of the age, that though the king was lavish in promises, he never did anything to relieve Butler's poverty. Lord Clarendon also greatly admired him, and had his portrait painted for his own library, but in spite of all his promises gave him no employment. The neglect of Butler is one of the commonplaces of literary morality, but the reader is apt to fancy that Butler was not easy to help. It is not plain that he had any talent, save this one of matchless satire; and in his private intercourse he was unpleasing. From childhood 'he would make observations and reflections on everything one said or did;' he had few friends, and was not careful to retain those few. He lived in poverty and obscurity for seventeen years after the first appearance of '*Hudibras*,' publishing a third part of that poem in 1678 (the different forms of which are described in '*Notes and Queries*,' 6th ser. vi. 108, 150, 276, 311, 370, 454), and two slight pieces, the '*Geneva Ballad*' in 1674, and an '*Ode to the Memory of Du-Val*' in 1671. In 1672 he printed an abusive prose tract against the nonconformists, called '*Two Letters*.' Butler in his later years was much troubled with the gout, and from October 1679 to Easter 1680 he did not stir out of his room. He lived in Rose Street, Covent Garden, until he died of consumption, although he was not yet seventy, on 25 Sept. 1680. His best friend, William Longueville, a bencher of the Inner Temple, tried to have Butler buried in Westminster Abbey, but found no one to second him in this proposal. He therefore buried the poet at his own expense, on the 27th, in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Aubrey says:—'*In the north part, next the church at the east end; his feet touch the wall; his grave 2 yards distant from the pilaster of the door, by his desire, 6 foot deep.*' Wood describes Butler as '*a boon and witty companion, especially among the company he knew well.*' Aubrey writes of Butler's appearance: '*He is of a middle stature, strong set, high coloured, a head of sorrel hair, a severe and sound judgment, a good fellow.*' This writer, who knew him pretty well, gives us an idea that the legend of Butler's poverty was exaggerated in the reaction which began in his favour soon after his death. A tradition is preserved

by Granger that Butler was in receipt of a pension of 100*l.* a year at the time of his death.

The success of 'Hudibras,' and a rumour that a large quantity of Butler's unpublished manuscript was in existence, encouraged the production of a great many spurious posthumous collections of his verses. For some reason or other, however, the papers of Butler were preserved untouched by William Longueville, who bequeathed them to his son Charles, and he in his turn to a John Clarke of Walgherton in Cheshire. This gentleman, in November 1754, consented to allow R. Thyer, the keeper of the public library in Manchester, to examine them. The result was the publication in 1759 of two very interesting volumes, entitled 'The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Mr. Samuel Butler.' These volumes contain much that is only second in merit to 'Hudibras' itself, among others a brilliant satire on the Royal Society, entitled 'The Elephant in the Moon,' and a series of prose 'Characters.' The collection of manuscripts from which these were selected was sold in London to the British Museum in 1885, and is now numbered there (*MSS. Addit.* 32625-6). Several of the pieces are still unpublished. 'Hudibras,' which received the honour of being illustrated by Hogarth in 1726, was several times carefully edited during the eighteenth century (for an account of the illustrated editions see *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, xi. 352, and 5th series, iii. 456). The edition of Dr. Grey, which appeared first in 1744, is still considered the standard one. 'Hudibras' was translated into French verse with great skill by John Townley (1697-1782). In 1721 a monument to Butler was raised in Westminster Abbey, at the expense of the lord mayor, John Barber, a graceful act which Pope rewarded in two spiteful lines: But whence this Barber? that a name so mean Should, join'd with Butler's, on a tomb be seen.

A portrait of Butler by Lely is in the gallery at Oxford; another by Lely was painted for Clarendon (see *EVERLYN'S Diary*, BRAY and WHEATLEY, iii. 444); Soest painted a third portrait, which was engraved for Grey's edition of 'Hudibras.'

[Very little has been discovered with regard to Butler's life beyond what Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss) iii. 874) reported. That little was mainly given to the world by Dr. Nash, in the second volume of his *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, in 1782. There have been no later discoveries than those made by Nash more than a century ago. Oldys made some notes for a life of Butler, which are in *Brit. Mus. MS. Addit.* 4221, pp. 198-203. See also Granger's *Biog. Hist.* iv. 38-40.] E. G.

**BUTLER, SAMUEL** (1774-1839), bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, born at Kenilworth 30 Jan. 1774, was the son of William Butler of that place; was admitted to Rugby 31 March 1788, and entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1792. At Cambridge his career was singularly brilliant. He obtained three of Sir William Browne's medals, and in 1793 was elected Craven scholar in competition with Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Keate, afterwards head-master of Eton, and Christopher Bethell, afterwards bishop of Bangor. He was a senior optime in the mathematical tripos of 1796, when he proceeded B.A. He carried off the chancellor's medals in 1797; and the member's prizes for 1797 and 1798. He became fellow of St. John's 4 April 1797, and in 1798 was appointed head-master of Shrewsbury School. He held this appointment for thirty-eight years. Although many ecclesiastical benefices were conferred on him within that period, the school occupied most of his attention, and it acquired a very high reputation during his head-mastership, in which he was succeeded by his pupil, Dr. Benjamin Hall Kennedy, in 1836. In 1802 Butler became vicar of Kenilworth, and in 1811 he proceeded D.D. In 1807 he was instituted to a prebend at Lichfield, in 1822 to the archdeaconry of Derby, and in June 1836 (when he left Shrewsbury) to the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry. In December 1836 the archdeaconry of Coventry was annexed to the see of Worcester, and left Butler bishop of Lichfield. While holding this office Butler suffered much ill-health, but he administered his diocese with great energy, and was popular with his clergy. He died 4 Dec. 1839, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury. He married in 1798 Harriet, daughter of the Rev. East Apthorp, B.D., vicar of Croydon and rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, by whom he had two daughters, Mary and Harriet, and one son, Thomas. His elder daughter married Edward Bather [q. v.], and his son became rector of Langar.

Butler was the author of many educational works, the chief of which are: 1. An elaborate edition of 'Æschylus,' published at the Cambridge University Press in four volumes between 1809 and 1826. 2. 'A Sketch of Modern and Ancient Geography,' Shrewsbury, 1813 (and frequently reprinted). 3. 'An Atlas of Ancient Geography.' 4. 'An Atlas of Modern Geography.' He was also the editor of 'M. Musuri Cæreni in Platonem, Is. Casauboni in Josephum Scaligerum Ode. Accedunt Poemata et Exercitationes utriusque linguæ,' 1797; he wrote 'A Praxis on the Latin Propositions with Exercises,' 1823; and several sermons, one of them being the funeral ser-

mon on Dr. Parr. Butler's library was rich in Aldines, and in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek manuscripts. The latter were purchased for the British Museum, and are now numbered there Addit. MSS. 11828-12117.

[Gent. Mag. 1840, pt. i. 203-5; Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Angl.; Baker's Hist. of St. John's Coll. (ed. Mayor), i. 311.] S. L. L.

**BUTLER, SIMON** (1757-1797), first president of the United Irishmen of Dublin, was the third son of Edmund, tenth Viscount Mountgarret, and his wife Charlotte, the second daughter of Sir Simon Bradstreet, bart. He was born in July 1757. Having been called to the Irish bar in Michaelmas term, 1778, he was made a king's counsel and a bencher of the Honourable Society of the King's Inns, Dublin, in Trinity term, 1784. With Wolfe Tone he was a zealous leader of the United Irishmen, and on 9 Nov. 1791 he presided at the first meeting of the Dublin society of that body. He compiled a digest of the popery laws, which was published in 1792, and made a great impression on the minds of the people. For this work, and 'for other professional business,' the 'Catholic Committee' voted him 500*l*. On 1 March 1793 Butler and Oliver Bond [q. v.], as chairman and secretary respectively of the Dublin Society, were summoned before the Irish House of Lords on account of a paper which had been issued by the society, referring to a committee of secrecy of that house. They avowed the publication, but submitted that it contained nothing unconstitutional. The lords, however, voted it a 'false, scandalous, and seditious libel; a high breach of the privileges of this house, tending to disturb the public peace, and questioning the authority of this High Court of Parliament,' and thereupon ordered the defendants to be imprisoned in Newgate gaol for six months, and to pay a fine of 500*l*. each. On the termination of his imprisonment, Butler went with his friend, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, another energetic leader of the United Irishmen, to Scotland, where they continued to aid in directing the proceedings of the society, until they were compelled to fly the country. On 18 Jan. 1795 Butler married Eliza, the daughter of Edward Lynch of Hampstead, in the county of Dublin, by whom he had an only son, Edward. Though his name was erased from the list of king's counsel in 1793, he remained a bencher of the King's Inns until his death, which took place at his lodgings in Brompton Row on 19 May 1797, in the fortieth year of his age. An etching of him and his friend Rowan as they appeared in the streets of Edinburgh in 1793, by Kay, will be found

in the second volume of 'Original Portraits,' No. 230.

[Kay's Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings (1877), ii. 121, 168, 171, 176-7; Plowden's Historical Review of the State of Ireland (1803), ii. pt. i. 376-94; Sir Richard Musgrave's Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland (1802), i. 112-54; Gent. Mag. 1797, lxvii. pt. i. 529; Annual Register, 1797, p. 97.]

G. F. R. B.

**BUTLER, THEOBALD** (d. 1205-6), first butler of Ireland, was son and heir of Hervey (Herveus) Walter of Amounderness in Lancashire and of Suffolk, by Maud (Matilda), daughter and coheir of Theobald de Valoines. Her sister Berthe (Berta), the other coheiress, married the celebrated Randulf de Glanville, justiciary of England [q. v.], who was thus uncle by marriage to Theobald. This much is certain from his own charters, as is also the fact that he was elder brother of Hubert Walter [q. v.], archbishop of Canterbury, but beyond this all is obscure. The various theories of earlier writers, especially the belief that Theobald was nearly of kin to Becket (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. xii. 30), are exhaustively discussed by Carte in the introduction to his 'Life of James, Duke of Ormonde,' in which he has collected much useful information. Lord A. C. Hervey argues that he sprang from the family of Hervey, while Mr. Glanville-Richards claims his father as a younger brother of Randulf de Glanville. But this latter view is doubted by Mr. Yeatman, who discusses the point in his introduction to Mr. Glanville-Richards' work, and it must certainly be rejected. Theobald's surname appears in the various forms, **LE BOTILLER**, **WALTER**, **WALTERI**, and **FITZWALTER**.

Theobald first appears in the 'Liber Niger' (i.e. circa 1166) as holding Amounderness 'per servicium 1 militis.' The received statement that he accompanied Henry II to Ireland (1171-2), and was made by him butler of Ireland 'soon after 1170,' though accepted by Lynch (p. 79), and repeated by Mr. Gilbert (p. 31), rests upon no evidence, and must be dismissed as erroneous, as must also that of Carte that he appears previously (1170) with Henry in France. It was probably in 1182 (EYTON, p. 248; GLANVILLE-RICHARDS, p. 41) that he witnessed, with 'John the king's son,' Randulf de Glanville's charter to Leystone; and it was through the influence of Randulf that, in 1185, he accompanied John to Ireland. The freight of his 'harnesium' thither is charged for in that year (*Rot. Pip.* 31 H. II). Landing with John at Waterford on 25 April, he received a grant to Randulf and himself of 5½ cantreds in

Limerick (see CARTE for charter tested at Waterford); and the same year, with the men of Cork, fought and slew Dermot Mac-Arthy (*Expugnatio*, v. 386). He further received from John (before 1189) the fief of Arklow afterwards confirmed to him by William Marshal on becoming *jure uxoris* lord of Leinster (see CARTE for charters, though he explains them wrongly), where he fixed his chief residence, and in later days founded an abbey, as a cell to Furness (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 1025). It is in virtue of this fief that Lynch and others have attempted to claim a 'feudal barony' for Theobald and his descendants. Returning to England, he witnessed his brother Hubert's charter to West Derham (*ib.* ii. 624) in 1188, and then accompanied his uncle Randulf to France, witnessing with him a charter of Henry II at Chinon (*ib.* ii. 648) on the eve of his death, July 1189 (EYTON, p. 297).

He now was in constant attendance on John, witnessing his charters to St. Augustine's, Bristol (*ib.* ii. 234), and Jeriponte Abbey (*ib.* 1029), and receiving from him, as lord of Ireland, the office of his 'butler.' He first assumes this style ('Pincerna') when testing John's charter to Dublin, 15 May 1192, at London (*Mun. Doc.* p. 55; *St. Mary's Chart.* i. 266-70); and it was apparently about this time that he received a grant from the Archbishop of Dublin as 'pincerna domini comitis Moretoniæ in Hiberniâ' (*Cotton. MS.* fo. 266), a style proving that he was appointed by John. He now adopted a fresh seal, adding to his name (Theobald Walter) the style 'Pincerna Hiberniæ.' This has escaped notice. Hence he is occasionally, in his latter days, spoken of as 'Le Botiller,' or 'Butler,' which latter became the surname of his descendants. Carte states, on the authority of Roberts (who professed to have seen the patent), that he also had a grant of the prisage of wines, but this is clearly an error. Towards the end of 1192 he was with John at Nottingham (see charter in *Cotton. MS.* fo. 347), and received from him probably about this time a fresh grant of Amounderness (*ib.* fo. 352). John going abroad at the close of the year 1192, entrusted him with Lancaster Castle, but on his brother Hubert, then justiciar, summoning it, in Richard's name (February 1194), he surrendered it (HOVEDEN, ii. 237), and, making his peace through Hubert, had a re-grant from Richard of Amounderness, 22 April 1194 (*Rot. Pat.* 5 Ric. I. Printed by BAINES, iv. 289), and was appointed by Hubert in August 1194 collector of the money for his tournament licenses (HOVEDEN, ii. 268). He was further made sheriff of Lancashire, and appears to

have remained so till 1 John (*Deputy Keeper's Reports*, xxxi. 300). In 1197-8 (9 Ric. I), he acted as a justice itinerant, assessing the tollage on Colchester (Madox, i. 733), and it was in the course of Richard's reign that he founded the abbey of Cokersand (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 631; BAINES, iv. 290).

John, on his accession, soon took vengeance for Theobald's defection to Richard. He disseised him of Amounderness, deprived him of his shrievalty (1200), and on 12 Jan. 1201 sold his Limerick fief—not, as Hoveden states (iv. 152-3), all his Irish possessions—to his then favourite, William de Braose [q. v.] But Theobald, by the influence of his brother Hubert, effected a compromise in the matter, and within a year was restored to favour, Amounderness being re-granted to him on 2 Jan. 1202 as 'dilecto et fideli nostro' (*Rot. de Lib.* p. 25). While out of favour (1199-1201) numerous complaints were made against him of past oppressions (*Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*) In 1203 or 1204 he withdrew to Ireland by license (*Rot. Pip.* 5 John m. 18 dors.), and busied himself with his religious foundations in Arklow, Nenagh in Tipperary (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 1044), and Wothene in Limerick (*ib.* ii. 1034). He also gave a charter (printed by Carte) to his men of Gowran. He is said, on the authority of 'Rothe's Register' (compiled in 1616 from the Ormonde evidences), to have died in 1206, and to have been buried at Wothene; but if so, it must have been very early in the year, as John informs the sheriff as early as 14 Feb. (1206) that he has committed his widow to her father (*Claus.* 7 John), and he is not mentioned as living on the Rolls later than 4 Aug. 1205 (*ib.*).

He had married late in life Maud (Matilda), daughter of Robert le Vavasor, by whom he left a son Theobald, born about 1200, whom his grandfather was ordered (2 March 1206) to deliver up to Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid (*Pat.* 7 John, m. 3), and a daughter Maud, also committed to Gilbert and his son till 1220 (*Rot. Pat.* 4 Henry III, m. 5), who is said by Lodge to have married Thomas de Hereford, but who seems from an inquisition of 1251 (*Calendar*) to have married Gerard de Prendergast. It is ingeniously suggested by Carte (pp. xii-xiv), on the strength of a plea-roll of 1295-6 (*Plac.* 24 Ed. I, m. 68), that Theobald had, by a previous marriage, a daughter Beatrice, who married, firstly, Thomas de Hereford, and secondly, in her father's lifetime, Hugh Purcell. This is not improbable. His widow Maud was given up, at first, to her father Robert, on payment of over 1200 marks (*Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*), but afterwards (by 1 Oct. 1206) to John's fa-



vourite, Fulke FitzWarine (*Rot. Claus. John*).

[Close Rolls, Patent Rolls, Fine Rolls, and Liberate Rolls (Record Commission); Pipe Rolls; Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, Giraldu Cambrensis' *Expugnatio*, Roger de Hoveden, Municipal Documents of Ireland, and St. Mary's Chartulary (Rolls Ser.); Cottonian MSS. Titus B. xi, containing transcripts of Charters; 31st Report of Dep. Keeper of the Records; Madox's *Exchequer*; Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1661; Carte's *Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, 1736; Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. xii; Lynch's *Feudal Baronies in Ireland*; Gilbert's *Viceroy's of Ireland*; Baines's *Lancashire*, 1836; Lord A. C. Hervey's *Family of Hervey*; Glanville-Richards's *Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville*; The Barony of Arklow (Foster's *Collectanea Genealogica*, No. iv.); The Barony of Arklow in Ireland (*Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer*, vol. i.); Abstract of Roberts's MS. History of the House of Ormonde, 1648, in Appendix to 8th Report Hist. MSS. i. 586-8.] J. H. R.

**BUTLER, THOMAS, LL.D.** (*n.* 1570), catholic writer, graduated B.A. at Cambridge in 1548, and, afterwards going abroad, took in some foreign university the degree of doctor of the canon and civil laws. He is the author of 'A Treatise of the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar called the Masse: In which by the Word of God, and testimonies of the apostles and primitive church, it is proved that our Saviour Jesus Christ did institute the Masse, and the apostles did celebrate the same. Translated out of Italian into English.' Antwerp, 1570, 8vo.

[Strype's *Life of Abp. Parker*, fol. 477; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), iii. 1627; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 294.] T. C.

**BUTLER, THOMAS**, tenth EARL OF ORMONDE (1532-1614), born in 1532, was son and heir of James Butler, ninth earl, who died of poison at Ely House, London, 28 Oct. 1546. His mother was Lady Joan Fitzgerald, heiress of James, eleventh earl of Desmond. His grandfather was Sir Pierce Butler, eighth earl of Ormonde [q. v.] Thomas, who was called, from his dark complexion, the 'Black Earl,' succeeded his father in the earldom and estates at the age of fourteen. He was brought up at the English court with a view to alienating his sympathies from Ireland, and was the first of his family to adopt protestantism. He was knighted on Edward VI's accession in 1547. After Edward's death in 1553, the priests spread a false report that the young earl had been murdered in England, and the Irish on his estates, which were then managed by English officials, rose in revolt. In 1554 Ormonde set foot in Ireland amid

great rejoicings on the part of the native population, and from the first attempted to act as mediator between the native Irish and their English rulers. He entered into friendly relations with Sussex, the lord deputy; took the oath as privy councillor in 1559, and became lord treasurer of Ireland at the same time; but his action was unhappily fettered. The house of Desmond was the hereditary and implacable foe of the house of Ormonde, and neither the present earl's relationship (through his mother) with the then Earl of Desmond nor his conciliatory disposition could remove the ancient grudge. A quarrel respecting the ownership of the manors of Clonmel, Kilsheelan, and Kilfeacle was made in 1560 the pretext for a military demonstration, near Tipperary, of the retainers of the two houses. This happily proved abortive, and the English government tried to bring the rivalry to an end by a judicial award of the disputed territory in this case to the Earl of Desmond, but a permanent settlement was out of the question.

Ormonde, though openly avowing strong Irish sympathies, resolved to throw the weight of his influence on the side of law and order. In 1561 he sought, by means of his personal influence, to extract from Shan O'Neill, the virtually independent ruler of Ulster, an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the English crown and a promise to abstain from further aggression on other Ulster chieftains. O'Neill treated Ormonde with consideration, and agreed to visit England in his company in order to come to some settlement with Queen Elizabeth herself. In the result he was willing to submit all his differences with his views to a board of arbitration, at which he desired Ormonde to take a seat. But when in 1562 O'Neill broke his vague promises and re-opened attack on the MacDonnells, his chief rivals in Ulster, it was with great reluctance (6 April 1563) that Ormonde, fearful of offending Irish feeling, aided Sussex in repressing the powerful chieftain. Meanwhile his quarrel with Desmond grew fiercer, and Munster, where the chief estates of either house lay, was in constant turmoil. Both leaders were summoned to London at the close of 1561, but little came of their interview with Elizabeth. Ormonde tried hard for a while to keep the peace in the face of Desmond's continued aggressions. Late in 1563 Ormonde complained to Sussex that Desmond was repeatedly attacking his relatives and tenants, and that it was only just that he should retaliate. On 1 July 1564 Ormonde issued a notable proclamation forbidding, in the interest of his poorer dependents, the exaction of the ancient Irish customs within his dominions, and he was



contemplating other similar reforms, when an attack by Desmond on his kinsman Sir Maurice Fitzgerald led (1565) to a pitched battle between the supporters of the two earls at Affone, a ford near the river Finisk, a tributary of the Blackwater. Desmond was wounded by Sir Edmund Butler, Ormonde's brother, and taken prisoner. Elizabeth, angered beyond measure by this act of private war, summoned both earls again to her presence. The queen's councillors were divided as to the degrees of guilt attaching to the offenders, and the court factions aggravated the local struggle. Sussex insisted that Ormonde was guiltless. Sir Henry Sidney and the Leicester faction denied that Desmond had shown disloyalty to the English cause. Finally, both earls agreed (September 1565) to enter into their recognisances in 20,000*l.* to abide such orders as her majesty might prescribe. Elizabeth evinced unmistakable sympathy for Ormonde; the attentions she paid him at the time gave rise to no little scandal, and induced him to linger at court for the next five years. Meanwhile Sir Henry Sidney succeeded Sussex as lord deputy, and he was inclined to favour Desmond, but the queen insisted that Ormonde's claims whenever conflict arose deserved the higher consideration. In 1567 Sidney visited Munster and reported that it was absolutely uncontrolled, and as turbulent as it well could be. Desmond was ravaging Ormonde's territory in the earl's absence. A royal commission was nominated in October 1567 to determine the truth of Ormonde's allegation, that he had suffered terribly from Desmond's aggressions; an award was made in his favour, and Desmond was mulcted in the sum of 20,894*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* Early in 1568 the Earl of Desmond and his brother John were sent to the Tower of London. Although Ormonde (in Sidney's words) still 'politely kept himself in England,' the Butler influence was in the ascendant during the imprisonment of the rival earl. Edward and Sir Edmund, Ormonde's brothers, used their power, as his representatives in Munster, with the utmost cruelty and injustice. In June 1569 Sir Edmund, who had a personal hatred of Sidney, in temporary concert with some members of the Desmond family, broke into open revolt against the lord deputy. Sidney asserted that Ormonde's presence was indispensable to the peace of South Ireland, and the earl returned home with the queen's permission. He landed at Waterford in July 1569, and found Munster in the throes of a civil war, in which his brother Sir Edmund was matched against Sidney's lieutenant, Sir Peter Carew. Ormonde honestly endeavoured to arbitrate between the combatants, but Sid-

ney clearly regarded him at the time with deep suspicion. Early in 1570, however, Ormonde wrote to Cecil that he and Sidney were reconciled, and as proof of his goodwill he crushed, at Sidney's request, a rebellion of the Earl of Thomond, one of the Munster malcontents. In April Ormonde's three brothers, Edmund, Edward, and Piers, were attainted, and Ormonde passionately protested against the indignity; but though the three Butlers were pardoned in 1573, and became loyal subjects, they were not, through some legal error, restored in blood. In 1571 Ormonde was busily engaged in repressing further tumults in Munster, which the Desmond influence continued to foment. At the beginning of 1572 Fitzwilliam, the lord deputy, wrote to Burghley that 'the South was always the ticklish part of Ireland, and that Ormonde alone could manage it.'

In 1572 the earl spent several months in London, and visited his old rival, the Earl of Desmond, who was still in confinement. Desmond begged Ormonde to use his influence to secure his release, and probably Ormonde recommended the course, which was soon after adopted, of letting Desmond return to Ireland under guarantees of good behaviour. Ormonde's domain grew very turbulent in his renewed absence, and Desmond, scorning all his promises, resolved on striking a desperate blow at English rule in South Ireland. In July 1573 Ormonde entreated him in vain to abandon his threatening designs. While Ormonde was on another visit to London, news reached Elizabeth (December 1579) of a rising of the Desmond faction in Munster, aided and encouraged by papal envoys and Spanish soldiers. Ormonde was straightway appointed military governor of the province, with a commission 'to banish and vanquish those cankered Desmonds.' In March 1580 he marched from Kilkenny to Kerry, ravaging the country with fire and sword. In the mountains of Kerry he captured many of the rebel leaders, and in a report of his services drawn up in July 1580 he claimed to have put to the sword within three months 46 captains, 800 notorious traitors and malefactors, and 4,000 other persons. In September, when the rebels were encouraged to renew the struggle by the arrival of a second detachment of Spaniards at Smerwick, Ormonde showed less activity, although he still maintained a large army and supported the movements of the government. His conduct gave rise in England to some groundless suspicions of his loyalty. In April 1581, when the immediate danger had passed, he declared himself weary of killing, and induced Elizabeth to proclaim pardon to

all the rebels save Desmond and his brothers. But in 1582 the country was still disturbed. 'They seek,' wrote Sir Henry Wallop of the native Irish (10 June 1582), 'to have the government among themselves,' and Lord Burghley and Walsingham thought to conciliate Irish feeling by appointing Ormonde lord deputy. Wallop and other English officials, however, who, like Sidney, were jealous of Ormonde's influence both at the English court and in Ireland, protested that 'Ormonde is too great for Ireland already,' and he was merely confirmed in the military government of Munster. Desmond was still at large in the Kerry mountains, and a few of his supporters maintained the old warfare. Ormonde was inclined to treat the enemy leniently for a time, but in May 1583 he deemed it prudent to attack with his former rigour all the known adherents of Desmond. At the same time he set a price on Desmond's head, and in October the rebellious earl was captured and slain. Ormonde thus succeeded in pacifying Munster. In November he insisted on the grant of an indemnity to all who had taken part in the revolt, and spoke very roughly in letters to Burghley of those English officers who advocated further rigorous measures, or wished him to break faith with the penitent rebels whom he had taken under his protection. In 1588 he helped to capture and kill the Spanish refugees who had escaped the wreck of the Armada.

In October 1597 Ormonde was appointed lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland, and he supported the English troops in their tedious attempts to repress the rebellion of O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, in 1598-9. Early in 1599 he became for a second time, in succession to Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer of Ireland, but with Essex he was on no friendly terms (SPEDDING'S *Bacon*, ii. 93 et seq.) Ormonde complained that Essex did not honestly strive to crush Tyrone, and Essex and his associates retaliated by hinting suspicions of Ormonde's loyalty. In 1602 Elizabeth granted him much confiscated lands in Munster, and a pension of 40*l*. In 1612 he was vice-admiral of Ireland and sought to repress piracy. He died 22 Nov. 1614, at the age of 82.

Ormonde was thrice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, tenth lord Berkeley, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of John, ninth lord Sheffield, by whom he had two sons, James and Thomas, and a daughter Elizabeth; and thirdly, to Helen, daughter of David, viscount Buttevant. His sons both died before him, and his title descended to Walter, son of his brother John of Kilcash. In 1597 Ormonde

conveyed some rich church lands (originally granted by the crown to his brother James, and reverting to him on the death of James's only son without issue) to an illegitimate son, Piers Fitz Thomas (b. 1576). This son married Katherine, eldest daughter of Thomas, lord Stone, and was the father of Sir Edward Butler, created Viscount Galmoy 16 May 1646.

A sonnet in Ormonde's praise is prefixed by Spenser to the 'Faerie Queene' (1590).

[Bagwell's *History of Ireland under the Tudors*, vols. i. and ii.; Froude's *Hist. of England*, vols. vii. and x.; Burke's *Peerage*; Chamberlain's *Letters*, temp. Elizabeth (Camden Soc.); Camden's *Annals*; Cal. State Papers (Irish), 1560-1614; Carew MSS.; Cal. State Papers (Dom.), 1600-1614.] S. L. L.

**BUTLER, THOMAS, EARL OF OSSORY** (1634-1680), was the eldest son of James, first duke of Ormonde [q. v.], and was born in the castle of Kilkenny on 9 July 1634. Here he remained, and was carefully educated, throughout the Irish rebellion, until Ormonde surrendered Dublin to the parliamentary commissioners in 1647, when he accompanied his father to England, and shortly afterwards, in February 1647-8, to France. He stayed with his brother Richard at Paris until Ormonde's return to Ireland in September. They were then placed in the house of a French protestant minister at Caen for a year, and were subsequently sent to the academy of M. de Camp at Paris, where Ossory distinguished himself, as he did throughout his life, by his skill in all manly exercises. Evelyn's friendship with Ossory dates from this time, and on 16 March 1650 he writes that he 'saw a triumph here [i.e. at Paris], where divers of the French and English noblesse, especially my lord of Ossorie and Richard, sons to the Marquis of Ormonde, did their exercises on horseback in noble equipage.' In another entry, on 7 May, Evelyn gives an early instance of Ossory's display of temper. In December 1650 the youth returned to Caen, where his mother was now residing, and in August 1652 accompanied her to England, whither she went to petition parliament for part of the Ormonde estates. Having succeeded in her object, she went to Ireland in the following year, leaving Ossory and his brother in London, and only returned to England after two years' absence. The two passages in Carte upon this point are contradictory (cf. iii. 631 and iv. 596). The place of residence of the brothers during these two years is uncertain, but after Lady Ormonde's return to London they lived with her at Wild House. Ossory's character at this time is thus given by

Sir R. Southwell: 'He is a young man with a very handsome face, a good head of hair, a pretty big voice, well set, and a good round leg. He pleaseth me exceedingly, being very good natured, talking freely, asking many questions, and humouring the answers. He rides the great horse very well; is a good tennis player, fencer, and dancer. He understands music, and plays on the guitar and lute; speaks French elegantly, reads Italian fluently, is a good historian, and so well versed in romances that if a gallery be full of pictures or hangings he will tell the stories of all that are there described. He shuts up his door at eight o'clock in the evening, and studies till midnight. He is temperate, courteous, and excellent in all his behaviour. The heir of a great house, with such endowments, soon became the darling of society. As late as 20 Feb. 1655 he was at full liberty, and mixing freely in society; for on that day he was at the Swedish ambassador's (WHITELOCKE, p. 621). But his unconcealed sympathies with the royal cause roused the jealousy of Cromwell, who, in March 1655, sent a guard to secure him. It happened that he was out at the time, but Lady Ormonde promised that he should wait upon Cromwell next morning. This, though offers were made to assist him in escaping, he did, and was immediately sent under guard to the Tower, although Cromwell had only shortly before given him a pass to travel through Italy and the Holy Land. Ossory remained in the Tower eight months, during which his mother in vain appealed to Cromwell for his release or for information as to his crime. In October, however, he fell ill of ague, and was partially released, but was not finally set at liberty until the following spring, when he went with Lady Ormonde to Acton in Gloucestershire, and shortly afterwards with his brother to Flanders, apparently in disguise. Thence he went to Holland, and avoided the refugee court of Charles, lest he should give Cromwell a pretence for taking away his mother's estate. Here he stayed for four years, became acquainted with the Lord of Beverwaert, the governor of Sluys, a nobleman allied in blood to the Prince of Orange, and married his eldest daughter Emilia on 17 Nov. 1659. Ormonde himself was present at the wedding, and approved the match. He hoped that by its agency he might induce De Witt, a great friend of Beverwaert, to enter heartily into the design of the king's restoration. To secure this marriage, Ossory's mother was compelled to give up 1,200*l.* a year out of the 2,000*l.* a year settled upon her by Cromwell. The father of the bride gave 10,000*l.* dowry, with which Ormonde's sister was to

have been married and his brother John educated; but the money appears to have been immediately devoted to the necessities of the royal service. Ossory's relations with his wife were of the purest kind, and he appears to have lived without even a suspicion of libertinism. Lady Ossory 'was an excellent woman, had exceeding good sense, and the sweetest temper in the world.' Ossory fell into one of the court follies, that of gambling; and it is said that when, 'after losing, he came home thoughtful and out of humour, and upon her inquiring the reason told her that he was vexed at himself for playing the fool and gaming, and that he had lost one thousand pounds, she still desired him not to be troubled—she would find ways to save it at home. She was indeed an admirable economist, always cheerful, and never known to be out of humour; so that they lived together in the most perfect harmony imaginable.' By this marriage he became united with Henry Bennet [q. v.], earl of Arlington, already an intimate friend, who married Isabella, his wife's sister, in 1666.

At the Restoration Ossory accompanied Charles. He was already the valued friend not merely of young gallants like himself, but of the best men of the time. On 6 July 1660, for instance, Evelyn speaks of him as his 'excellent and worthy noble friend, my Lord Ossory,' and frequently mentions him in terms of enthusiastic admiration; while the confidence reposed in him by James is shown by the fact that he was one of the two witnesses to the duke's marriage with Anne Hyde (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 159). On 8 Feb. 1660-1 he was made by patent colonel of foot in Ireland, on 13 June following colonel and captain of horse, and on the 19th of the same month lieutenant-general of the horse. At the ceremony of the coronation he was one of the young noblemen appointed to bear the king's mantle, and as such he challenged the place before Lord Percy, the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland. His pretension, which gave great offence, was unjustifiable, as Ormonde's dukedom was only an Irish one, and it was overruled by the king (CLARENDON, *Life*, 194). In the beginning of 1662 he succeeded the Earl of Mountrath in various military commands, and on 16 Aug. 1665 was appointed lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland.

Meantime Ossory had been elected a member for Bristol in the parliament which met on 8 May 1661, and was also in the Irish House of Commons. On 22 June 1662 Charles ordered that he should be called to the House of Peers in that country. By special order of the commons he was accompanied by Sir

Paul Davys and Sir H. Tichborne, with the body of members, to the bar of the House of Lords. The lords themselves ordered that his seat should be above all the earls. The speaker of the commons gave thanks to the lords for the honour thus done to Ossory, who was further complimented by the lord chancellor. In April 1664 Ormonde left Ireland for court, returning in October 1665, during which interval Ossory acted as his deputy.

In 1665 he returned to England, and was on a visit to his future brother-in-law, Arlington, at the latter's seat at Euston, when the first great battle, lasting for four days, took place with the Dutch off the Suffolk coast. Hearing the guns at sea, he, with Sir Thomas Clifford, managed to get from Harwich on board the Duke of Albemarle's ship, and bring him the welcome news that Rupert was on his way to reinforce him; and he remained with the duke, for whom he had ever afterwards a high opinion, during two days' fighting. He is stated by his daring conduct in this fight to have 'become the darling of the kingdom, and especially of the seamen, who called him the preserver of the navy.' He was shortly made a gentleman of the king's bedchamber upon his father's resignation, was placed on the English privy council in June 1666, and on 14 Sept. in the same year was summoned to the English House of Lords by the title of Lord Butler of Moore Park, taking his seat on 18 Sept. The lords were soon treated to a specimen of his fiery temper. The Duke of Buckingham, who was busily plotting against Ormonde, asserted in the house that none were against the bill then before them, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, except such as had Irish estates or Irish understandings (PEPPY, 27 Oct. 1666). Ossory, on 26 Oct., angrily replied, and delighted to find an excuse for quarrelling with Buckingham at once challenged him, but on arriving at the place of meeting was arrested by the king's guard, Buckingham having, according to Carte (iv. 270), given notice to Charles. Clarendon's account differs somewhat from that of Carte. He says nothing of an arrest, and mentions that Buckingham went to a place other than that appointed, pretending that it was called by the same name (*Life*, 969). Buckingham having complained of a breach of privilege, Ossory was released by the king to make his defence, but was sent back to the Tower by the lords, the duke too being taken into custody. On 31 Oct. Ossory presented a petition to the lords, drawn up by Arlington, who had vigorously espoused his quarrel in the house, expressing his regret,

and praying to be released, which was done two days after the arrest. Pepys states that the quarrel was between Ossory and Clarendon; but this is of course a clerical error, as Clarendon was one of Ormonde's greatest friends, and himself rebuked Buckingham (CARTE, iv. 270). A fresh quarrel, it appears, broke out on 19 Nov., in which Ossory flatly gave Buckingham the lie (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep. 102 a, 102 b). For this, and for a similar attack upon Ashley, when, after great provocation, he said that Ashley spoke like one of Oliver's council, the fiery young man was compelled by the house to ask pardon of his opponents.

In 1668 Ormonde asked leave of Charles to come to court, leaving his son as his deputy. Ossory accordingly set out in March and remained until his father's deprivation of the lord-lieutenancy in March of the following year, 1669, when he returned to England. He had been put in full possession of the intrigues against Ormonde by Arlington, who was sincerely attached to himself, but who was at the time engaged in them.

In May 1670 Ossory went in the king's train to Dover to meet the Duchess of Orleans, and in the following October was sent with a fleet of yachts to bring the Prince of Orange to England, sailing from Harwich about the 13th (*ib.* 6th Rep. 367 b), and returning with him at the end of the month. It was in this year that the attempt was made by Blood upon his father's life. Ossory ascribed the outrage directly to the Duke of Buckingham before the king's face, and added: 'If my father comes to a violent end, by sword or pistol, . . . I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it. I shall consider you as the assassin; . . . and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair. And I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.'

In February Ossory was again appointed to attend the Prince of Orange back to the Hague. Thence he returned by Flanders and Paris, intending to serve as a volunteer in the French force destined for Alsace. The expedition having, however, fallen through, Ossory once more came to Holland and thence to England. He had completely won the respect of Orange, who in April sent him as a present 'a bason and ewer of massy gold.'

In June 1671 Ossory went over to Flanders to be present at the siege of Brunswick. Disappointed here, he was, in January 1671-2, in command of the third-rate king's ship the *Resolution*, and was on board of her when, along with Sir Robert Holmes, he attacked, on 14 March, the Dutch *Smyrna*

fleet before any declaration of war had been issued—an action which deeply offended Ormonde, and which he himself afterwards accounted the one blot upon his life (EVELYN, 12 March 1672, 26 July 1680). In April he was promoted to the command of the second-rate the *Victory*, upon which he fought the sanguinary action with the Dutch in Southwold Bay on 28 May. After the action, in which he further increased his reputation for courage, he caused the sick and wounded seamen in the Southwark Hospital to be visited and relieved at his own cost. It is stated (*Biog. Brit.*) that shortly before this he had lost about 8,000*l.* at cards, and that from this difficulty he was relieved by the king without the knowledge of the court. On 30 Sept. Charles bestowed the garter upon him, and he was installed at Windsor on 25 Oct. He was next employed, in November, as envoy extraordinary to carry formal condolences to Louis on the death of the Duke of Anjou. Every honour was shown him while at the French court, and the most enticing offers, both of place and money, were made him to induce him to take service with Louis, which he refused on the ground that he was already serving in the Dutch war. Upon his taking leave he was presented with a jewel of the value of 2,000*l.* On 26 March 1673, along with Evelyn, Ossory was sworn a younger brother of the Trinity House (EVELYN, 26 March 1673). In May 1673 he accepted the command of the first-rate *St. Michael*, and was made rear-admiral of the blue on the 17th. In the great battle which was fought in June, Admiral Spragge, who commanded, being slain and his ship disabled, Ossory defended her from capture during the day, and at night brought her safely off. No one was left alive upon his quarter-deck but himself, his page, and Captain Narborough (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 719 *b* note). After this action he was made rear-admiral of the red, and in September commanded in chief during Rupert's absence, while the fleet was lying at the Nore, receiving henceforward, according to custom, a pension of 250*l.* a year. Towards the close of the year Ossory received intelligence that the harbour of Helvoetsluys, where, when in Holland, he had noticed the prizes taken by the Dutch at Chatham, and which he was now informed was filled with the Dutch navy, was very insufficiently guarded. He at once made a design for attacking it, and having secured a plan of the harbour, and having obtained the king's orders to sail with ten frigates and 2,000 soldiers, was on the eve of setting out when, from causes never known, the expedition was countermanded. Charles showed continued

confidence by choosing him in November 1674 to propose to Orange the marriage with James's daughter Mary. On 31 May, Trinity Monday, 1675, he was elected master of the Trinity House, Evelyn again being present (*ib.* 8th Rep. 255 *a*). In July 1680 there was a painting of him in the Trinity House, but it was distrained, along with other property, for hearth-money, which the corporation refused to pay, on 29 Sept. 1682 (*ib.* 257 *a*, 258 *b*). In August he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty. Apparently his affairs were at this time somewhat embarrassed, for on 22 Dec. 1675 he is mentioned as petitioning the king for a pension of 2,000*l.* a year out of the 30,000*l.* reserved by him from the new farm of the revenue of Ireland (*ib.* 4th Rep. 248). On 18 Nov. 1676 he was made lord chamberlain to the queen. In June 1677 the Prince of Orange, when sending over Bentinck to continue the marriage negotiations, advised him to go, in the first place, to Ossory and Ormonde. Ossory now obtained permission to make a campaign with Orange, and joined him before Charleroi; and upon the raising of the siege, a battle with Luxembourg being imminent, he had the post of honour with the command of 6,000 men conferred upon him (*ib.* 5th Rep. 187). He returned to England that year, for at the beginning of December we find him and his second, Captain Mackarly, worsted in a duel with Mr. Buckley and Mr. Gerard (*ib.* 7th Rep. 469 *a*).

In February 1678 he again went to Holland, where he had been appointed general, by the prince's patent, of the British forces in the pay of the States. In that capacity he was present at the battle of Mons, and distinguished himself greatly, his own life being saved only by the fact that two shots which struck him were stopped by his armour. He returned to England in September 1678 with many testimonies to his reputation. He was desirous, however, of having his commission of general confirmed by the States, and in March 1680 sent to demand this, which, after much difficulty, he obtained through Orange's personal influence.

Upon his return in 1678 Ossory had been nominated to command the fleet intended to put down the pirates of Algiers; his demands for men and ships, however, were greater than the treasury would grant, and Narborough went in his stead.

Ossory had an active share in the early stages of the popish terror. It is stated, indeed, that on 11 Nov. 1678 he discovered 100,000 fireballs and grenades in Somerset House (*ib.* 471 *b*), which was, of course, merely an idle tale. In December he appears to

have given in a report concerning Godfrey's murder (*ib.* 6th Rep. 778 *b*), while he pointed out an evident falsehood in Oates's evidence, and on 30 Nov. was the first to carry to the queen the news that the lords had refused to concur in the vote of the commons of 28 Nov. for an address to the king for her removal from court. In June 1679 there was talk of removing Lauderdale from his commands in Scotland, and of the appointment of Ossory and another with Monmouth as a joint commission for governing that country (*ib.* 7th Rep. 473 *a*).

In September he was named envoy extraordinary to carry to the King of Spain Charles's congratulations on the marriage of the latter's niece. This expedition, however, in preparing for which he had incurred much expense, was stopped by Essex, then at the head of the treasury, who persuaded Charles to seek a less expensive method (*ib.* 6th Rep. 724 *b*). On 23 Oct. he walked before James at the artillery dinner given to the duke (*ib.* 7th Rep. 476 *b*). When a volunteer force of young men of position was raised as a body-guard to the king, Ossory had the command (*ib.* 3rd Rep. 270).

During the winter Ormonde was warmly attacked in the House of Lords by Shaftesbury, who saw in his continuance in Ireland one of the greatest difficulties to the success of the anti-catholic and exclusion programme. He was, however, defended with the utmost spirit by Ossory, who retorted upon Shaftesbury himself with telling effect: 'Having spoke of what he has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking up of the triple league, he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer, he never advised the declaration for a toleration, he never advised the falling out with the Dutch and joining with the French; he was not the author of that most excellent position of "Delenda est Carthago," that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father and of all men according to their actions and counsels.' This speech was translated into Dutch, and drew from Orange a sincere letter of praise.

In April 1680 Ossory was replaced on the privy council, from which he had been removed at the dissolution of the old council. In June, greatly to his own dislike, he was nominated to the governorship of Tangier, with the generalship of the forces. He took it greatly to heart, since he was being sent out with an incompetent force upon what Sunderland the secretary told the king before

his face was an errand that must fail, even if it were not intended to fail. The gallant and high-spirited man appears to have brooded deeply over this unworthy reward of his own and his father's services, and he unburdened his mind to Evelyn. On the evening of the same day, 26 July, he attended the king at the sheriffs' supper in Fishmongers' Hall. There he was taken ill, and was removed to Arlington House, where Evelyn watched his bedside. He speedily became delirious, with short lucid intervals, during which the sacrament was administered, and, in spite of the efforts of six doctors, died on Friday, 30 July (EVELYN, 26 July 1680). His body was placed temporarily in Westminster Abbey, and afterwards removed to the family vaults at Kilkenny Castle. The character which Evelyn gives him is supported by universal testimony. 'His majesty never lost a worthier subject, nor father a better or more dutiful son; a loving, generous, good-natured, and perfectly obliging friend, one who had done innumerable kindnesses to several before they knew it; nor did he ever advance any that were not worthy; no one more brave, more modest; none more humble, sober, and every way virtuous. . . . What shall I add? He deserved all that a sincere friend, a brave souldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountifull master, and good christian, could deserve of his prince and country.'

Ossory had eleven children, of whom two sons and four daughters survived him. The eldest of the sons, James Butler (1665-1745) [q. v.], became the second duke of Ormonde, while of the daughters one became Countess of Derby, another Countess of Grantham.

[The authorities for Ossory's life are, in the first place, Carte's *Life of Ormonde*; Evelyn gives much useful information; one or two anecdotes not otherwise mentioned will be found in Clarendon's *Life*, while the various notices in the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Commission, especially those contained in Mr. Gilbert's most interesting account of the Kilkenny MSS., with the numerous specimens of Ossory's letters, are of the greatest value.] O. A.

**BUTLER, THOMAS HAMLY** (1762?-1823), musical composer, the son of James Butler, a musician, was born in London about 1762. He was for nearly ten years a chorister of the Chapel Royal under Dr. Nares, and subsequently studied in Italy for three years under Piccini. On returning to England, he was engaged by Sheridan as composer for Covent Garden Theatre; but owing to a quarrel the engagement was not renewed. Butler wrote music to Cumberland's five-act play, 'The Widow of Delphi,' which was

produced at Covent Garden 1 Feb. 1780, and only acted six times. Soon afterwards he settled at Edinburgh, where he first lived at Bishop's Land, High Street, and subsequently at 24 Broughton Street and 3 Catherine Street. He enjoyed considerable reputation as a teacher, and wrote a quantity of music for the pianoforte—marches, arrangements of Scotch airs, sonatas, &c., all of which are now forgotten. Butler died in Edinburgh in 1823.

[A Dictionary of Musicians, 1827, i. 125; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 386 a; Genest's Hist. of the Stage, vi. 146; British Museum Music Catalogue.] W. B. S.

**BUTLER, WALTER**, of Kilcash, eleventh EARL OF ORMONDE (1569–1633), was the eldest son of Sir John Butler, the younger brother of Thomas, tenth earl of Ormonde and Ossory [q. v.]. He was but half a year old at his father's death, after which he lived under the guardianship of his uncle. In 1599 he led a portion of the army commanded by the latter, and defeated Redmond Bourke at Ormond with the loss of 200 men, and on another occasion drove him out of the castle of Drehednefarney. In the former of these actions he behaved with great gallantry, and was wounded by a pike in the knee. When, a year later, Owen Grane and the O'Mores entered Kilkenny, and burnt his uncle's house at Bowlike, Walter Butler again fell upon the enemy, killing sixty of them, with two of their leaders, and recovering a large part of the booty. Upon the death of Earl Thomas, in 1614, without legitimate male issue, he succeeded to the earldom of Ormonde and Ossory. His title to the estates, however, was contested by Sir R. Preston, afterwards the Earl of Desmond, who had married the sole daughter of Earl Thomas, and who, under the favour and with the active interference of James I, laid claim to a large portion in right of his wife. After much time and money had been spent in litigation, James made an award which Earl Walter refused to submit to. He was thereupon, in 1617, committed to the Fleet prison by James, where he remained for eight years in great want, no rents reaching him from his estate. James meanwhile brought a writ of *quo warranto* against him for the county palatine of Tipperary, which had been vested in the head of the family for nearly four hundred years, and which could not therefore under any circumstances have belonged to his cousin Elizabeth, the wife of Preston; no answer was made to the writ, if indeed an opportunity was afforded for answer, and James took the county palatine into his own hands. It was not

restored until 1663, when Charles II returned it to the Duke of Ormonde with enlarged privileges. Earl Walter, however, was set at liberty in 1625, and a large part of his estates restored to him. For some while he lived in a house in Drury Lane, with his grandson James, afterwards Duke of Ormonde, but shortly retired to Ireland. In 1629, on the projected marriage of his grandson and Elizabeth Poyntz, Charles I granted her marriage and the wardship of her lands to him by letters patent dated 8 Sept. After the marriage he was recognised, 9 Oct. 1630, as heir to the lands of Earl Thomas as well as of Sir John Butler his father. He died at Carrick on 24 Feb. 1632–3, and was buried at Kilkenny 18 June 1633.

By his marriage with Ellen Butler, daughter of Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret, he had three sons (Thomas, Lord Thurles, the father of James Butler, first duke of Ormonde [q. v.], James and John, who died young, without issue) and nine daughters.

[Carte's Introduction to his Life of Ormonde, and a few notices in the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Com.] O. A.

**BUTLER, WALTER, COUNT** (d. 1634), was the second son of Peter Butler of Roscrea, and his wife Catharine de Burgo. His father was the great grandson of Sir Richard Butler of Poolestown in Kilkenny, a younger son of James, third Earl of Ormonde (*Logge's Peerage of Ireland*, 1789, iv. 17). It is supposed that Walter Butler served on the Linguistic side in the battle of Prague (1620), but he is first mentioned by name as lieutenant-colonel of James Butler's regiment, in which capacity he accompanied his kinsman [see BUTLER, JAMES, *Æ*. 1631–1634] on his march from Poland to Frankfort-on-the-Oder early in 1631. There seems no satisfactory evidence of his having before this time become connected with the Tipperary priest Thomas Carve, who then or soon afterwards was appointed chaplain of his regiment, and to whom Walter Butler is indebted for the only literary attempt ever made to glorify his tarnished name (see, however, *Preface to Itinerarium*, v). According to the chaplain, Butler brilliantly distinguished himself at the siege of Frankfort, having apparently been left there in command of his absent kinsman's regiment. Although placed in the most dangerous position, he successfully resisted a Swedish attack made when the rest of the garrison was enjoying itself at table; and on the day of the general assault (April 3–13) stayed the retreat of two imperial regiments. The latter part of this account is confirmed by Colonel Robert Monro, whose own regi-



ment (Mackay's) was present at the siege on the Swedish side. He says that Butler's regiment bravely resisted the onslaught of the yellow and blue brigades, till most of the Irishmen fell to the ground; and Butler, 'being shot in the arm, and pierced with a pike through the thigh, was taken prisoner' (MONRO, *His Expedition*, London, 1637, ii. 34). Carve gives a list of the Irish officers who fell. He further relates, with many surprising details, that after the city had been taken Gustavus Adolphus ordered the wounded officer to be brought into his presence, when, after drawing his sword and ascertaining that it was the younger and not the elder Butler who was before him, he declared that had it been the elder he would have perished by the royal hand. In the same strain the chaplain goes on to tell how Walter Butler, having been accused on his own side of having caused the fall of Frankfort, received from the magnanimous king of Sweden a testimonial of valour, signed and sealed by all the Swedish generals, which he afterwards exhibited to the emperor at Vienna, while a broadsheet vindicating him was also published at Frankfort.

After remaining in captivity for six months Butler, from what resources does not appear, purchased his freedom for 1,000 dollars. He immediately joined the imperial army in Silesia under Tiefenbach, by whom he was most honourably received. He paid two visits to Poland for the purpose of levying troops, meeting with strange adventures on the way, and in January 1632 was about to settle down in remote winter quarters, when he was entrusted by Wallenstein, who had just reassumed the command, with the defence of his own duchy of Sagan. According to Carve, Butler more than justified the choice, and was rewarded for his deeds of valour against the Saxons by being assigned the Silesian county of Jägerndorf (on the Bohemian frontier) and its appurtenances as his winter quarters. This is possible, as Jägerndorf had been recently confiscated by the emperor, and bestowed by him upon a catholic magnate. Here Butler married a countess of Fondana. The brilliant victory of Eger, in which he and his cavalry captured twelve standards, may be identified with a brief stand made there by the Saxon Colonel von Starschettel before capitulating (cf. FÖRSTER, *Briefe Wallenstein's*, &c. ii. 218). Nothing more is heard of him till the fatal year 1634; nor was it till at a very late stage in the series of events which led to the death of Wallenstein that Butler intervened in the action.

From the narrative of Butler's regimental chaplain, Patrick Taaffe, which there seems

no reason for distrusting, it appears that at the beginning of the year 1634 Butler was in winter quarters at Klatrup (Kladran) on the Bohemian frontier, his regiment, composed of about 1,000 excellent soldiers, being posted about the neighbourhood for the defence of the passes between Bohemia and the Upper Palatinate. Though he had received no recent favours from Wallenstein, and had his suspicions as to the general's ultimate designs, he seems to have known neither of the steps which Wallenstein had in vain taken for assuring himself of the fidelity of his superior officers, nor of the imperial rescript of Feb. 18 bidding those officers cease to yield obedience to the deposed commander-in-chief. When, therefore, about this time an order from Wallenstein suddenly reached Butler, bidding him collect his regiment and march at once to Prague, where it had been the general's original intention to assemble his forces before opening the decisive negotiations, Butler obeyed. But he told his chaplain and confessor that the order confirmed his suspicions of the general's loyalty, and that he expected that at Prague death awaited him as a faithful soldier. Clearly he expected a battle there; but in truth the Prague garrison had already declared for Gallas and the emperor, and Wallenstein, after a design of seizing his person at Pilsen had been frustrated, had no choice but to hold Eger and the adjoining frontier district with such troops as still adhered to him. When, therefore, on 22 Feb., Butler on his way to Prague reached Mies, near Pilsen, he was accidentally met by Wallenstein himself, proceeding from Pilsen to Eger with Ilow, Terzka, Kinsky, and a small body of troops. (The statement that these included two hundred of Butler's own dragoons is probably founded on a mistake.) Butler was told to spend the night at Mies away from his soldiery; and next morning had with his regiment, under certain precautions, to accompany the duke on his progress to Eger. On the 24th Wallenstein entered into confidential conversation with him, enlarging on his own and his army's grievances against the emperor, and plying his companion with compliments and promises. Butler in return assured the duke that he would serve him rather than any other mortal. On the same day Eger was reached, and Butler was assigned quarters in the town, while his regiment remained outside the gates. Meanwhile on the 23rd Butler had contrived to despatch his chaplain to Piccolomini, now at Pilsen, assuring him that he would be true to the emperor, and adding that perchance God's providence designed to force him to do some heroic deed. Piccolomini bade the chaplain



tell Butler that if he desired the imperial favour and promotion, he must deliver up Wallenstein dead or alive. The message did not reach Butler till all was over; but Piccolomini is stated to have added that he would find some other way of letting Butler know his mind on the subject. If this account be correct, it results that Butler's presence at Eger was due to chance: that after first mistrusting him Wallenstein believed himself to have gained him over; and that Butler did not enter Eger, as he had certainly not left his quarters on the frontier, with any set purpose of assassinating the duke. Most assuredly he had received no orders to that effect from the emperor, by whom none were given; nor can we suppose any instructions to have reached him from Piccolomini. At the same time, as Ranke says, the idea of this particular solution was in the air and had previously suggested itself to various minds.

On the night of his arrival at Eger, Butler had an interview with Lieutenant-colonel Gordon and Major Leslie, two Scotch protestant officers in Terzka's infantry regiment, which formed the garrison of Eger. Finding them alarmed at the situation of affairs, he began to sound them as to what should be done. Gordon having proposed flight, which Butler rejected, Leslie was led to declare that they should kill the traitors. Hereupon Butler opened to them his design, to which at last Gordon signified his assent. Then followed the well-known incidents of 25 Feb. Several officers—including Devereux, Geraldine, and de Burgo, possibly a connection of Butler's—and about a hundred men of Butler's regiment, together with nearly the same number of German soldiers, were secretly introduced into the town. In the course of the day the rumour spread that the Swedes were approaching, and this no doubt helped to nerve the hands of the conspirators. In the evening a banquet was held in the castle, at which Butler's Irish dragoons cut down Ilow, Terzka, Kinsky, and Neumann, and then Devereux killed Wallenstein himself in his quarters at the burgomaster's house. Next morning Butler informed the town councillors of what had happened, and after making them swear fidelity to the emperor, imposed a similar oath upon the regiments encamped outside the town. He also took measures for the capture of Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, who was expected from across the frontier with tidings from Duke Bernard of Weimar. Information was sent to Gallas, and a proclamation to the army was issued by Butler and Gordon, declaring the treason of Wallenstein, and stat-

ing what measures had been taken against him and his associates. All these proceedings were substantially successful.

The deed of Butler and his fellows may not have saved the house of Austria and the Roman catholic cause in the empire from any grave danger, for Wallenstein had been abandoned by the great body of his army before he quitted Pilsen for Eger, and beyond that frontier fortress hardly anything in Bohemia remained in his power. But the Irish dragoons had relieved the emperor, Spain, Bavaria, and the Roman catholic party in general from a grievous incubus; and Butler in especial had done his part of the work promptly and effectively, and, what was most acceptable of all, without waiting for definite orders on the subject. Nor was he left unrewarded. Besides receiving the personal thanks of the emperor, who presented him with a gold chain and a medal bearing the imperial portrait, he was made owner of the regiment of which he held the command, ennobled as a count, appointed chamberlain, and endowed with Friedberg, the most considerable of the late duke's domains next to Friedland itself. He afterwards took part in the battle of Nördlingen (7 Sept. 1634); but Carve's word must be taken for the statement that on this occasion Butler fought most valiantly under the eyes of the king of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante without intermission for twenty-four hours, not giving way a single foot's breadth till the Spaniards and Croats came to his aid. After the victory Butler was sent with eight regiments to lay siege to Aurach and Schorndorf, in Würtemberg, both of which places he took. At Schorndorf he died, 25 Dec. 1634, 'most placidly,' after duly receiving the last sacraments of his church. Carve arrived in time to see his hero's coffin and to read his last will, in which he left 20,000 dollars to a convent of Franciscans at Prague, specially devoted to the interests of the faithful and the conversion of heretics in Ireland and Scotland, besides legacies to jesuits and other priests, and to his faithful lieutenant-colonel Walter Devereux, who succeeded to his regiment. Butler was sumptuously buried by his widow, but as he left no children his estate of Friedberg passed to a kinsman of the Poolestown house, whom the Emperor Leopold I confirmed in the possession of the title of count. The family afterwards migrated to Bavaria, where it still survives.

[The Itinerarium of Thomas Carve, who was chaplain first to Butler and then to Devereux, and afterwards called himself head-chaplain to the English, Scotch, and Irish serving in the imperial army, contains many more or less trustworthy

particulars as to Butler, more especially in chaps. vii. viii. ix. and xi. of part i., and in part ii. concerning his descent. It was reprinted London, 1859. As to Butler's share in Wallenstein's catastrophe, however, the best authority is the account written in answer to the inquiries of a Ratisbon priest by Patrick Taaffe, Butler's regimental chaplain, at the time of the murder, which is printed by Mailáth, *Geschichte d. österreich. Kaiserstaats* (1842), iii. 367-376, and is in substance accepted by Ranke, for whose account of the catastrophe see his *Geschichte Wallenstein's* (1869), 402-456. Cf. also the article on Walter Butler by Landmann, in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, iii. 651-653; and Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland* (1789), iv. 17.]

A. W. W.

**BUTLER, WEEDEN**, the elder (1742-1823), miscellaneous writer, was born at Margate on 22 Sept. 1742. He was articled to a solicitor in London, but quitted the legal profession for the church. He acted as amanuensis to Dr. William Dodd from 1764 till his patron's ignominious end in 1777. In 1776 he had succeeded Dodd as morning preacher at Charlotte Street chapel, Pimlico, in which fashionable place of worship he officiated till 1814. In 1778 he was lecturer of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and St. Martin Orgars; and for more than forty years he was master of a classical school at Chelsea. In 1814 he retired to Gayton, where he acted as curate to his son till 1820, when, in consequence of increasing infirmities, he withdrew, at first to the Isle of Wight, next to Bristol, and finally to Greenhill, near Harrow, where he died on 14 July 1823. He was father of Weedon Butler, the younger [q. v.], and of George Butler, D.D., headmaster of Harrow [q. v.]. He was chaplain to the Duke of Kent and the queen's volunteers.

His works are: 1. 'The Cheltenham Guide,' London, 1781, 8vo (anon.) 2. 'Account of the Life and Writings of the Rev. George Stanhope, D.D., Dean of Canterbury,' London, 1797, 8vo (anon.) 3. 'Memoir of Mark Hildesley, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man,' London, 1799, 8vo. 4. 'Pleasing Recollections, or a Walk through the British Museum. An interlude of two acts,' Addit. MS. 27276. 5. Poems in manuscript, including 'The Syracusan,' a tragedy, and 'Sir Roger de Coverley,' a comedy. He also prepared editions of Jortin's 'Tracts,' 2 vols. 1790, and Wilcock's 'Roman Conversations,' 2 vols. 1797.

[Addit. MSS. 27577, 27578; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.* v. 130; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 223; *Gent. Mag.* xciii. (ii.) 182-4; *Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.*; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors* (1816), 60.]

**BUTLER, WEEDEN**, the younger (1773-1831), author, eldest son of the Rev. Weedon Butler mentioned above, was educated by his father till 1790, when he entered Sidney College, Cambridge (B.A. 1794, M.A. 1797). He became afternoon lecturer of Charlotte Street Chapel, and evening lecturer of Brompton in 1811, and was presented to the rectory of Great Woolston, Buckinghamshire, in 1816. After having for nineteen years acted as classical assistant in his father's school, he succeeded to the superintendence of it on his father's retirement in 1814. He died in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, on 28 June 1831.

He published: 'Bagatelles; or miscellaneous productions, consisting of Original Poetry and Translations,' London, 1795, 8vo; and translated 'Prospect of the Political Relations which subsist between the French Republic and the Helvetic Body,' from the French of Weiss, 1794; 'The Wrongs of Unterwalden,' 1799; and 'Zimao, the African,' 1800 and 1807.

[Addit. MS. 19209, ff. 123b, 124b; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.*; *Gent. Mag.* ci. (ii.) 186; *Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.*; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors* (1816), 51.] T. C.

**BUTLER, or BOTELE, WILLIAM** (d. 1410?), a controversial writer against the Wycliffites, was the thirtieth provincial of the Minorites in England. At Oxford in 1401 he wrote as his 'Determinatio,' or academical thesis, a tract against the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. Pits says this was in vindication of some public edict which ordered the burning of English Bibles, probably deriving the statement from Bale, who says that Purvey asserts (but Bale gives no reference for his citation) that such an order was issued at the instance of the friars; but no such injunction is known of so early a date. It was not until 1408 that Wycliffe's version was condemned in the provincial constitutions of Archbishop Arundel, and owners and readers of the book were declared excommunicate unless license had been obtained by them from their dioceses (WILKINS, *Concilia*, 317). Butler's tract exists in one manuscript which is preserved in Merton College, Oxford; unfortunately the first leaf has been deliberately cut out, and all information which the beginning may have afforded as to the immediate cause of the composition of the tract is consequently lost. The colophon alone gives name, date, place, and title, as stated above, except that the first remaining page is also headed 'Buttiller contra translationem Anglicanam.' Bale says that Butler states in this tract that the

Psalter was translated by Bede, and other portions of the Scriptures by an (arch)bishop of York. This statement must have occurred in the introductory portion now lost. He also says (in his manuscript referred to below) that the book existed in Queen's College, Oxford, but this is probably a mistake for Merton College. The tract contains six sections devoted to as many arguments against the allowance of the Scriptures in the vernacular; and is possibly the earliest extant statement in English controversy of the opponent's case.

The first argument is that the use of the vernacular would quickly lead to multiplication of erroneous copies, while Latin copies, being written and read in the universities, are easily corrected. 2. That human understanding is insufficient for all the difficulties of Scripture. The knowledge of God is better gained by meditation and prayer than by reading. 3. That in the celestial hierarchy the angels of lower order depend for illumination upon angels of higher order, who convey to them God's revelations, and that the church militant corresponds to the church triumphant. 4. That the teaching of the apostles was not by books, but by the power of the Spirit. And Christ himself in the temple asked the doctors, and did not read. 5. That if men were to read Scripture for themselves, disputes would soon arise. 6. That in Christ's body each member has its proper office, but if everyone may read, then the foot becomes the eye; and who would offer a book to a joint of his foot? Butler also wrote a tract 'De Indulgentiis,' of which Bale saw a copy which had belonged to the Minorites at Reading; four books of commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard; one book treating of various questions; and several other works which his biographers do not specify. To Reading he is said to have removed from Oxford, and there, according to Pits, he died about 1410.

[Bale's *Collectanea de Scriptt. Anglis*, a MS. in the Bodl. Lib., 'Selden supra, 64,' p. 215; Bale's *Scriptt. Brit. Catalogus*, Basle, 1557, p. 537; Merton Coll. MS. 68, ff. 202-4; Pits, *De Angliæ Scriptoribus*, Par. 1619; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.* 1748; Madden's and Forshall's *Pref. to Wycliffe's Bible*, Oxford, 1850, i. xxxiii.; Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*, Lond. 1858, pp. 538, 561.] W. D. M.

**BUTLER, WILLIAM** (1535-1618), physician, was born at Ipswich, and educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, of which he became fellow. He graduated M.A., and was probably incorporated in that degree at Oxford in 1563. In October 1572 the university of Cambridge granted him a license to practise physic, he having then been a regent in arts

for six years. He was usually styled Doctor, though he never took the degree of M.D. He acquired the most extraordinary reputation in his profession, and it is said that 'he was the first Englishman who quickened Galenical physic with a touch of Paracelsus, trading in chemical receipts with great success.' In October 1612 he was summoned from Cambridge to attend Henry, prince of Wales, in his last illness. Although Sir Edward Peyton has not scrupled to cite Butler's opinion that the prince was poisoned, it appears that, in common with the other physicians, he entertained no such suspicion (*Secret Hist. of the Court of James I.*, ii. 247, 346). In November 1614 Butler attended the king at Newmarket for an injury received in hunting; and when the king was at Cambridge in May 1615 he visited Butler and stayed with him nearly an hour. Butler lived in the house of John Crane, a celebrated apothecary of Cambridge, and many anecdotes are recorded of his eccentricities and empirical mode of practice. Aubrey relates: 'The Dr. lying at the Savoy in London, next the water side where was a balcony look't into the Thames, a patient came to him that was grievously tormented with an ague. The Dr. orders a boate to be in readinesse under his window, and discoursed with the patient (a gent.) in the balcony, when on a signall given, 2 or 3 lusty fellowes came behind the gent. and threw him a matter of 20 fete into the Thames. This surprize absolutely cured him.'

Butler died at Cambridge on 29 Jan. 1617-18, and was buried in Great St. Mary's. On the south side of the chancel of that church there is a mural monument with his bust, in the costume of the period, and a Latin inscription in which he is termed 'Medicorum omnium quos præsens ætas vidit facile Princeps.'

Butler left his estate to his friend John Crane, and he was a benefactor to Clare Hall, to which he bequeathed many of his books and 260*l.* for the purchase of a gold communion cup. Thirty-five years after his death 'his reputation was still so great, that many empyrics got credit among the vulgar by claiming relation to him as having served him and learned much from him.' In the reign of Charles II there was in use in London 'a sort of ale called Dr. Butler's ale.' His portrait has been engraved by S. Pass.

[Addit. MSS. 5810, p. 28, 5863, f. 87*b*; Aikin's *Biog. Memoirs of Medicine*, 186; Blomefield's *Collectanea Cantab.* 92; Cambridge Portfolio, 490; Cooper's *Annals of Camb.* iii. 73*n*, 94*n*, 119-124; Lives of Nicholas Ferrar, ed. Mayor; Fuller's *Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.*, ed. Prickett

and Wright, 307; Fuller's Worthies (1662), Suffolk, 67; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), ii. 119; Harl. MS. 7049, f. 39; Hist. MSS. Comm. 3rd Rep. 172, 6th Rep. 269, 7th Rep. 188; Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1813), ii., pt. i., 265; Leland's Collectanea, v. 197; Parker's Hist. of the Univ. of Camb. 43; Peckard's Life of Ferrar, 24; Wadd's Nugæ Chirurgicæ, 31; Winwood's Memorials, iii. 429; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 163.] T. C.

**BUTLER, WILLIAM ARCHER** (1814?-1848), professor of moral philosophy in the university of Dublin, was born of an old and respectable family at Annerville, near Clonmel, Ireland. The year of his birth is uncertain, but it is believed to have been 1814. His father was a member of the established church of Ireland, his mother a Roman catholic. Through her influence the boy was baptized and educated as a member of the church to which she belonged. While Butler was a child his parents removed to Garnavilla, on the river Suir, about two miles from the town of Cahir. The beautiful landscape made a deep impression on his feelings and imagination—an impression which lived in his verse. At nine years old he became a schoolboy at the endowed school of Clonmel. He was a modest, retiring boy, a favourite with the master, and beloved by his companions. Here he was an eager, discursive reader, already attracted by metaphysical study, but also giving many leisure hours to poetry and to music, in which he acquired considerable skill. He especially distinguished himself by his public speaking for 'oratory' exhibitions. While at school, about two years before entering college, Butler passed over from the Roman catholic to the established church. It is said that a shock given to his moral nature by his confessor's dealings with his conscience led him to examine the grounds of his creed, and that he found his own way by study and meditation from his early to his later faith.

On entering Trinity College, Dublin, he was quickly recognised as a youth of bright intellect, generous feeling, and varied culture. His prize compositions in prose and verse attracted the attention of the heads of the college, and while still an undergraduate he contributed a considerable body of writings—poems and essays, critical, historical, and speculative—to the 'Dublin University Review.' In the debates of the College Historical Society he took a leading part, and in 1835 delivered, as auditor of the society, an address which was printed. In November 1834 took place the first examination for the newly instituted prize of moderatorship in logic and

ethics, and Butler's name stands first upon the roll of moderators. Having thus obtained with honours his B.A. degree, he continued for two years in residence as a scholar. His friends designed him for the bar, but his tastes and habits were those of a student and a man of letters. By the exertions of Provost Lloyd a professorship of moral philosophy was founded in 1837, and Butler was at once appointed to the chair. At the same time, having been ordained a clergyman of the church of Ireland, he was presented by the board of Trinity College to the prebend of Clondehorka, in the diocese of Raphoe, county of Donegal, where he resided, except when his professorial duties required his presence at the university. 'Amongst a large and humble flock of nearly two thousand, he was,' says Mr. Woodward, 'the most indefatigable of pastors.' In 1842 he was re-elected to the chair of moral philosophy, and promoted to the rectory of Raymoghly, in the same diocese as Clondehorka. His sermon 'Primitive Church Principles not inconsistent with Universal Christian Sympathy' (1842), preached at the visitation of the united dioceses of Derry and Raphoe, 1842, was published at the request of the bishop and clergy. In 1844 he visited the English lakes, and made the acquaintance of Wordsworth. It was on a walk to Loughrigg Fells, in which Wordsworth was accompanied by Butler, Archdeacon Hare, and Sir William Rowan Hamilton, that the poet observed the daisy—shadow on a stone, which he has celebrated in the poem beginning 'So fair, so sweet, withal so sensitive.' In 1845 the Roman catholic controversy occupied Butler, and beginning in December of that year, he contributed to the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette' a series of 'Letters on Mr. Newman's Theory of Development,' collected after his death into a volume ('Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine; a reply to J. H. Newman, edited by Dean Woodward, Dublin, 1850). During the Irish famine of 1846-7 Butler's exertions were untiring; 'literature, philosophy, and divinity were all postponed to the labours of relieving officer to his parish.' During the closing months of 1847 and the first six months of the following year, Butler was engaged in preparation for a work on faith, and collected with this object a vast mass of theological material; but the work was never to be completed. On Trinity Sunday 1848 he preached the ordination sermon in the church of Dunboe; five days later, on his way home, he was stricken with fever, the result of a chill following the excessive heat of midsummer exercise. On 5 July 1848 he died. He was buried in the churchyard of his own parish. Butler's lectures as pro-

fessor were remarkable for the large grasp of his subject, his aspiring views, and power of eloquent exposition. A noble person and countenance added to the impressiveness of his delivery. The same eloquence appears, with perhaps more appropriateness, in the sermons which he addressed to educated audiences; with rustic hearers he could be plain and simple. In his lectures on Plato, perhaps the most important thought is that the Platonic idea was no mere mistaken form of abstract notion, but was Plato's mode of expressing the fact that there is an objective element in perception. Butler's 'Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy,' 2 vols. were edited after his death with notes, by W. H. Thomson (Cambridge, 1856). The second volume, which is chiefly occupied with Plato, is the more valuable of the two. Two volumes of 'Sermons Doctrinal and Practical' have been published, the first series edited with a memoir of his life by the Rev. Thomas Woodward (Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1849, 3rd. ed. Cambridge, 1855); the second series, edited by J. A. Jeremie (Cambridge, 1856). Besides his many poems and prose articles contributed to the 'Dublin University Review,' he published a sermon on the 'Eternal Life of Christ in Heaven,' in first series of sermons for Sundays, &c., edited by Alex. Watson (Joseph Masters, 1845); a sermon on 'Self Delusion as to our State before God' (Dublin, 1842); a sermon on the 'Atonement,' in a volume of sermons on that subject published by the Religious Tract Society (no date); and a memoir of Mrs. Hemans prefixed to her 'National Lyrics and Songs for Music' (Dublin, Curry and Co. 1839).

[Memoir by Woodward, prefixed to the first series of Butler's Sermons; article on Butler by J. T. Ball, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in Dublin University Review, May 1842; article 'The late Professor Butler,' in same Review, July 1849.] E. D.

**BUTT, GEORGE** (1741-1795), divine and poet, was the son of Dr. Carey Butt, physician, of Lichfield, at whose house it is said that Dr. Johnson when a boy was a constant visitor (HAWKINS, *Life of Johnson*, p. 6), though this must have been before Butt was born, 26 Dec. 1741. The Butts were of the same family as Henry VIII's physician, Butts, though they had dropped the final s. After receiving his early education at the grammar school at Stafford, Butt was admitted, through the influence of his father's friend Thomas Newton (afterwards bishop of Bristol), on the foundation at Westminster in 1756, and was thence elected to Christ Church, Oxford,

in 1761, where he graduated B.A. in 1765, M.A. in 1768, taking the degrees of B.D. and D.D. on 29 Oct. 1793. Having received deacon's orders in 1765, he was appointed to the curacy of Leigh, Staffordshire, which he shortly afterwards resigned for the post of private tutor to the son of Sir E. Winnington of Stanford Court, Worcestershire, and in October 1767 accompanied his pupil to Christ Church. While acting as young Winnington's tutor, Butt, his daughter Mrs. Sherwood says, 'kept company with the noblemen and gentlemen, commoners of Christ Church, to whom the vivacity of his genius rendered his society acceptable,' though he was careful not to forget what was due to his profession. In 1771 he was presented by Sir E. Winnington to the rectory of Stanford and the vicarage of Clifton, and in 1773 married Martha Sherwood, the daughter of a London silk merchant. Expensive habits and especially his love of company had by this time involved him in debt. He was rescued from his difficulties by the good management of his wife, who, among other economical schemes, persuaded him to take private pupils. With these pupils, mostly young men of good family, he was popular, though his desultory mode of imparting instruction could not have been of much benefit to them. In 1778 he was presented by Newton, now bishop of Bristol, to the vicarage of Newchurch, in the Isle of Wight, which he held along with Stanford, where he continued to reside. About this time he occasionally joined the coterie of Lady Miller at Batheaston, and dropped verses into her vase. He exchanged the living of Newchurch for the rectory of Notgrove, Gloucestershire, in 1783, and the same year was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king, and gave up taking pupils. In 1787, on application from Dr. Markham, his old master at Westminster, he was presented by Lord Foley to the rich vicarage of Kidderminster, which he held along with his other cures. He changed his residence to Kidderminster the next year, and lived there on good terms with the many dissenters of the town. In 1794 he returned to Stanford, and used to ride into Kidderminster to do duty. On 30 June 1795 he was struck with palsy, and died on 30 September following at Stanford, where he was buried. He left a son, John Martin Butt, who took orders and became the author of some theological works, and two daughters, afterwards the well-known authoresses, Mrs. Cameron and Mrs. Sherwood. Butt published 'Isaiah versified,' 1784, with a dedication to the king; several sermons on special occasions, and in 1791 'Sermons' in 2 vols. dedicated to Dr. Mark-

ham, archbishop of York; 'Poems' in 2 vols. 1793, dedicated to the Hon. George Annesley, afterwards Lord Valentia, one of his former pupils. Some of these poems had been already printed. They are devoid of beauty, power, and originality. One of them, written on the death of Dr. Johnson, is a dialogue between Lord Chesterfield and Garrick in the Elysian fields, and represents Garrick conversing with 'Avon's bard on those superior minds that since his day were gifted to produce their thoughts abroad.' In 1777 Butt submitted a play entitled 'Timoleon' to Garrick, with whom he was on terms of friendship. Garrick told him that the play could not be acted as it stood, but professed himself unable to point out any faults in it, a declaration that has been taken by Butt's biographers as a high compliment. 'Timoleon' does not appear to have been acted or published. He published either in or after 1784 a tract entitled 'The Practice of Liberal Piety Vindicated,' which he wrote in defence of his friend Richard Valpy of Reading, when a sermon of Valpy's was attacked by certain Calvinists. At the time of his death he was engaged in correcting a religious novel which he seems to have called 'Felicity.' This book was edited and published by his daughter, Mrs. Sherwood, in 2 vols. 1824, under the title of 'The Spanish Daughter;' it is a dreary production.

[Mrs. Sherwood's Biographical Preface to the Spanish Daughter; Mrs. Sherwood's Autobiography: Life of Mrs. Cameron; some account of the Rev. G. Butt in Valpy's Poems spoken at Reading, 225-264; Nash's Worcestershire, i. 250, ii. 371; Welch's Alumni Westmon. 376, where the Spanish Daughter is incorrectly described as a play; Gent. Mag. 1795, vol. lxx. pt. ii. p. 969; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ix. 736.] W. H.

BUTT, ISAAC (1813-1879), Irish politician, only son of the Rev. Robert Butt, rector of Stranorlar, county Donegal, by Berkeley, daughter of the Rev. R. Cox, of Dovish, county Donegal, was born at Glenfin, in Donegal, 6 Sept. 1813, and educated at the Royal School, Raphoe, entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a scholar in 1832, took his B.A. 1835, LL.B. 1836, M.A. and LL.D. 1840. During his collegiate course he published a translation of the 'Georgics' of Virgil, and other classical brochures, which showed a highly finished taste and scholarship. In 1833 he was one of the original founders of the 'Dublin University Magazine,' of which he was editor from August 1834 to 1838. He was for many years a contributor to its pages, chiefly of political articles and reviews; but he also wrote for it some tales under the general title of 'Chap-

ters of College Romance.' In 1836 he was appointed to the chair of political economy, which was then founded by Archbishop Whately, and he continued in the chair until 1841. Having been called to the Irish bar November 1838, the high reputation which he had already won obtained for him a considerable share of practice. The old corporation of Dublin selected him as the junior barrister to plead their cause at the bar of the House of Lords 1840, and although he failed to induce that assembly to reject the Municipal Reform Bill, he added to his own prestige, and returning to Ireland was elected an alderman of the new corporation. He took an active part in the politics of the day, and was regarded as one of the ablest champions of the conservative cause. He entered the lists against O'Connell, opposed him in the corporation debates, and carried on a counter agitation to that of the Repeal Association in 1843.

He wrote for the conservative press on both sides of the Channel, and established in Dublin a weekly newspaper, called the 'Protestant Guardian.' This was afterwards amalgamated with the 'Warder,' with which he then became connected. The lord chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden, called him to the inner bar 2 Nov. 1844. Butt was retained as counsel in many great causes, and was one of those who defended Smith O'Brien and other prisoners in the state trials of 1848. On 8 May 1852 he entered parliament as member for Harwich; but he was not long in undisturbed possession of the seat, for in the same year there was a general election, and he then offered himself as a liberal-conservative for the borough of Youghal. This appears to have been his first divergence from the straight track of conservatism. He was opposed by Sir J. M'Kenna, but was elected, and sat from July 1852 to July 1865. Previously to this, on 17 Nov. 1859, he had been called to the English bar at the Inner Temple. About the year 1864 he returned to Ireland, and resumed his practice in the Four Courts. The Fenian prisoners, beset by many and serious difficulties as to their defence, turned to him as one whose name alone was a tower of strength. For the greater part of four years, 1865-9, sacrificing to a considerable extent a splendid practice in more lucrative engagements, he busied himself in the prolonged and desperate effort of their defence. In 1869 he accepted the position of president of the Amnesty Association. Another opportunity of entering parliament now presented itself. He was chosen to represent the city of Limerick 20 Sept. 1871, and to take the leadership of the Home Rule party. He

soon became the one great figure in Irish popular politics. Butt was probably the inventor of the phrase Home Rule. He was certainly the first to use it as an effective election cry. Soon it was taken up and echoed by men of all shades of political opinion throughout the kingdom of Ireland. Latterly he found himself unable to manage the party he had created. It would perhaps be too much to say that the disobedience and disagreements of his party broke the leader's heart. A man in his sixty-sixth year, who had lived hard and worked hard, and who, besides his many public anxieties, had private troubles, was not in a fit state to resist a severe illness. He died at Roebuck Cottage, near Dundrum, county Dublin, 5 May 1879, and was buried at Stranorlar 10 May.

The following is a list of writings to which his name is found appended: 1. 'Ovid's Fasti Translated,' 1833. 2. 'An Introductory Lecture delivered before the University of Dublin,' 1837. 3. 'The Poor Law Bill for Ireland, examined in a Letter to Lord Viscount Morpeth,' 1837. 4. 'Irish Corporation Bill. A Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords,' 1840. 5. 'Speech delivered at the Great Protestant Meeting in Dublin,' 1840. 6. 'A Voice for Ireland—the Famine in the Land: What has been done and what is to be done?' 1847. 7. 'Zoology and Civilisation: a Lecture delivered before the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland,' 1847. 8. 'The Rate in Aid: a Letter to the Earl of Roden,' 1849. 9. 'The Transfer of Land by means of a Judicial Assurance: its Practicability and Advantages,' 1857. 10. 'The History of Italy, from the Abdication of Napoleon I, with Introductory References to that of Earlier Times,' 1860. 11. 'Daniel Manin and Venice in 1848–49, by B. L. H. Martin, with an introduction by Isaac Butt,' 1863. 12. 'Chapters of College Romance,' 1863. 13. 'The Liberty of Teaching Vindicated: Reflections and Proposals on the subject of Irish National Education,' 1865. 14. 'The Irish People and the Irish Land: a Letter to Lord Lifford,' 1867. 15. 'A Practical Treatise on the New Law of Compensation to Tenants in Ireland, and the other provisions of the Landlord and Tenant Act,' 1871. 16. 'The Irish Deep-Sea Fisheries: a Speech delivered at a meeting of the Home Government Association of Ireland,' 1874. 17. 'Home Government for Ireland—Irish Federalism: its Meaning,' 1874, of which four editions were printed. 18. 'The Problem of Irish Education, an Attempt at its Solution,' 1875.

[Dublin University Magazine, iii. 710–16 (1879); Sullivan's New Ireland, ii. 306–10, 319

(1877); Graphic, with portrait, iv. 483, 485 (1871), xix. 499, 508, with portrait (1879); Illustrated London News, with portrait, iv. 40 (1844).] G. C. B.

**BUTTER, JOHN, M.D.** (1791–1877), ophthalmic surgeon, was born at Woodbury, near Exeter, on 22 Jan. 1791. He was educated at Exeter grammar school, and studied for his profession at Devon and Exeter Hospital. He obtained the M.D. degree at Edinburgh in 1820, and was chosen a member of the Royal Society in 1822. He was appointed surgeon of the South Devon Militia, and ultimately settled at Plymouth, where he specially devoted himself to diseases of the eye. Along with Dr. Edward Moore, he was the originator of the Plymouth Eye Dispensary. He was the author of 'Ophthalmic Diseases,' 1821, 'Dockyard Diseases, or Irritative Fever,' 1825, and of various medical and chirurgical memoirs. In recognition of his services to the dispensary he was, in 1854, presented with his portrait, which hangs in the board room. He lost one eye through ophthalmic rheumatism, contracted by exposure while examining recruits for the Crimea, and in 1856 became totally blind.

[Plymouth Western Daily Mercury, 15 Jan. 1877.]

**BUTTER, NATHANIEL** (d. 1664), printer and journalist, was the son of Thomas Butter, a small London stationer, who died about 1589. His mother carried on the business after his father's death from 1589 to 1594, when she married another stationer named Newbery. On 20 Feb. 1603–4 Nathaniel was admitted a freeman of the Stationers' Company *per patrimonium*, and on 4 Dec. 1604 he entered on the company's registers his first publication ('The Life and Death of Cavaliero Dick Boyer'). On 12 Feb. 1604–5 he obtained permission to print "The Interlude of Henry the 8th" . . . if he get good allowance for it.' Between 1605 and 1607 Butter published several sermons and tracts of no great value. On 26 Nov. 1607 he, together with John Busby, undertook the publication of Shakespeare's 'Lear'; in 1609 he printed Dekker's 'Belman of London,' and in 1611 he published a folio edition of Chapman's translation of the 'Iliad.' But from an early date he turned his attention to the compilation and publication of pamphlets of news, and in this department he subsequently achieved very eminent success. He issued in June 1605 an account of two recent murders, one of them being the famous 'Yorkshire tragedy'; on 24 Aug. a report of the trial of the Yorkshire murderer, Walter Calverley [q. v.], which had taken place



a day or two previously; on 25 June 1607 'a true and tragical discourse' of the expedition to Guiana in 1605; on 19 May 1608 'Newes from Lough ffoyle in Ireland;'; on 16 June 1609 'The Originall Ground of the present Warres of Sweden;'; and in 1611 'Newes from Spain.' On 23 May 1622 two publishers, Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, issued the first extant copy of 'The Weekly Newes from Italy, Germanie, &c.,' and this was continued at weekly intervals by the same publishers until 25 Sept. of the same year, when Butter and one William Shefford produced a rival quarto sheet entitled 'Newes from most parts of Christendom.' This was Butter's first attempt at a newspaper, and its immediate success warranted him in issuing two days later, in conjunction with Thomas Archer, another budget of news from the continent, written (probably by himself) in the form of letters from foreign correspondents. From this date Butter made journalism his chief business, compiling and issuing reports of news at very frequent intervals, none of which exceeded a week, and his enterprise virtually created the London press. On 12 May 1623 an extant copy of a publication of 'The Newes of the present week,' printed by Butter, Bourne, and Shefford, bore a number (31) for the first time. The title of the news-sheet varied very much: sometimes it was headed 'More Newes,' sometimes 'Last Newes,' and at other times 'The Weekly Newes continued.' All were mainly compiled from similar sheets published abroad, and gave little information about home affairs, but unfortunately the extant sets are so incomplete that no very positive statement can be made about their contents. Butter soon gained notoriety as an industrious collector of news, and was satirised by the dramatists. Ben Jonson ridiculed him in 1625 in his 'Staple of News' under the title of 'Cymbal;'; Fletcher refers to him in the 'Fair Maid of the Tun;'; and Shirley in his 'Love Tricks.' In 1630 he began a series of half-yearly volumes of collected foreign news, under such titles as 'The German Intelligencer,' 'The Swedish Intelligencer,' and so forth. On 20 Dec. 1638 Charles I granted to Butter and Nicholas Bourne the right of 'printing and publishing all matter of history or news of any foreign place or kingdom since the first beginning of the late German wars to the present, and also for translating and publishing in the English tongue all news, novels, gazettes, currantes, and occurrences that concern foreign parts, for the term of twenty-one years, they paying yearly towards the repair of St. Paul's the sum of 10*l*.' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1638-9, p. 182). At the end of 1639 the li-

censer of the press prohibited Butter's weekly sheet, and on 11 Jan. 1640 he issued a 'Continuation of the Forraine Occurrents for 5 weeks last past . . . examined and licensed by a better and more impartiall hand than heretofore.' Butter had varied his news sheets in his later years with a few plays. In 1630 he issued the second part of Dekker's 'Honest Whore;'; but on 21 May 1639 he made over the copyrights of all plays in his possession to a printer named Flesscher. By 1641 Butter appears to have retired from business; he was then more than seventy years old, and the competition of journalists during the civil war was intense. In Smith's 'Obituary' (Camden Soc. p. 60) Butter's death is recorded thus: 'Feb. 22 [1663-4] Nath. Butter, an old stationer, died very poor.'

[Arber's Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, ii. 736, iii. 277 et seq.; F. K. Hunt's *The Fourth Estate* (1850), i. 10-54; Alex. Andrews's *Hist. of Brit. Journalism*, i. 28-38; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 38-9; Ben Jonson's *Works*, ed. Giffard; British Museum Collection of Newspapers.] S. L. L.

**BUTTER, WILLIAM** (1726-1805), physician, was a native of the Orkneys, and studied medicine at Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. in 1761. After practising for some years at Derby, having obtained some note by his treatises 'On the Kink-Cough' (hooping cough), London, 1773, and 'On Puerperal Fevers,' London, 1775, he removed to London, where he died on 23 March 1805. He is said to have attempted to open the carotid artery of a patient at the Edinburgh Infirmary, and to have only desisted when the patient fainted after the first incision. He is described as 'too much under the influence of very favourite hypotheses' (*Catalogue of Living English Authors*, 1799, i. 401). Besides the above his writings include 'A Method of Cure for Stone,' Edinburgh, 1754; 'Dissertatio de frigore quatenus morborum causa,' Edinburgh, 1757; 'Dissertatio de arteriotomia,' Edinburgh, 1761; 'A Treatise on Infantile Remittent Fever,' London, 1782; 'An Improved Method of Opening the Temporal Artery,' London, 1783; 'A Treatise on Angina Pectoris,' London, 1791; 'A Treatise on the Venereal Rose,' London, 1799.

[*New Catalogue of Living English Authors* (1799), i. 400; *Gent. Mag.* lxxv. 294, 580; *Munk's College of Physicians* (1878), ii. 360.] G. T. B.

**BUTTERFIELD, ROBERT** (fl. 1629), controversialist, received his academical education at St. John's College, Cambridge, as a member of which house he proceeded B.A.



in 1622-3, M.A. in 1626, and took orders. When the puritan divine, Henry Burton [q. v.], attacked Bishop Hall, Butterfield, with youthful zeal, hastened to champion the bishop's cause in a pamphlet entitled 'Maschil; or, a Treatise to give instruction touching the State of the Church of Rome . . . for the Vindication of . . . the Bishop of Exeter from the cavills of H. B., in his Book intituled "The Seven Vials,"' 12mo, 1629. Burton was not slow to reply; for the same year he published his 'Babel no Bethel. . . . In answer to Hugh Chalmley's Challenge and Rob. Butterfield's "Maschil," two masculine Champions for the Synagogue of Rome,' wherein he retorts, not without point, on Butterfield's boyish presumption and too evident desire to parade his classical and patristic-learning, wishing him 'more ripenesse of yeares, and more soundnesse of judgement, before he doe any more handle such deepe controuersies.' Burton was sent to the Fleet prison for his pamphlet. Another reply was published about the same time, under the title of 'Maschil Unmasked,' in which the writer, Thomas Spencer, gent., author of 'The Art of Logick,' seeks to supply the defects of his learning and also logic by versatility of abuse.

[Cooper's New Biographical Dictionary, 334; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**BUTTERFIELD, SWITHUN** (d. 1611), miscellaneous writer, is supposed to have been a member of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as by his will, wherein he is described as of Cambridge, gentleman, dated 1608, and proved in the university court on 21 Dec. 1611, he gave to that college 10*l.* to buy books, also his manuscripts which are enumerated below, and his geometrical instruments and other curiosities.

He was author of: 1. 'A Summarie of the Principles of Christian Religion, selected in manner of Common-Places out of the Writings of the best Diuines of our Age,' London, 1582, 8vo. 2. 'A Catechism, or the Principles of the true Christian Religion: breifely selected out of manie good books,' London, 1590, 8vo. Licensed also to John Flasket, 26 June 1600. 3. 'A grent Abridgement of the Common Lawes,' MS. 4. 'An Abridgement of the Civil Lawes,' MS. 5. 'Collection of Policies in Peace and War,' MS., written in 1604. 6. 'A Book of Physic and Surgery,' MS. 7. 'A Book of Controversie out of Bellarmine, &c.,' MS., written in 1606. 8. 'A Book of Common-Place in Religion,' MS., written in 1606.

[MS. Baker, xxvi. 118; Ames's Typogr. Antiquities, ed. Herbert, 1108, 1344, 1378; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. iii. 53.] T. C.

**BUTTERWORTH, EDWIN** (1812-1848), Lancashire topographer, was the tenth and youngest child of James Butterworth [q. v.], and was born at Pitses, near Oldham, on 1 Oct. 1812. He followed in the footsteps of his father, whom he assisted in his later works, but was more given to statistical research. When Mr. Edward Baines undertook the preparation of a history of Lancashire, he found a useful colleague in Edwin Butterworth, who visited many parts of the county in order to collect the requisite particulars. During the six years in which he was engaged by Mr. Baines he travelled on foot through nearly every town and village in the county. His own notes and those of his father formed a large mass of manuscript material. So extensive was it that in 1847 he conceived the idea of issuing a history of the county in fifty volumes, each of which, while part of the general series, should also be complete in itself. This project was encouraged by the Earl of Ellesmere. Overtures were made to Samuel Bamford, as it was thought that his pleasant style and Butterworth's facts would make a popular combination. The suggestion was roughly treated by the 'Radical,' and Butterworth's death occurred before such a plan could have been completed. In addition to his share of Baines's 'Lancashire' the following are from the pen of Butterworth: 1. 'Biography of Eminent Natives, Residents, and Benefactors of the Town of Manchester,' Manchester, 1829. 2. 'A History of Oldham in Lancashire,' London, 1832. 3. 'A Chronological History of Manchester brought down to 1834,' second edition, Manchester, 1834. The first edition was the 'Tabula Mancuniensis' of his father; a third edition appeared in 1834. 4. 'An Historical Description of the Town of Heywood and Vicinity,' Heywood, 1840. 5. 'A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster,' London, 1841. 6. 'An Historical Account of the Towns of Ashton-under-Lyne, Stalybridge, and Dukinfield,' Ashton, 1842. 7. 'Views of the Manchester and Leeds Railway, drawn from nature and on stone by A. F. Tait, with a descriptive history by Edwin Butterworth,' London, 1845, folio. 8. 'Historical Sketches of Oldham, by the late Edwin Butterworth, with an appendix containing the history of the town to the present time,' Oldham, 1856. The previous edition appeared in 1847.

In addition to these labours Butterworth acted as correspondent for the Manchester newspapers, and was for a considerable time registrar of births and deaths for the township of Chadderton. He is described by those who knew him as genial and modest. Such of his books and manuscripts as had not been acci-

dentally dispersed were purchased by Messrs. Platt Brothers, and by them presented to the Oldham Lyceum. Butterworth died of typhoid fever on 19 April 1848. In 1859 a monument to his memory was erected by public subscription in Greenacres Cemetery, Oldham. His books are now for the most part scarce and difficult to obtain.

[Local Notes and Queries from the Manchester Guardian, 1874-5; Index Catalogue of the Manchester Free Library, Reference Department, Manchester, 1879; Historical Sketches of Oldham, 1856; Fishwick's Lancashire Library, 1875.]

W. E. A. A.

**BUTTERWORTH, HENRY** (1786-1860), law publisher, was born at Coventry 28 Feb. 1786, being the son of a wealthy timber merchant of that place, and grandson of the Rev. John Butterworth [q. v.], baptist minister of Coventry, Warwickshire, and author of a 'Concordance of the Holy Scriptures.' Young Henry was educated first in the grammar school at Coventry, and afterwards at Bristol. When fifteen years old he entered the bookselling establishment of his uncle, Joseph Butterworth [q. v.], in Fleet Street, London. Living in his uncle's house he became acquainted with Lord Liverpool, Lord Teignmouth, William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Dr. Adam Clarke, and others, who were frequent guests at his uncle's table. In 1818 he went into business on his own account, obtained the appointment of law publisher to the queen, took a leading part in the management of the Stationers' Company, and became the chief London law publisher. In 1823 he was elected a member of the city council, but declined other municipal office. He supported generously church extension, and many social and christian institutions. He was an active member of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1813 Butterworth married Miss Elizabeth H. Whitehead, daughter of Captain Whitehead of the 4th Irish dragoon guards. He died at Upper Tooting, Surrey, 2 Nov. 1860, aged 74. A painted glass window was placed in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral by his friends, as a mark of respect to his memory.

[Annual Register for 1860, p. 400, et seq.]

W. B. L.

**BUTTERWORTH, JAMES** (1771-1837), Manchester topographer, was the youngest of eleven children, and was born on 28 Aug. 1771 in the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne. His parents were probably handloom weavers. They sent the boy to school under Mr. John Taylor of Alt. Taylor allowed him a share in the instruction of the lower classes. But-

terworth attained some skill in ornamental penmanship. He married in 1792 Hannah Boyton, by whom he had ten children; the youngest, Edwin, attained, like his father, some distinction as a topographer. After many years spent in tuition, Butterworth acted for some years as postmaster of Oldham. He produced a lengthy series of books and pamphlets on the history of his native county, which record much that would have been forgotten but for his personal observation. He died on 23 Nov. 1837.

His writings are: 1. 'A Dish of Hodge Podge, or a Collection of Poems by Paul Bobbin, Esq., of Alt, near Oldham, Manchester, printed for the author, 1800.' 2. 'Rocher Vale,' a poem printed at Oxford 1804. 3. 'An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Town and Parochial Chapelry of Oldham,' Oldham, 1817; a second edition appeared in 1826, 'The Rustic Muse, a collection of poems,' Oldham, 1818. 4. 'A Sequel to the Lancashire Dialect, by Paul Bobbin, Cousin German of the famous Tim Bobbin of merry memory,' Manchester, 1819; professedly written in the local dialects of the parishes of Ashton and Rochdale. The frontispiece is a portrait of 'Paul Bobbin,' and represents a thin, sharp-featured, large-eyed man, with long and slightly curling hair. The plate is engraved by Slack from a drawing by Butterworth. 5. 'The Antiquities of the Town, and a Complete History of the Trade of Manchester,' Manchester, 1822; reissued in 1823 as 'A Complete History of the Cotton Trade, &c., by a person concerned in trade.' 6. 'History and Description of the Town and Parish of Ashton-under-Lyne and the Village of Dukinfield,' Ashton, 1823. 7. 'History and Description of the Towns and Parishes of Stockport, Ashton-under-Lyne, Mottram-Long-Den-Dale, and Glossop, with some memorials of the late F. D. Astley, Esq., of Dukinfield, and extracts from his poems, with an elegy to his memory,' Manchester, 1827. These four works appear also to have been issued separately; the 'Memorials of F. D. Astley' is dated 1828. 8. 'A History and Description of the Parochial Chapelry of Saddleworth,' Manchester, 1828. 9. 'An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town and Parish of Rochdale,' Manchester, 1828. 10. 'The Instruments of Freemasonry Moralised,' Manchester, 1829; a pamphlet. 11. 'Tabula Mancuniensis, chronological table of the history of Manchester,' Manchester, 1829; this pamphlet is the foundation of Timperley's 'Annals of Manchester,' and the 'Manchester Historical Recorder.' 12. 'A Gazetteer of the Hundred of Salford,' Manchester, 1830; a pamphlet.

Some of his manuscripts were placed, with those of his youngest son, Edwin [q. v.], in the Oldham Lyceum. Many of his books have become scarce, and in addition to the list given above he is said to have published 'Mancunium,' a poem. In a letter addressed in 1802 to a Manchester bookseller he complains of lack of encouragement. 'How would I exert myself could I find one single friend of genius amongst all the host of Paternoster Row factors!' He mentions that he has a work entitled 'A Guide to Universal Manufacture, or the web disclosed,' which he may submit; 'but, if like the generality of your tribe, you are not willing to encourage a poor author, I'll commit the work to the flames and for ever renounce the business.'

[Biographical Sketch by John Higson; Ashton Reporter, 9 Oct. 1869; Skeat's Bibliography of English Dialects, 1875; Axon's Folk-Song and Folk-Speech of Lancashire, 1870; Fishwick's Lancashire Library, 1875; Local Notes and Queries from the Manchester Guardian, 1874-5.]

W. E. A. A.

**BUTTERWORTH, JOHN** (1727-1803), baptist minister, was the son of Henry Butterworth, a pious blacksmith of Goodshaw, a village in Rossendale, Lancashire. He was one of five sons, of whom three, besides John, became ministers of baptist congregations. One of them named Lawrence, a minister at Evesham, wrote two pamphlets against unitarian views. John was born 13 Dec. 1727, and went to the school of David Crosley, a Calvinistic minister who had known John Bunyan. About the year 1753 he was appointed pastor of Cow Lane Chapel, Coventry. With this congregation he remained upwards of fifty years, and died 24 April 1803, aged 75.

He published, in 1767, 'A New Concordance and Dictionary to the Holy Scriptures,' which was reprinted in 1785, 1792, and 1809. The last edition was edited by Dr. Adam Clarke. He also wrote 'A Serious Address to the Rev. Dr. Priestley,' 1790.

His son, Joseph, and his grandson, Henry, are separately noticed.

[Parry's Hist. of Cloughfold Baptist Church, p. 226; Newbigging's Forest of Rossendale, p. 176; Hargreaves's Life of Hirst, pp. 325, 365; Life of Adam Clarke, 1833, ii. 17, iii. 147; Poole's Coventry, p. 238.]

C. W. S.

**BUTTERWORTH, JOSEPH** (1770-1826), law bookseller, was son of the Rev. John Butterworth [q. v.], baptist minister of Coventry. He was born at Coventry in 1770. At an early age he went to London, where he learned the business of a law bookseller, and founded a large and lucrative establishment in Fleet Street, in which his nephew,

Henry [q. v.], afterwards assisted him. His house became a resort of the leading philanthropists of the day. There Lords Liverpool and Teignmouth, William Wilberforce and the elder Macaulay discussed their benevolent schemes, and there the first meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society were held. Butterworth liberally supported many philanthropic and christian institutions. He sat in parliament for several years as representative of Dover, and gave an independent support to the government of the day. In August 1819 he was appointed general treasurer of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which office he retained until his death. For many years he was a loyal member of the Wesleyan community, but maintained a generous spirit towards all. He was author of 'A General Catalogue of Law Books,' with their dates and prices; a work of great value to members of the legal profession. He died at his house in Bedford Square, London, 30 June 1826, aged 56.

[Sermon by Rev. Richard Watson, 1826, in ol. ii. of Watson's Works; Minutes of the Methodist Conference.]

W. B. L.

**BUTTEVANT, VISCOUNT.** [See BARRY, DAVID FITZJAMES.]

**BUTTON, RALPH** (d. 1680), canon of Christ Church under the Commonwealth, was the son of Robert Button of Bishopstown, Wiltshire, and was educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He proceeded B.A. in 1630; in 1633 the rector of Exeter, Dr. Prideaux, recommended him to Sir Nathaniel Brent, the warden of Merton, for a fellowship in his college. The fellowship was conferred on him, and he became famous in the university as a successful tutor. Among his pupils were Zachary Bogan and Anthony à Wood. On the outbreak of the civil war in 1642, Button, who sympathised with the parliamentarians, removed to London, and on 15 Nov. 1643 was elected professor of geometry at Gresham College, in the place of John Greaves. In 1647 he was nominated a delegate to aid the parliamentary visitors at Oxford in their work of reform, and apparently resumed his tutorship at Merton. On 18 Feb. 1647-8 Button was appointed by the visitors junior proctor; on 11 April he pronounced a Latin oration before Philip, earl of Pembroke, the new chancellor of the university, and on 13 June he resigned his Gresham professorship. On 4 Aug. he was made canon of Christ Church and public orator of the university, in the room of Dr. Henry Hammond, who had been removed from those offices by the parliamentary commission. At the same time Button declined to supplicate

for the degree of D.D. on the ground of the expense; it appears from Wood that he had then lately married. Button showed similar independence in successfully resisting the endeavour of the visitors to expel Edward Pocock from the Hebrew and Arabic lectureship on the ground of political disaffection. At the Restoration Button was ejected from all his offices and his place at Christ Church filled by Dr. Fell. Leaving Oxford, he retired to Brentford, where he kept a school. Baxter says that he was soon afterwards imprisoned for six months 'for teaching two knight's sons in his house, not having taken the Oxford oath.' At the date of the Declaration of Indulgence (1672) Button removed to Islington, and Sir Joseph Jekyll lived with him as his pupil. He died at Islington in October 1680, and was buried in the parish church. A son died and was buried at the same time. Baxter in 'Reliquiæ Baxterianæ' speaks of him as 'an excellent scholar, but of greater excellency; a most humble, worthy, godly man, of a plain, sincere heart and blameless.' He left a daughter, who married Dr. Boteler of London.

[Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 508, ii. 107, 158-9 (where a memoir is given); Wood's *Gresham Professors*; Baxter's *Reliquiæ*, pt. iii. pp. 36, 96; Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial*, i. 315, iii. 126; Brodric's *Memorials of Merton College*; Burrows's *Parliamentary Visitation of Oxford* (Camd. Soc.) S. L. I.]

**BUTTON, SIR THOMAS** (d. 1634), admiral, fourth son of Miles Button of Worlton, in Glamorganshire, entered the naval service of the crown about the year 1589. Of his early career we have no exact information, though from casual notices we learn that, with occasional intervals of wild and even lawless frolic (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 15 Jan. 1600), he served with some distinction in the West Indies and in Ireland. His good and efficient service at the siege of Kinsale is especially reported (*Cal. S. P.*, Carew, 22 Oct. 1601), and won for him a pension of 6s. 8d. a day, which was confirmed on 25 March 1604. It is not, however, till 1612 that he comes prominently into notice, and then as the commander of an expedition to search for the north-west passage, under the direct patronage of Prince Henry, in whose name his instructions were drawn out. As captain of the *Resolution*, with the *Discovery* pin-nace in company, Button put to sea early in May, and in the following August explored for the first time the coasts of Hudson's Bay, and named Nelson River after the master of the *Resolution*, who died there, New Wales, and Button's Bay, into which the river flows,

and where he wintered. For such severe service the ships' companies were but poorly provided, and great numbers of them perished, although game was plentiful. In the following spring and summer, with much enfeebled crews, Button succeeded in examining the west coast of Hudson's Bay, so far as to render it certain that there was no passage to the west in that direction, and as autumn approached he returned to England. He was shortly afterwards appointed admiral of the king's ships on the coast of Ireland. This office he held during the rest of his life, exercising it for the most part on the station implied by the name, frequently also in the Bristol Channel or Milford Haven, where his duty was to suppress pirates, which, of different nationalities, and more particularly French and Turkish, infested those seas. The only important break in this service occurred in 1620, when he was rear-admiral of the fleet which, under the command of his kinsman, Sir Robert Mansel, made an unsuccessful attack on Algiers. He had already been knighted at Dublin by his cousin, Sir Oliver St. John, then lord deputy (*Cal. S. P.*, Ireland, 30 Aug. 1616). In 1624 he was a member of the council of war, and in 1625 was on a commission for inquiring into the state of the navy. At this time he was necessarily a good deal in London, and appears to have resided at Fulham. The duties of his commission and of his command kept him in continual hot water with the navy board, against which he was supported by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Denbigh. The quarrel reached a climax in February 1627-8. On the 12th Button wrote from Plymouth to Nicholas: 'All the world will take notice if I be unhorsed of the ship in which I have so long served. If dismissed, I shall shelter myself under the lee of a poor fortune which, I thank God, will give me bread, and say as the old Roman did "Votis non armis vincitur." On the 13th Lord Denbigh wrote to Buckingham that 'he should be sorry if so able and honest a man as Sir Thomas Button were neglected;' and on the 15th the navy board complained that Sir Thomas Button would 'take no notice of any order unless he received the duke's immediate command.' Buckingham's interest, however, seems to have brought him successfully through his difficulties. His later years were much embittered by a series of disputes with the admiralty regarding several instances of alleged misconduct on the one side, and the non-payment of his pension and allowances on the other. Of the charges against him, which amounted to neglect of duty, fraudulent appropriation of prizes, shel-

tering of pirates, &c., Button cleared himself without any serious difficulty; but to make good his claim for money due to him was not so easy, for his accounts had become extremely complicated, and no one could say even what pay he was entitled to as admiral of the Irish seas, the opinions varying from 20s. a day to 5s. The question was still undetermined at his death in April 1634.

He was twice married, and left a large family. At least one of his sons, and two or three nephews of the name, were at one time or another captains in the navy, and we may fairly suppose that the Edmund Buttou who commanded the *Sampson* and was killed in the battle off Portland was one of these. It may be noted also that Sir Thomas Button was a near relation of the St. Johns, and more distantly of Cromwell himself. His eldest son Miles, however, after the Restoration, petitioned for compensation for losses sustained in the cause of royalty; it does not appear that he received any.

[Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1600-1635; Clark's *Glamorgan Worthies* (some account of Admiral Sir Thomas Button), 1883, 8vo; Button's *Journal of his Voyage to Hudson's Bay* is hopelessly lost; whatever traces of it remain have been collected in *Rundall's Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West* (Hakluyt Society), 81.]

J. K. L.

**BUTTON, or BITTON, WILLIAM** I (d. 1264), bishop of Bath and Wells, came of a family that took its name from Bitton in Gloucestershire, where a chantry chapel of great beauty is still to be seen, built on the north side of the parish church by Thomas Button, bishop of Exeter, nephew of this William, and consecrated 1299 (*Somerset Archaeol. Society's Proc.* xxii. 67). William was rector of Sowey, sub-dean, and afterwards archdeacon of Wells. He was elected in the chapter-house of Bath on 24 Feb. 1247 by the monks of Bath and the canons of Wells conjointly, according to an arrangement made during the episcopate of his predecessor Roger for settling the claims of the two capitular bodies. He was consecrated at Lyons by Innocent IV on 14 June. On 21 Dec. his cathedral church was much damaged by an earthquake. The bishop gave an account of this event to Matthew Paris, telling him how fissures appeared in the walls, and how a new stone spire of great weight fell upon the church, destroying the finials and battlements, and crushing the capitals of the pillars (*MATR. PARIS*, v. 46). During a visit to the Roman court in 1251 he helped to defeat an attempt made to deprive Nicholas, the late bishop of Durham, of a portion of the revenues assigned

to him on his retirement. The reason of his visit was the necessity of resisting the oppressive extension of metropolitan claims, and on his return to England he brought a letter from the pope, forbidding the archbishop to visit secular non-collegiate churches, and fixing a maximum sum to be paid as procurations. William was present at the parliament held in April 1253, in which the bishops vainly petitioned the king to grant the church freedom in elections [see *AYMER DE VALENCE*, bishop], and joined in the solemn excommunication pronounced by the bishop in Westminster Hall on 3 May against the violators of the great charter and the charter of forests. A document relating the part taken by William in the ceremony is preserved at Wells (*Chapter Documents*, 533). Later in the year he was sent by Henry III to Alfonso X of Castile to ask for his sister Eleanor in marriage for Edward. In January 1254 he was with the king in Gascony. He had a long contention with Roger Forde, abbot of Glastonbury, who sought to recover the possessions and rights which his house had lost to the bishopric. In the course of these proceedings the bishop made an unjustifiable and unsuccessful attempt to deprive the abbot of his office. This quarrel took the bishop to Rome to uphold his cause. The king was in favour of the abbot, and this William thought hard after the expense he had been put to by his journey to Spain. He also quarrelled with his chapter, for he tried to take from them certain grants made to them by Bishop Jocelin for their common fund. Against this oppression the chapter appealed both to Canterbury and Rome. The matter was finally arranged by the friendly intervention of the archbishop, who in 1259 decided in their favour (*ib.* 464). Another dispute arose in 1262 on account of a trespass committed by the bishop's pigs in Winscombe wood, a right of pannage being of no inconsiderable value in those days; in this matter also the bishop appears to have been in the wrong (*MS. Reg.* iii. 99). In 1258, in obedience to a letter received from the pope, he joined Bishop Giles of Sarum in investigating the claim of Robert Chance to the see of Carlisle, and in consecrating him on 14 April. He was present at the dedication of Salisbury Cathedral at Michaelmas 1258. Among the hangings given to the church of St. Albans Matthew Paris mentions a gift from Bishop William (vi. 390). He found means during his episcopate to advance the interests of his own family. A nephew William II [q. v.], afterwards bishop, was made archdeacon of Wells, another of his name was precentor, one brother was treasurer, another was provost of Combe, and was suc-

ceeded by Thomas Button, afterwards dean of Wells and bishop of Exeter. Button died 3 April 1264, and was buried in the chapel of St. Mary behind the altar; on his tomb was his effigy in brass (LELAND, *Itin.* iii. 108).

[M. Paris, v. 46, 212, 373, 375, 396, 423, 534, 590, vi. 229, 232, 390, ed. Luard; Annales Burton., Dunstap., Theokes.; Ann. Monast. i. 156, 157, 300, iii. 205; Canon of Wells in Anglia Sacra, i. 565; Godwin de Præsulibus, 372; Cassan's Bishops of Bath and Wells, 133; Adam of Domerham, 523, ed. Hearne; John of Glastonbury, 224-34, ed. Hearne; Reshanger, 62, Camden Soc.; Dean and Chapter MSS. at Wells.]

W. H.

**BUTTON or BITTON, WILLIAM II** (*d.* 1274), bishop of Bath and Wells, was nephew of the former bishop of the same name, and was also a relation of Walter Giffard, his immediate predecessor in the see. He was archdeacon and afterwards dean of Wells. Giffard having been translated to the see of York in October 1266, William was elected bishop in February 1267, and received the temporalities on 4 March of that year. In view of the fact that the bishops of this see lost even the right of a seat in their chapter, it is interesting to note that in 1270 William presided over a meeting of the chapter, in which several new statutes were enacted (*Ordinale*, 57). This bishop was a man of a wholly different stamp from the uncle who preceded him. Little as we know of his work, he may be looked on as an example of the influence exercised by the preaching of the friars; for when Robert Kilwardby, the provincial of the Dominicans, was to be consecrated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he declared that he would have the bishop of Bath to perform the rite on account of his eminent piety. He died 4 Dec. 1274, and was buried on the south side of the choir of his cathedral church. Though never acknowledged as a saint by the catholic church, he received the honour of popular canonisation. Crowds visited his tomb with prayers and offerings. Little progress probably had been made of late years in the work of building the church, and it seems that the effects of the storm of 1248 [see **BUTTON, WILLIAM I**, *d.* 1264] had not been repaired. The offerings brought to the shrine of 'Saint' William enriched the chapter, and are doubtless to be connected with a convocation held in 1284 'for finishing the new work and repairing the old.' Somerset folk believed that the aid of the good bishop was especially effectual for the cure of toothache, and the belief lingered down to the seventeenth century. On the capitals of some of the pillars in the transepts of Wells Cathedral are figures representing people suffering from

toothache, and it may be reasonably believed that those parts of the church were built from the offerings made at the saint's tomb soon after his death.

[Wykes, in Ann. Monast. iv. 194, 261; Matt. Paris Cont. 108; Reynolds's Wells Cathedral, Ordinale et Statuta; Somerset Archæol. Soc. Proc. xix. ii. 29; Godwin, De Præsulibus, 373; Cassan's Bishops of Bath and Wells, 141.]

W. H.

**BUTTON, SIR WILLIAM** (*d.* 1654), royalist, was descended from the old family of Bitton or Button, so called from the parish of Bitton in the county of Gloucester. He was the eldest son of William Button of Alton, and of Jane, daughter of John Lamb, in the county of Wiltshire (BERRY, *Hampshire Pedigrees*). Lloyd (*Memoirs*, 649) confounds him with his son who died in 1660, and the error is repeated by Jackson (*Aubrey, Collections for Wiltshire*, 190). Both state that he was educated at Exeter College under Dr. Prideaux, and attended Sir Arthur Hepton in his embassy through France and Spain, but the original source of these statements is the sermon preached on 12 April 1660 by Francis Bayly in the parish church of North Wraxall at the funeral of the second Sir William Button, to whom alone they apply. The father of this Sir William Button was raised to the baronetage on 18 April 1621 (BURKE, *History of the Commons*, iv. 370). During the civil wars he was a staunch royalist, and on this account his house Tokenham Court was twice stripped and his property carried off, the first occasion being in June 1643 by Sir Ed. Hungerford, when his loss was 767*l.*, and the second in June 1644 by a party of horse from Malmesbury garrison, when it amounted to 526*l.* 6*s.* In the November following his estate at Tokenham was sequestered, after which he lived at his manor of Shaw near Overton. In 1646 he was fined 2,380*l.* for 'delinquency.' He died on 28 Jan. 1654, and was buried in the vault in the north aisle of North Wraxall church. Lloyd, confounding him with his son, gives the date of his death erroneously as 1660. By his marriage with Ruth, daughter of Walter Dunche of Avebury, he left four sons and three daughters.

[Aubrey's Collections for Wiltshire, ed. Jackson, 190; Burke's History of the Commons, iv. 370; Berry's Hampshire Pedigrees; Lloyd's Memoirs, 649.]

T. F. H.

**BUTTS, JOHN** (*d.* 1764), painter, was born and bred in Cork, and with but little instruction developed extraordinary powers in landscape. His compositions, in which he is fond of introducing figures, are Claude-

like in subject and in treatment, but English in touch and tint, showing great breadth and harmony of colour. To supply the wants of a large family of young children, and, it must be added, his own vicious propensities, Butts was glad to do anything, from scene-painting to coach-panels and signboards. He thus fell an easy prey, when about thirty years of age, to a dealer in Dublin, with whom he shared a garret and squandered his earnings in drink. His vices brought him to an early grave in 1764. James Barry, R.A., was a warm admirer of the genius of Butts, and declared that his works were his 'first guide' (see a letter to Dr. Sleight, *Works*, 1809, i. 20-22).

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 66; Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's History of Dublin, ii. 1180.] G. G.

**BUTTS, ROBERT, D.D.** (1684-1748), bishop successively of Norwich 1733-1738, and of Ely 1738-1748, was the son of the Rev. William Butts, rector of Hartest, near Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, of the elder branch of the Butts of Shouldham Thorpe in Norfolk, collaterally connected with Sir William Butts, M.D. [q. v.] Butts was educated at the grammar school at Bury, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated as B.A. 1707, M.A. 1711, and D.D. 1728. As an undergraduate he was famous as a pugilist and a football player, and excelled in all manly exercises. After his ordination he served the curacy of Thurlow in his native county, and in 1703 was chosen one of the preachers of Bury. Here he rendered political services to the Hervey family. He was a zealous and unscrupulous party agent, and useful in elections to John, lord Hervey, eldest son of the first earl of Bristol, lord privy seal in Sir Robert Walpole's administration. So powerful a patron secured his steady and rapid preferment. In 1717 he was appointed by Lord Bristol to the rich family living of Ickworth, and in 1728 he became chaplain to George II, receiving his degree of D.D. at the same time by royal mandate. Three years later, 6 Feb. 1731, he was appointed dean of Norwich, retaining the living of Ickworth in *commendam*, till his succession to the bishopric, on the death of Bishop Baker, 20 Jan. 1733. He was consecrated by Bishop Gibson of London, at Bow Church, 25 Feb. According to Cole his great and sudden rise was a matter of surprise to most people, as he was almost unknown in the ecclesiastical world, and his merit went very little 'beyond hallooing at elections, and a most violent party spirit.' As bishop he is said to have 'shown some zeal and earnestness' in the management of

his diocese, but coupled with a haughtiness which rendered him the object of general dislike, being, according to Cole, 'universally hated, not to say detested.' Little pains were taken to conceal the joy felt when, in four years' time, he was translated to the much richer see of Ely, which at that time seems to have been regarded as the natural apotheosis of the bishops of Norwich. As bishop of Ely he found his palace in London a far more agreeable residence than his episcopal city. He spent little time at Ely, and when there, if we may believe the spiteful Cole, he was a far more frequent visitor to the public bowling-green than to the cathedral services. According to the same authority he took little care to restrain his language within professional decorum, having 'sufficient of every necessary language for his episcopal office but good language,' being often heard 'swearing a good round hand,' and using vulgar and scurrilous expressions. He took no more care at Ely than at Norwich to make himself acceptable to his clergy, whom he is charged with treating with the greatest insolence. Though paying little regard to his person in private, and rough and ungentlemanly in his manners, he knew how to comport himself with great dignity on public occasions. He was an excellent speaker, his voice being good, and his manner dignified. As a preacher also he displayed superior powers. During the latter years of his life Butts was crippled with gout, which did not mollify a temper never accustomed to be controlled. This disease flying to his stomach, caused his death at Ely House, Holborn, 26 Jan. 1748. His body was buried in the south aisle of the choir of his cathedral, under a tasteless marble monument, adorned with a bust and a laudatory epitaph, ascribing to him an ardent love for true religion: 'zelo B. Petri similis et sancte quoad licuit æmulus.'

The general estimate of this prelate may be gathered from the following passage in the 'Political Will and Testament' of Sir Robert Walpole, a party squib published after that minister's death in 1745:

I leave to that Good Shepherd, the Bishop of Ely, to persuade the Sheep of his Flock to leave off their Prophaneness, to turn from the evil of their Ways, and to follow the pious example of their Leader.' Butts was twice married. His first wife was Miss Elizabeth Eyton, of the old Shropshire family of that name, who died of consumption in 1734, at the age of forty-four, leaving two sons and five daughters. Mrs. Butts was buried in the chapel of the palace at Norwich, with a fulsome epitaph expressing the longing of the broken-hearted widower for 'præclarus ille dies'



which would restore her to him for ever. The bishop, however, consoled himself for his loss the next year, when, being over sixty, he married a young lady of twenty-three, the junior of his eldest daughter, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Reynolds of Bury, by whom he had six more daughters. In 1753 Mrs. Butts took as her second husband Mr. George Green, the receiver of the late bishop's rents. The union was an unhappy one, the parties separated, and Mrs. Green retired to Chichester, where she died 3 Dec. 1781, at the age of sixty-nine. Butts printed nothing beyond a few charges and occasional discourses. The following may be mentioned: 1. A Sermon preached at Norwich on the day of the accession of George II, 1719. 2. A Charge at the primary visitation of the diocese of Norwich, 1735, London, 4to, 1736. 3. Sermon on Ps. cxxii. 6, preached before the House of Lords in Westminster Abbey, on the anniversary of the accession, 11 June 1737, London, 4to, 1737. 4. Charge delivered at the primary visitation of the diocese of Ely, London, 4to, 1740.

[Cole MSS. xviii. 140, 233; Bentham's History of Ely; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 80.] E. V.

**BUTTS, SIR WILLIAM** (d. 1545), physician to Henry VIII, was born in Norfolk, and educated at Gonville Hall, Cambridge, being admitted to the degrees of B.A. in 1506, M.A. 1509, and M.D. 1518. In the following year he applied for incorporation into the university of Oxford, but Wood could find no record of his incorporation. In 1524 he took a lease of St. Mary's Hostel, and was therefore probably principal of the house (*Athenæ Cantab.*); but he was at the same time practising his profession among the nobility, and from that time to his death he was constantly employed as physician at the court. The king, his queens, Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary, the king's natural son, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, Cardinal Wolsey, the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Thomas Lovell, George Boleyn, and Lord Rochford, are all known to have been his patients. As physician to the king his salary was 100*l.* a year, afterwards increased by forty marks, and an additional 20*l.* for attending on the young Duke of Richmond. He was also knighted. As physician to the Princess Mary he received a livery of blue and green damask for himself and two servants, and cloth for an apothecary. His wife was also in the princess's service as one of her gentlewomen, and her portrait was painted by Holbein. The finished picture was exhibited in 1866 at the Royal Academy, and the sketch is at Windsor. It

is engraved by Bartolozzi in 'The Court of Henry VIII.' It may fairly be said that the princess owed her life to her physician. Not only did he exert his professional skill in her behalf, but having good reason to suspect that there were plots to poison her, he frightened her governess, Lady Shelton, by telling her that it was commonly reported in London that she was guilty of this crime, and so made her doubly careful of her charge for her own sake. Some writers have spoken of him as being one of the founders of the College of Physicians, but this is an error. The college was founded in 1528, and he did not join till 1529. He does not seem to have held any collegiate office, but he was held in such esteem that he is entered in their books as 'vir gravis, eximia literarum cognitione, singulari judicio, summa experientia et prudenti consilio doctor.'

This praise refers more particularly to his medical life; but he was a patron of other branches of learning, and a man whose influence with the king was invariably directed to good purposes. When Wolsey was in disgrace Butts tried to reconcile the king to him, and his interposition in favour of Archbishop Cranmer is well known to readers of Shakespeare (*Hen. VIII.* act v. sc. ii.) In religious matters his sympathies were with the reformation. He attempted in person to convert some of the monks of Sion who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and two men, both prominent reformers, one on the side of religion and the other on the side of learning, Hugh Latimer and Sir John Cheke, both owed their advancement to him. He died 22 Nov. 1545, and was buried at Fulham church. His tomb was against the south wall, close to the altar, and formerly possessed a brass representing him in armour, with a shield bearing his arms: azure, three lozenges gules on a chevron or, between three estoiles or, and a scroll inscribed with the words 'Myn advantage.' Beneath it was a Latin epitaph in elegiacs by his friend Cheke. The tomb and brass are destroyed, but a slab with Cheke's verses, and an inscription stating that it was restored by Leonard Butts of Norfolk in 1627, is inserted in the wall of the tower. The epitaph gives the date of death as 17 Nov., 22 Nov. being found in both inquisitions. The figures had perhaps become nearly illegible and were wrongly restored. All the authors who mention the date of death copy this mistake. He married Margaret Bacon, of Cambridgeshire, and left three sons: Sir William, of Thornage, Norfolk; Thomas, of Great Ribburgh, Norfolk, and Edmund, of Barrow, Suffolk. Sir William, junior, was not killed at the battle of Musselburgh, as Blomefield says, but lived till



1583. The epitaphs on him were collected and printed by R. Dallington. Edmund alone had issue, one daughter, who married Sir Nicholas Bacon, eldest son of Sir Nicholas, keeper of the great seal. His will at Somerset House and the inquisitions taken after his death show that he possessed houses at Fulham, and on the site of the White Friars, London, the manors of Thornage, Thornham, Edgefield, and Melton Constable, in Norfolk, and Panyngton, in Suffolk. Other lands with which the king rewarded him had been disposed of before his death. Sir William Butts was twice painted by Holbein. The portrait in the possession of Mr. W. H. Pole Carew, of Antony, Cornwall, which was exhibited at Burlington House in 1866, ranks among the very best of the genuine works of the painter. The National Portrait Gallery possesses a copy of it. The other portrait of him is in the picture of the delivery of the charter to the barber surgeons, engraved by Baron. Many of his prescriptions, some devised in consultation with Drs. Chambers, Cromer, and Augustine, are preserved in Sloane MS., No. 1047, in the British Museum. There are three epigrams on him (Nos. 48, 49, 100) in Parkhurst's collection.

[Cal. of State Papers of Hen. VIII, vols. iv.-vii.; State Papers, Hen. VIII, i. 299, 311, 572, ix. 170, xi. 59; Strype's *Cranmer*, 179; *Eccles. Mem.* i. ii. 461. i. i. 261, iii. i. 514; Cheke, 166; Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* i. 244, Fasti, i. 50; Wright's *Suppression of the Monasteries*, 49 (Camden Soc.); Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*; Blomefield's *Norfolk*; Foxe's *Acts and Mons.* (ed. 1838), v. 605, vii. 454, 461, 773, viii. 25-34; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 87, 535; Goodall's *Royal College of Physicians*; Munk's *Coll. of Phys.*; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* i. 76, 109; *Inq. p. m.* 37 Hen. VIII, pt. i. Nos. 50, 75; *Patent Rolls*, 28-38 Hen. VIII.] C. T. M.

**BUXHULL, SIR ALAN** (1323-1381), constable of the Tower, was the son of Alan Bokeshull, or Buxhull, the tenant in capite of a messuage now known as Bugzell, in the parish of Salehurst, Sussex, and of other lands in the same county, and who also held the manor and church of Bryanstone, in Dorsetshire, all of which were, upon his death in 1325, inherited by his son Alan, then an infant two years old. In 1355 he was a knight in the expedition of Edward III to succour the King of Navarre; and some years later, in 1363, he attended the king to welcome the King of Cyprus on his landing at Dover. The year following he was sent with the Lord Burghersh and Sir Richard Pembrugge to render similar honours to King John of France, when by reason of the inability of his subjects to ransom him he was obliged to

return to captivity in England. In 1369 Sir Alan, then the king's chamberlain, was sent with certain nobles to swear to the fulfilment of the treaty with Scotland, and in the same year he held a command under John of Gaunt at Tournehem. In 1370 he succeeded Sir John Chandos as captain and lieutenant of the king in the territory and fortress of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, near Valognes, in Normandy, where, as Froissart tells us, he bore himself as a right valiant knight, 'appert homme durement.' Soon afterwards he took part, with Sir Robert Knolles, in the expedition against the French near Le Mans. It was during his stay in Normandy that Sir Alan received a writ from the king addressed to his 'dear and faithful Aleyn de Buxhull,' commanding him to proceed into the district of Cotentin to redress the outrages alleged to have been committed by the king's subjects there against those of the King of Navarre. Upon the death of the Earl of Stafford, one of the founders of the order, in October 1372, Buxhull was created a knight of the garter, being the fifty-third person promoted to that distinction. He had been elected in 1365-6 successor to Sir Richard la Vache, K.G., in the office of constable of the Tower of London for life, and was also made custos of the forest and park of Clarendon and other forests in Wiltshire. Towards the close of his life Sir Alan was a party to the murder, under peculiarly atrocious circumstances, of Robert Hauley and John Schakell, two esquires who had escaped from the Tower and taken sanctuary at Westminster. To effect their capture, Sir Ralph Ferrers and Buxhull were despatched with fifty men, and, meeting with some resistance, slew their unhappy prisoners within the very precincts of the abbey. This deed happened on 11 Aug. 1378. The power of John of Gaunt, however, effectually screened the perpetrators from punishment. Buxhull did not long survive, for dying on 2 Nov. 1381, he was buried, according to Weever, in Jesus' chapel, under old St. Paul's, near the shrine of St. Erkenwald. He was twice married. By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he left two daughters: Elizabeth, the wife of Roger Lynde, and Amicia, the widow of John Beverley. He took to his second wife Maud, the daughter of Adam Franceis, citizen of London, and relict of John Aubrey, who subsequently married John de Montacute, afterwards third earl of Salisbury and K.G. She gave birth to a posthumous son, who also received the name of Alan, and in due time the honour of knighthood.

[Beltz's *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 188-92, and authorities cited; Lower's *Worthies of Sussex*, pp. 147-9; Weever's *Ancient*

Funerall Monuments, p. 380; Hutchins's Dorsetshire, 3rd ed. i. 249, 251; *Archæologia*, xx. 152 n., where the writer asserts, but without giving any authority, that Buxhull was excommunicated for his share in the murder.] G. G.

**BUXTON, BERTHA H.** (1844-1881), novelist, was born on 26 July 1844, and when only a girl of eleven years amused herself by writing stories for her schoolfellows at Queen's College, Tufnell Park, London. Both her parents were Germans, her mother being Madame Therese Leopold, well known in musical circles, and with them she travelled in America, Germany, and Holland during her fourteenth and fifteenth years. At sixteen she was married to Henry Buxton, club manager and author, but still pursued her literary work as an amusement, translating a German operetta into English, and writing a modest one-volume novel, which was published at her husband's expense, under the title of 'Percy's Wife.' In 1875 she suddenly found herself poverty-stricken, and, becoming entirely dependent on her own exertions, she turned to writing for a living. In 1876 appeared her novel, 'Jennie of the Prince's,' by B. H. B., dealing with theatrical life, which she had studied as a walking lady on the stage at Exeter. The book was a success. She wrote a serial for the 'World' during the following year, bringing out during the same period 'Won! By the Author of "Jennie of the Prince's,"' and a story for children entitled 'Rosabella,' published under the name of 'Auntie Bee.' From this period she wrote under her own name, and the following Christmas brought out another child's book, entitled 'More Dolls,' illustrated by Mr. T. D. White, and dedicated to the Princess of Wales. Shortly afterwards Mrs. Buxton met with an accident which rendered work impossible. Somewhat recovering, she produced 'Fetterless though Bound together' (1879); 'Great Grenfell Gardens' (1879); 'Nell—On and Off the Stage;' and 'From the Wings' (1880). The last two novels first appeared in 'Tinsley's Magazine.' Her other books were 'Many Loves' (1880), 'Little Pops, a nursery romance' (1881), and 'Sceptre and King' (1881). In collaboration with William Willhem Fenn she brought out 'Oliver Gay, a Rattling Story of Field, Fright, and Fight,' in 1880, and a tale called 'A Noble Name' in a volume published by him in 1883. She died very suddenly from heart disease, at Claremont Villa, 12 St. Mary's Terrace, Kensington, London, on 31 March 1881.

[*Tinsley's Magazine*, xxviii. 499-500 (1881); *The Carisbrooke Magazine*, with portrait, April 1881.] G. C. B.

**BUXTON, CHARLES** (1823-1871), politician, was the third son of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton [q. v.], and was born on 18 Nov. 1823. Educated at home until the age of seventeen, he was then placed under the charge, successively, of the Rev. T. Fisher, at Luccombe, and the Rev. H. Alford (afterwards dean of Canterbury) at Wymeswold. In 1841 he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1843. At the close of his university career he became a partner in the well-known brewery of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton, & Co. His father dying in 1845, Charles Buxton was entrusted with the task of preparing his biography. This work speedily passed through thirteen editions, and was translated into French and German.

In 1852 Buxton visited Ireland. He purchased an estate in county Kerry, and made it a model of cultivation in the course of a few years. In 1853 he published a pamphlet on national education in Ireland, in which he recommended for Ireland 'the system which had answered so admirably in England—that of encouraging each denomination to educate its own children in the best way possible.' In 1854 Buxton delivered a series of lectures on the theory of the construction of birds. In 1855 he published in the 'North British Review' an article on the sale and use of strong drink, which attracted much attention as coming from a partner of a great brewing house.

Buxton was returned to the House of Commons for Newport in 1857: for Maidstone in 1859; and for East Surrey in 1865, for which constituency he sat until his death. Buxton made an eloquent appeal in favour of referring the Trent question to arbitration; he frequently advocated the principle of the protection of private property during war, and the general amendment of international law in the interests of peace. In 1860 he published a work entitled 'Slavery and Freedom in the British West Indies,' in which he endeavoured to prove that England had secured the spread of civilisation in West Africa, as well as the permanent prosperity of the West India islands.

Buxton advocated the unpopular policy of clemency after the suppression of the Indian mutiny, and in the case of Governor Eyre and the Jamaica massacres. He declined to concur in the Jamaica committee's resolution to prosecute Governor Eyre on a charge of murder, and on 31 July 1866 brought forward in the House of Commons four resolutions, the first declaring that the punishments inflicted had been excessive; that grave excesses of severity on the part of any civil, military, or naval officers ought not to be passed

over with impunity; that compensation ought to be awarded to those who had suffered unjustly; and that all further punishment on account of the disturbances ought to be remitted. The government accepted the first resolution, and the others were withdrawn on the understanding that inquiries should be made with the object, if possible, of carrying out the resolutions. Buxton, however, felt it incumbent upon him subsequently to call for an effectual censure and repudiation of the conduct of Mr. Eyre and his subordinates.

Buxton was an advocate of church reform, of disestablishment, and of security of tenure in Ireland. In general politics an independent liberal, he strongly advocated the system of cumulative voting; took a deep interest in the volunteer movement, but condemned all wars except those of defence.

Buxton inherited his father's intense affection for animals and his passion for outdoor sports. To these he added a love for architecture. He was the architect of his own beautiful seat of Fox Warren, in Surrey, and he gained a prize of 100*l.* in the competitive designs for the government offices in 1856, being placed sixth in the list of competitors. He was an admirer of Gothic architecture for modern buildings, and he designed the fountain near Westminster Abbey, built by himself in 1863, as a memorial of his father's anti-slavery labours. In 1866 Buxton published 'The Ideas of the Day on Policy,' and a pamphlet in 1869 on self-government for London.

On 9 April 1867 Buxton was thrown from his horse in the hunting-field, and suffered concussion of the brain. During his illness he studied the subject of anæsthetics, and offered a prize of 2,000*l.* for the discovery of an anæsthetic agent which should satisfy certain conditions.

Buxton's health began to fail rapidly towards the close of 1870. He died while he was staying at Lochearnhead, on 10 Aug. 1871. In 1850 Buxton married the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Holland, bart., M.D., by whom he had a family.

[Buxton's Survey of the System of National Education in Ireland, 1853; Buxton's Slavery and Freedom in the British West Indies, 1860; Buxton's Ideas of the Day on Policy, 1866; Buxton's Self-Government for London, a letter to the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, M.P. (Home Secretary), 1869; Annual Register, 1871; Buxton's Notes of Thought, preceded by a biographical sketch by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, M.A., 1873.] G. B. S.

**BUXTON, JEDIDIAH** (1707-1772), an untaught arithmetical genius, was born at Elmtun, Derbyshire, on 20 March 1707. His

grandfather was vicar of Elmtun, and his father schoolmaster of the same parish. Notwithstanding his father's profession, Jedidiah never learned to write, and continued throughout his life to be employed as a farm-labourer. His inability to acquire the rudiments of education seems to have been caused by his absorbing passion for mental calculations, which occupied his mind to the exclusion of all other objects of attention, and in which he attained a degree of skill that made him the wonder of the neighbourhood. He was first brought into more general notice by a letter in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for February 1751, signed G. Saxe (probably a pseudonym), which was shortly followed by two further communications from a Mr. Holliday, of Haughton Park, Nottinghamshire, who seems to have been the writer of the first letter. Among the many examples of Buxton's arithmetical feats which are given in these letters may be mentioned his calculation of the product of a farthing doubled 139 times. The result, expressed in pounds, extends to thirty-nine figures, and is correct so far as it can be readily verified by the use of logarithms. Buxton afterwards multiplied this enormous number by itself. It appears that he had invented an original nomenclature for large numbers, a 'tribe' being the cube of a million, and a 'cramp' (if Mr. Holliday's statement can be trusted) a thousand 'tribes of tribes.' In the spring of 1754 he walked to London, where he was entertained by 'Sylvanus Urban' at St. John's Gate. He was introduced to the Royal Society, before whom he gave some illustrations of his calculating powers. He was also taken to see Garrick in 'Richard III,' but paid no attention to the performance except to count the words spoken by the actors. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for June 1754 is a memoir of Buxton, accompanied by a portrait. His age is there given as forty-nine, which does not agree with the date of his birth as above stated on the authority of Lysons's 'Magna Britannia.' After spending some weeks in London he returned contentedly to his native village, where he was buried on 5 March 1772.

[Gent. Mag. xxi. 61, 347, xxiii. 557, xxiv. 251; Lysons's Magna Britannia, v. (Derbyshire), 167.] H. B.

**BUXTON, RICHARD** (1786-1865), botanist, was born at Sedgley Hall Farm, Prestwich, on 15 Jan. 1786. His father, John Buxton, was a farmer, and both parents were from Derbyshire. Richard was the second son of a family of seven; but his father, re-

duced to giving up his farm within two years of his son's birth, came to live in Manchester as a labourer. As a child his education was almost entirely neglected, but his chief amusement was picking wild flowers in the fields and brickyards near Great Ancoats. At twelve he was apprenticed to a bat-maker—that is, a manufacturer of children's small leather shoes. When sixteen he determined to teach himself to read, and did so. Among his books he numbered some of the old herbalists, but found their indications quite inadequate to find out plant-names. He then fell in with Jenkinson's *Flora*, also Robson's, and the first edition of *Withering*. For several years he plodded on, without making any botanical friends; but in 1826 he encountered a kindred spirit in the person of John Horsefield, another of the keen Lancashire working-men botanists, who introduced Buxton to their meetings. He afterwards botanised in Derbyshire, North Wales, and the Craven district of Yorkshire. When his '*Botanical Guide*' was published, and for many years afterwards, he was living unmarried with a sister in Manchester, where he died on 2 Jan. 1865. He published only one book, entitled '*Botanical Guide to the Flowering Plants, Ferns, Mosses, and Algae found . . . within 16 miles of Manchester*,' Lond. 1849 (2nd ed. 1859); but he is frequently cited by Dr. Wood in his '*Flora Mancuniensis*' as the authority for many localities of the rarer plants.

[Autobiography in *Guide*, iii-xv; Cash's *Where there's a Will*, 94-107; Seemann's *Journ. Bot.* iii. (1865), 71-2.] B. D. J.

**BUXTON, SIR THOMAS FOWELL** (1786-1845), philanthropist, was the eldest son of Thomas Powell Buxton, of Earl's Colne, Essex, by a daughter of Osgood Hanbury, of Holfield Grange, in the same county. His mother, who was a member of the Society of Friends, was a woman of great intelligence and energy. He was born 1 April 1786, and at a very early age was sent to a school at Kingston, where he suffered severely from ill-treatment. His health gave way, and he was removed to Greenwich, and placed under the care of Dr. Burney, the brother of Madame d'Arblay. From his earliest youth he took great delight in all kinds of country sports.

At the age of fifteen he left school, and was thrown much into the society of the Gurneys, at Earlham Hall, Norwich. In October 1803 he was entered at Trinity College, Dublin. He passed all the thirteen examinations at Dublin (with a single exception) with the most distinguished success, and received the university gold medal, which is given only to men who have obtained in succession all the

previous prizes. Before he had attained the age of twenty-one he was pressed to stand as a candidate for the representation of the university. He was extremely gratified by the offer, but declined it in consideration of his approaching marriage to Hannah, daughter of Mr. John Gurney, of Earlham Hall, sister to Mrs. Fry, and of the business career for which he was intended. He returned to England, and his marriage took place on 13 May 1807.

Buxton joined the well-known firm of Truman, Hanbury, & Co., brewers, of Spitalfields, in 1808. Though his business engagements were very arduous, he found time to study English literature and political economy. Nor did he neglect those philanthropic efforts which had been pressed upon him by his mother, and in which he was encouraged by William Allen. Between 1808 and 1816 he interested himself in all the charitable undertakings in the distressed district of Spitalfields, especially in those connected with education, the Bible Society, and the sufferings of the weavers. He took an energetic part in defending the Bible Society when it was the subject of a violent controversy, initiated by Dr. Marsh, afterwards bishop of Peterborough.

In 1816 almost the whole population in Spitalfields was on the verge of starvation. A meeting was called at the Mansion House, and Buxton delivered a forcible speech. He narrated the results of his personal investigations; the sum of 43,369*l.* was raised at this one meeting, and an extensive and well-organised system of relief was established. Buxton joined the committee of the newly formed Society for the Reformation of Prison Discipline. He had previously gone through the gaol at Newgate, and the results of this and other visitations were afterwards collected and published in a volume, entitled '*An Inquiry whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented by our present system of Prison Discipline*' (London, 1818). In the course of one year this work went through five large editions, and it had led to the formation of the Prison Discipline Society already mentioned. In the House of Commons, Sir James Mackintosh spoke highly of the book, which was translated into French, distributed over the continent, and reached India. There it indirectly led to a searching inquiry into the scandalous management of the Madras gaols.

In 1818 Buxton was returned to parliament at the head of the poll for Weymouth, and continued to represent the borough until 1837. He also devoted himself at this time to the preparation of a work on prison dis-

cipline, the foundation of a savings bank in Spitalfields, the establishment of a salt fish market in the same district, an investigation into the management of the London Hospital, and the formation of a new Bible Association. During his first session in parliament he paid close attention to the operation of the criminal laws. He seconded the motion made by Sir James Mackintosh for a committee on this subject. He sat on two select committees appointed to inquire into the penal code, and in consequence of the reports of the respective committees the government brought in a bill for consolidating and amending the prison laws then in existence. In 1820 Buxton lost his eldest son and three other children. A few months afterwards he removed from his house at Hampstead, and went to reside at Cromer Hall, Norfolk. In 1820 he supported Mackintosh's motion for abolishing the penalty of death for forgery.

In May 1824 Wilberforce, who had long led the anti-slavery party in the House of Commons, formally requested Buxton to become his successor. Buxton had been an active member of the African Institution. In 1822 he had begun his anti-slavery operations with vigour, being supported by Zachary Macaulay, Dr. Lushington, Lord Suffield, and others. In March 1823 Mr. Wilberforce issued his 'Appeal on behalf of the Slaves,' and immediately afterwards the Anti-Slavery Society was formed. On 15 May following Buxton—feeling, after mature deliberation, that he could not decline the important charge pressed on him by Wilberforce—brought forward a resolution in the House of Commons for the gradual abolition of slavery. It was carried, with the addition of some words proposed by Canning in reference to the planters' interests. The government issued a circular to the various colonial authorities, recommending the adoption of certain reforms; but the planters indignantly rejected them, and denounced the attack upon their rights.

Buxton laboured on, fortifying himself with facts concerning slave operations, and preparing documents charged with irrefragable statistics. Public meetings were held throughout the country in denunciation of the slave trade, and on 15 April 1831, the government having declined to take up the case, Buxton brought forward his resolution for the abolition of slavery. He showed that in 1807 the number of slaves in the West Indies was 800,000, while in 1830 it was only 700,000. In other words, the slave population had suffered a decrease in twenty-three years of 100,000. The necessity for emanci-

pation was conceded, and at the opening of the session of 1833 Lord Althorp announced that the government would introduce a measure. Eventually, on 28 Aug., the bill for the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions received the royal assent.

In spite of some forebodings, the colonial legislatures duly carried the Act into effect. On emancipation day, 1 Aug. 1834, a large number of friends assembled at the house of Buxton, and presented him with two handsome pieces of plate. On 22 March 1836 Buxton moved for a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system. He spent much time and labour in his investigation of this question, and adduced a mass of statistical information, 'proving, on the one hand, that the negroes had behaved extremely well, and, on the other, that they had been harassed by vexatious by-laws and cruel punishments.' The committee was granted, and subsequently the under-secretary for the colonies introduced a bill for enforcing in Jamaica measures in favour of the negroes.

In June 1837 the death of the king necessitated the dissolution of parliament, and Buxton lost his seat at Weymouth. He had refused beforehand to lend money—'a gentle name for bribery'—to the extent of 1,000*l*. Proposals were made from twenty-seven boroughs to Buxton to stand as a candidate, but he declined them all.

He now sought to deliver Africa from the slave trade, and published in 1839 'The African Slave Trade and its Remedy.' He recommended the concentration upon the coast of Africa of a more efficient naval force; the formation of treaties with the native chiefs; the purchase by the British government of Fernando Po, as a kind of headquarters and mart of commerce; the despatch of an expedition up the Niger for the purpose of setting on foot preliminary arrangements; and the formation of a company for the introduction of agriculture and commerce into Africa.

The Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilisation of Africa was established; and the government resolved to send a frigate and two steamers to explore the Niger, and if possible to set on foot commercial relations with the tribes on its banks. Sir Edward Parry, the comptroller of steam machinery, was appointed to prepare the vessels. Meantime Buxton's health had given way, and he was ordered complete rest. Towards the close of 1839 he made a tour through Italy, where he engaged in a close investigation into the crimes of the banditti. He fully exposed the deeds of a notorious band,

headed by Gasparoni. He also conducted a minute examination into the state of the Roman gaols.

On his return to England, Buxton eagerly threw himself into his previous plans. A baronetcy was conferred upon him 30 July 1840. For a brief period all went well with the Niger expedition, but at length there remained no doubt of its failure; and of the three hundred and one persons who composed the expedition, forty-one perished from the African fever. Sir Fowell Buxton was almost prostrated by this failure of his plans, and his health rapidly gave way.

In January 1843 the African Civilisation Society was dissolved. At its closing meeting Sir Fowell Buxton defended himself from the charge of imprudence. The ill-fated Niger expedition ultimately proved to be far from fruitless. It gave a new impulse to the African mind, and induced the emigration from Sierra Leone, which opened the way into Yoruba and Dahomey, and placed even Central Africa within the reach of British influences. The communication established between the river Niger and England opened up an important trade in cotton and other articles.

Sir Fowell Buxton now devoted himself to the cultivation of his estates. He established model farms and extensive plantations at Runtun and Trimmingham, near Cromer, and executed various plans of land-improvement. An essay upon the management of these estates gained the gold medal of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1845.

In the spring of 1843 Sir Fowell, whose health was failing, was recommended to try the Bath waters. He died 19 Feb. 1845, and was buried in the ruined chancel of Overstrand church, near his family seat of Northrepps Hall, Norfolk. His benevolence, his complete devotion to whatever was practical, his humility, his affection for children, and his love of animals were well known. He was eminently a religious man. Although attached to the church of England, Sir Fowell Buxton never allowed sectarian differences to interfere with his friendships and labours. The education of the poor and their social improvement were the especial objects of his endeavours. The prince consort headed a movement for a public tribute to the memory of Sir Fowell Buxton, and it took the form of a statue by Thrupp, which is erected near the monument to Wilberforce, in the north transept of Westminster Abbey. Lady Buxton, by whom he had three sons and two daughters, died 20 March 1872.

[Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., edited by his son, Charles Buxton, M.P., 1872; Times, February 1845; Annual Register, 1845; the

African Slave Trade, 1839; An Inquiry whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented by our present system of Prison Discipline, 1818; Read's Sir T. F. Buxton and the Niger Expedition, 1840; The Remedy, being a Sequel to the African Slave Trade, 1840; Binney's Sir T. F. Buxton, a Study for Young Men, 1845.]

G. B. S.

**BYAM, HENRY, D.D.** (1580–1669), royalist divine, was born 31 Aug. 1580, at Luckham, Somerset, the eldest of four sons of Lawrence Byam, presented to the rectory of Luckham 19 June 1575, and married 26 May 1578 to Anne or Agnes, daughter of Henry Ewehs or Yewings of Capton in the parish of Stogumber. Henry matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, 10 June 1597, and was elected student of Christ Church 21 Dec. 1599. He graduated B.A. 30 June 1602, M.A. 9 June 1605, B.D. 9 July 1612, D.D. 31 Jan. 1643. Wood praises him as 'one of the greatest ornaments of the university,' and 'the most acute and eminent preacher of his age.' He succeeded his father (whose will was proved in the middle of July 1614) in the rectory of Luckham with Selworthy. On 17 March 1632 he was made prebendary of Exeter. His D.D. was given him by command of the king, just after he had escaped from the custody of Blake, Byam's family being the first to take up arms for the king in those parts. His living was sequestered in 1656. He accompanied Charles II to Scilly when he fled from England, and was chaplain in the isle of Jersey until the garrison surrendered. Henceforth he lived in obscurity till the restoration, when he was made prebendary of Wells, in addition to his prebend at Exeter. He died 16 June 1669 at Luckham, and was buried 29 June in the chancel of his church. Byam's wife and daughter were drowned in attempting to escape to Wales by sea during the troubles. He had five sons, four of whom were captains in the royalist army. He published: 1. 'A Returne from Argier: a sermon preached at Minhead, 16 March 1627–8 at the readmission of a lapsed Christian to our church,' 1628, 4to. Posthumously appeared 2. 'XIII Sermons: most of them preached before his majesty King Charles II in his exile,' &c., 1675, 8vo (edited, 'with the testimony given of him at his funeral,' by Hamnet Ward, M.D.; two of the sermons are in Latin, being a visitation sermon at Exeter, and a sermon for his R.D. degree). A bust of Byam has been placed in the Shire Hall at Taunton.

**JOHN**, second son of Lawrence Byam, was born about 1583, matriculated at Exeter College 12 Oct. 1599, and graduated B.A. 30 June 1603, M.A. 25 May 1606. He

married a daughter of William Mascall (*d.* 1609), rector of Clotworthy, Somerset, and succeeded to the rectory on Mascall's death. In May 1625 he received a dispensation to hold also the vicarage of Dulverton, Somerset. His living of Clotworthy was sequestered, and he was imprisoned at Wells for loyal correspondence. He died in 1653, and is said to have left a manuscript account of his sufferings.

EDWARD, third son of Lawrence Byam, was born at the end of September 1585, matriculated at Exeter College 31 Oct. 1600, chosen demy at Magdalen 1601 (till 1610), graduated B.A. 12 Dec. 1604, M.A. 13 July 1607, took priest's orders 7 April 1612, and was presented 4 Aug. 1612 to the vicarage of Dulverton, Somerset, which he resigned, May 1625 to his brother John. On 30 April 1637 he was collated to the precentorship of Cloyne, and the vicarage of Castle Lyons, in Ireland. On 17 April 1639 he received the prebend of Clashmore in the diocese of Lismore. He died at Kilwillin 6 June 1639, and was buried at Castle Lyons. He married 22 July 1613, at Walton, Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Eaglesfield, formerly fellow of Queen's, then vicar of Chewton Mendip, rector of Walton-cum-Street, and prebendary of Wells. His widow, Elizabeth Byam, was among the despoiled and impoverished protestants of 1642. His son William was lieutenant-general, and governor of Guiana and Surinam. Edward Byam wrote 'Lines on the death of Q. Elizabeth' in 'Acad. Ox. Funebre Officium in mem. Eliz. Reginae,' Oxford, 1603.

[Chronological Memoir of the three clerical brothers, &c. Byam, by Edward S. Byam, Ryde, n. d. (dedication 5 Aug. 1854), 2nd ed. Tenby, 1862; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 29, 207; Wood's *Athenae Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 836; Fasti, i. 296, &c.; Bloxam's *Register of Magdalen College, the Demies*, vol. ii. 1876, p. 1.]

A. G.

BYER, NICHOLAS (*d.* 1681), painter, was a native of Drontheim in Norway. He practised portrait and historical painting, and on coming to England found a steady patron in Sir William Temple, at whose seat at Sheen, in Surrey, he lived for three or four years (WALPOLE, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. Wornum, ii. 479). His reputation as a face-painter must have been considerable; several persons of distinction, including some members of the royal family, sat to him. Dying at Sheen in 1681 he is said to have been the first person buried at St. Clement Danes after the rebuilding of the church (REDGRAVE, *Dictionary of Artists*, 1878, p. 66).

[Authorities as above.]

G. G.

BYERLEY, THOMAS (*d.* 1826), journalist and compiler of the 'Percy Anecdotes,' was the brother of Sir John Byerley. Devoting himself to literary pursuits, he became editor of the 'Literary Chronicle' and assistant editor of the 'Star' newspaper. He was also editor of 'The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction,' from 1823 till his death, on 28 July 1826. Under the pseudonym of Stephen Collet he published 'Relics of Literature,' London, 1823, 8vo, a collection of miscellanies, including a long article, reprinted in 1875, on the art of judging the character of individuals from their handwriting; but his chief claim to remembrance rests on 'The Percy Anecdotes,' 20 vols., London, 1821-3, 12mo. These volumes, which came out in forty-four monthly parts, were professedly written by 'Sholto and Reuben Percy, brothers of the Benedictine monastery of Mount Benger.' Reuben Percy was Thomas Byerley, and Sholto Percy was Joseph Clinton Robertson, who died in 1852. The name of the collection of anecdotes was taken, not from the popularity of the 'Percy Reliques,' but from the Percy coffee-house in Rathbone Place, where Byerley and Robertson were accustomed to talk over their joint work. Lord Byron insisted that 'no man who has any pretensions to figure in good society can fail to make himself familiar with the "Percy Anecdotes;"' but in spite of this commendation the work is now acknowledged to be a compilation of no real value or authority. The 'Anecdotes' were reprinted in 2 vols. in the 'Chandos Library,' with four pages of preface by John Timbs, F.S.A. The 'Brothers Percy' also compiled 'London, or Interesting Memorials of its Rise, Progress, and Present State,' 3 vols., London, 1823, 12mo.

[Notes and Queries, 1st ser. vii. 214, 3rd ser. ix. 168; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Preface to reprint of Percy Anecdotes; Gent. Mag. N.S. xxxviii. 548.]

T. C.

BYERS or BYRES, JAMES (1733-1817), architect and archæologist, died at his seat Tonley, in the parish of Tough, Aberdeenshire, on 3 Sept. 1817, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (*Scots Mag.* N.S. 1817, i. 196). During a residence of nearly forty years at Rome, from 1750 to 1790, he assiduously collected antique sculpture. At one time he possessed the Portland vase, which he parted with to Sir William Hamilton. Bishop Percy, for whom Byers procured old Italian romances, calls him 'the pope's antiquary at Rome' (NICHOLS's *Illustr. of Lit.* iii. 726, vii. 718-19). Byers also gave lectures for many years on the favourite objects



of his study, and Sir James Hall, who has occasion in his 'Essay on Gothic Architecture' (1813) frequently to refer to his authority, bears testimony to 'the very great success with which he contributed to form the taste of his young countrymen.' In 1767 he proposed to publish by subscription 'The Etruscan Antiquities of Corneto, the antient Tarquinii' (*Gent. Mag.* xlix. 288); but for some not very satisfactory reason the book never appeared, a circumstance which gave rise to many complaints on the part of deluded subscribers (*ibid.* vol. lxii. pt. i. pp. 201, 317, vol. lxvi. pt. i. p. 222). Long after his death forty-one drawings from his collection were published with the title 'Hypogæi, or Sepulchral Caverns of Tarquinia, the capital of antient Etruria; edited by Frank Howard,' folio, London (1842). Byers was elected an honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 24 Feb. 1785, and was also a corresponding member of the Society of Arts and a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. His profile is given at p. 101 of T. Windus's 'Description of the Portland Vase,' and there is a portrait of him by Sir H. Raeburn.

[New Statistical Account of Scotland, xii. 614; Thom's History of Aberdeen, ii. 193-4.] G. G.

**BYFIELD, ADONIRAM** (*d.* 1660), puritan divine, the third son of Nicholas Byfield [q. v.], was probably born before 1615. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and does not appear to have had any profession except the ministry, though Zachary Grey styles him 'a broken apothecary.' In 1642 he was chaplain to Sir Henry Cholmondeley's regiment. On 6 July 1643 he was appointed one of the two scribes to the Westminster Assembly, the other being Henry Roborough. Their amanuensis or assistant was John Wallis, afterwards Savilian professor of geometry. The scribes were not members of the assembly of which they kept the record, nor were they at first allowed, like the members, to wear their hats. (For a minute account of the way in which Byfield discharged the public part of his duties see Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' ii. 107 sq.) In common with the other divines the scribes were entitled to the allowance (irregularly paid) of four shillings a day. For their special trouble they received the copyright of the 'Directory' (ordered to be published 13 March 1645), which they sold for 400*l.*; the anticipated circulation must have been large, as the selling price was threepence per copy. It was during the sitting of the assembly that Byfield obtained first the sinecure rectory, and then the vicarage of Fulham. Isaac Knight succeeded him in the

rectory in 1645, and in the vicarage in 1657. At some unknown date between 1649 and 1654 Byfield received an appointment to the rectory of Collingbourn Ducis, Wiltshire, from which Christopher Prior, D.D., had been removed. Prior died in 1659, when Byfield was probably duly instituted, for he was not disturbed at the Restoration. In 1654 he was nominated one of the assistant commissioners for Wiltshire, under the ordinance of 29 June for ejecting 'scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters,' and was the most active among them. Walker gives very full details of his procedure in the case against Walter Bushnell, vicar of Box (ejected in 1656). Byfield's assembly practice had made him as sharp as a lawyer in regard to all the catches and technical points of an examination. We hear little more about him. He died intestate in London, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, at the end of 1660 or very beginning of 1661. His wife, Katharine, survived him, and administered to his effects on 12 Feb. 1661. Granger describes a portrait of Byfield 'with a windmill on his head and the devil blowing the sails.' Butler has canonised him in 'Hudibras' (pt. iii. canto ii.) as a type of those zealots for presbytery whose headstrong tactics opened the way to independency. Walker has immortalised the tobacco-pipe which Byfield flourished in his satisfaction at the judgment on Bushnell.

Byfield's most important work consists of the manuscript minutes, or rather rough notes, of the debates in the assembly, which are almost entirely in his very difficult handwriting. They are preserved in Dr. Williams's library, and were edited by Mitchell and Struthers in 1874. According to Mitchell (*Westminster Assembly*, pp. 409, 419), Byfield had published a catechism some years before the assembly met. In 1626 he edited his father's 'Rule of Faith,' a work on the Apostles' Creed. To Byfield is ascribed 'A Brief View of Mr. Coleman his new modell of Church Government,' 1645, 4*to*. He also assisted Chambers in his 'Apology for the Ministers of the County of Wiltshire, . . .' 1654, 4*to*.

[Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, i. 178 sq., ii. 68; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 670, &c.; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 1802, ii. 447; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 1813, iii. 374; authorities cited above.] A. G.

**BYFIELD, JOHN** (*n.* 1830), wood engraver, held a high position in his profession, but no details of his life are recorded. He and his sister Mary cut the illustrations for an edition of Holbein's 'Icones Veteris



Testamenti,' published in 1830, and he executed with great skill and fidelity, in conjunction with Bonner, the facsimiles of Holbein's 'Dance of Death,' published by Francis Douce in 1833. He also engraved the illustrations for an edition of Gray's 'Elegy,' published in 1835.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 8vo, 1878.] L. F.

**BYFIELD, NICHOLAS** (1579-1622), puritan divine, a native of Warwickshire, son by his first wife of Richard Byfield, who became vicar of Stratford-on-Avon in January 1597. Nicholas was entered at Exeter College, Oxford, in Lent term 1596, as 'aged 17 at least,' which gives 1579 as the latest date for his birth; and this answers to the original inscription on his portrait, 'An<sup>o</sup> Dni 1620 *Ætatis sue* 40,' thus making 1579 the earliest date. The second inscription (see below) shows that he was born in the last third of the year. He was four years at the university, but though a severe student did not graduate. Taking orders he intended to exercise his ministry in Ireland; but on his way thither he preached at Chester, and was prevailed upon to remain as one of the city preachers, without cure. He lectured at St. Peter's church, and was extremely popular. John Bruen [q. v.] was one of his hearers, and a kind friend to him. In 1611 he got into a controversy on the sabbath question in a curious way. A Chester lad, John Brerewood, was one of his catechists, and had been trained by Byfield in strict sabbatarian habits. Consequently, when the lad went to London to serve as an apprentice, he refused to do his master's errands on Sundays, such as fetching wine and feeding a horse, and obeyed only under compulsion. The lad wrote to Byfield with his case of conscience, and was told to disobey. His uncle, Edward Brerewood [q. v.], first professor of astronomy in Gresham College, noticed the lad's depression, and, learning its cause, gave him contrary advice, taking the ground that the fourth commandment was laid only upon masters. Brerewood opened a correspondence with Byfield on the subject. The discussion was not published till both Brerewood and Byfield had been long dead. It appeared at Oxford as 'A Learned Treatise of the Sabbath, . . . ' 1630, 4to; second edition, 1631, 4to. Byfield's part in it is curt and harsh; his manner roused Brerewood, who charges his correspondent with 'ignorant phantasies' [see **BYFIELD, RICHARD**]. On 31 March 1615 Byfield was admitted to the vicarage of Isleworth, in succession to Thomas Hawkes. It appears from his own statement in a dedication (1615) to Edward, earl of Bedford,

whose chaplain he was, that his reputation had suffered from 'unjust aspersions.' What he means by saying that he had been cleared 'by the mouth and pen of the Lord's anointed, my most dread sovereigne,' is not evident. At Isleworth he was diligent in preaching twice every Sunday, and in giving expository lectures every Wednesday and Friday. He kept up his public work till five weeks before his death, though for fifteen years he had been tortured with the stone. He died on Sunday, 8 Sept. 1622. His portrait, painted on a small panel, hangs in Dr. Williams's library. The face is lifelike and rather young for his years, with a pleasing expression. Painted over the lower part of the panel is a portentous figure of the calculus from which he suffered, accompanied by this inscription: 'Mr. Nicholas Byfield, minister some times in the City of Chester, but last of Isleworth, in the county of Midellsex, where he deceased on the Lord's day September the 8, anno domini 1622, aged neer 43 years. The next day after his death he was opened by Mr. Millins, the chirurgion, who took a stone out of his bladder of this forme, being of a solid substance 16 inches compasse the length way, and 13 inches compass in thicknesse, which weighed 35 ounces auerdupois weight.' This corresponds closely with the account given in William Gouge's epistle prefixed to Byfield's 'Commentary upon the second chapter of the First Epistle of Saint Peter,' 1623, 4to. Gouge, who was present at the autopsy, makes the measurements of the calculus 15½ inches about the edges, above 13 about the length, and almost 13 about the breadth. By his wife, Elizabeth, Byfield had at least eight children, of whom the third was Adoniram [q. v.]

Byfield's works were numerous, and most of them went through many editions, some as late as 1665. His expository works, which are Calvinistic, have been praised in modern times. His first publication was 'An Essay concerning the Assurance of God's Love and of Man's Salvation,' 1614, 8vo. This was followed by 'An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Colossians . . . being the substance of neare seaven yeeeres weeke-dayes sermons,' 1615, fol. Brook gives abridged titles of fourteen works (eight being posthumous), adding 'several sermons,' but these are included in one or other of the collections previously enumerated in the list. The date of 'The Beginning of the Doctrine of Christ,' &c., is not 1609, as given by Brook, but 1619, 12mo. 'The Marrow of the Oracles of God,' 1620, 12mo (the last thing published by Byfield himself), is a collection of six treatises, which includes one separately enumerated by

Brook; 'The Promises; or a Treatise showing how a godly Christian may support his heart,' &c., 1618, 12mo. Brook does not fully specify the issues of separate parts of Byfield's exposition of 1 Peter, nor does he give any indication of the later editions of the works.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 323; Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, ii. 297; Cox's *Literature of the Sabbath Question*, 1865, i. 159; authorities cited above; extracts from registers of St. Peter's, Chester, and Isleworth.]  
A. G.

**BYFIELD, RICHARD** (1598?-1664), ejected minister, was a native of Worcestershire, according to Wood; yet as he is said to have been sixteen years of age in 1615 (Wood) and 'ætat. 67' (CALAMY) at his death in December 1664, he was probably born in 1598; and since his father became vicar of Stratford-on-Avon in January 1597, it is reasonable to conclude that, like his elder half-brother Nicholas Byfield [q. v.], he was a Warwickshire man, though his baptism is not to be found in the Stratford-on-Avon register. He was a son of Richard Byfield by his second wife. In Michaelmas term 1615 he was entered either as servitor or batler at Queen's College, Oxford. He graduated B.A. 19 Oct. 1619, M.A. 29 Oct. 1622. He was curate or lecturer at Isleworth, probably during his brother's incumbency (i.e. before 8 Sept. 1622), and had some other 'petite employments' before being presented (prior to 1630) by Sir John Evelyn to the rectory of Long Ditton, Surrey. He sat in the Westminster Assembly, but was not one of the divines nominated in the original ordinance of 12 June 1643, being appointed, perhaps through the influence of his nephew Adoniram [q. v.], to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Daniel Featley, D.D. (d. 17 April 1645). During the protectorate he quarrelled with Sir John Evelyn, his patron, about the reparation of the church, and Calamy recounts their amicable reconciliation through the intervention of Cromwell. In 1654 he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners for Surrey, under the ordinance of 29 June for the ejection of scandalous, &c. ministers and schoolmasters. He held his rectory, with a high character for personal piety and zeal in the ministry, until the passing of the Uniformity Act. At his ejection he was the oldest minister in Surrey, i.e. probably in seniority of appointment, for he was not an old man. Leaving Long Ditton, he retired to Mortlake, where he was in the habit of preaching twice every Sunday in his own family, and did so the very Sunday before his death. He died suddenly

in December 1664, and was buried in Mortlake church.

Some of the works of his brother Nicholas have been assigned to Richard; he edited a few of them. His own works are: 1. 'The Light of Faith and Way of Holiness,' 1630, 8vo. 2. 'The Doctrine of the Sabbath Vindicated, in Confutation of a Treatise of the Sabbath written by Mr. Edward Brerewood against Mr. Nicholas Byfield,' 1631, 4to [see BREREWOOD, EDWARD, and BYFIELD, NICHOLAS]. Byfield attacks the spelling 'Sabaoth' adopted by Brerewood. 3. 'A Brief Answer to a late Treatise of the Sabbath Day,' 1636? (given to Byfield by Peter Heylin, in 'The History of the Sabbath,' 2nd edit. 1636, 4to; it was in reply to 'A Treatise of the Sabbath Day,' &c., 1635, 4to, by Francis White, bishop of Ely, who rejoined in 'An Examination and Confutation,' &c. 1637, 4to). 4. 'The Power of the Christ of God,' &c. 1641, 4to. 5. 'Zion's Answer to the Nation's Ambassadors,' &c. 1645, 4to (fast sermon before the House of Commons on 25 June, from Is. xiv. 32). 6. 'Temple Defilers defiled,' 1645, 4to (two sermons at Kingston-on-Thames from 1 Cor. iii. 17; reissued with new title-page 'A short Treatise describing the true Church of Christ,' &c., 1653, 4to, directed against schism, anabaptism and libertinism). 7. 'A message sent from . . . Scotland to . . . the Prince of Wales,' 1648, 4to (letter from Byfield). 8. 'The Gospel's Glory without prejudice to the Law,' &c., 1659, 8vo (an exposition of Rom. viii. 3, 4). 9. 'The real Way to good Works: a Treatise of Charity,' 12mo (not seen; mentioned by Calamy; Palmer makes two works of it).

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 668, &c.; Calamy's *Account*, 1713, 664; Palmer's *Nonconf. Memorial*, 1803, iii. 301; Cox's *Literature of the Sabbath Question*, 1865, i. 160, &c.; Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly, 1874, pp. 90, 126; information from Rev. G. Arbuthnot, Stratford-on-Avon.]  
A. G.

**BYLES, JOHN BARNARD** (1801-1884), judge, was eldest son of Mr. Jeremiah Byles, timber-merchant, of Stowmarket in Suffolk, by his wife, the only daughter of William Barnard, of Holts in Essex. He was born at Stowmarket in 1801. He became a member of the Inner Temple, and, after reading as a pupil in the chambers of Chitty, the great pleader, and for a time practising as a special pleader himself, at 1 Garden Court, Temple, was called to the bar in November 1831. He joined the Norfolk circuit and attended sessions in that county. In 1840 he was appointed recorder of Buckingham, and in 1843 was raised to the degree of

serjeant-at-law. When in 1846 the court of common pleas was opened to all the members of the bar, Byles received a patent of precedence in all courts. He rapidly acquired a large and leading practice both on his own circuit, which he led for many years after Sir Fitzroy Kelly became solicitor-general, and also in London. About 1855 he resigned his recordership, and in 1857 was appointed queen's serjeant, along with Serjeants Shee and Wrangham. This was the last appointment of queen's serjeants, and he was the last survivor of the order (see PULLING, *Order of the Coif*, 41, 182). Though he never sat in parliament, he was always a strong and old-fashioned conservative. He was once a candidate for Aylesbury, but being a rigid unitarian, and constant attendant at a unitarian chapel, was unacceptable to the church party. Nevertheless he was selected by Lord Cranworth in June 1858, though of opposite politics, for promotion to the bench, and when Sir Cresswell Cresswell retired, he was made a knight and justice of the common pleas. He proved a very strong judge, courteous, genial and humorous, and of especial learning in mercantile affairs; he was one of the judges who won for the court of common pleas its high repute and popularity among commercial litigants. Nevertheless, both as an advocate and a judge his mind was marked by a defect singular in one of his indubitable ability. He displayed a serious want of readiness in his perception of the facts of a case. What, however, he lacked in rapidity of mind, he made up for by extreme accuracy. He was an expert shorthand writer. In January 1873 failure of health and memory and inability any longer to sustain the labour of going circuit compelled him to resign his judgeship. He received a pension, and along with Baron Channell became, on 3 March, a member of the privy council, and for some time, when his presence was required, he continued to attend the sittings of the judicial committee. He continued to reside at Hanfield House, Uxbridge, where and in London he was a well-known figure on his old white horse, and was occupied largely with literary interests until his death, which occurred on 3 Feb. 1884, in his eighty-third year. In the course of his lifetime he published a considerable number of works. Before he was called he delivered a series of lectures on commercial law in the hall of Lyons Inn, and the first of these, delivered 8 Nov. 1829, he published at the request and risk of friends, and without alteration, under the title of 'A Discourse on the Present State of the Law of England.' About the same time he pub-

lished 'A Practical Compendium of the Law of Bills of Exchange,' which has since become the standard work on this branch of law, and has reached a fourteenth edition. The sixth edition he dedicated to Baron Parke, and in the preparation of the ninth he was assisted by his son Maurice. During the long vacation of 1845, while absent from London, he composed a pamphlet called 'Observations on the Usury Laws, with suggestions for Amendment and a Draft Bill,' which he published in the October following. A keen protectionist, he wrote in 1849 a work called 'Sophisms of Free Trade,' which at once ran through eight editions, and was reprinted by his permission, but without his name, in 1870, with his notes brought up to date, by the Manchester Reciprocity Association. The book expressly disclaims party motives and displays considerable and wide reading. In 1875, after his retirement, he published 'Foundations of Religion in the Mind and Heart of Man.' It is non-controversial and didactic, and was written at different times and at considerable intervals. He was twice married, first in 1828 to a daughter of Mr. John Foster, of Biggleswade, who died very shortly after the marriage; second in 1836 to a daughter of Mr. James Webb, of Royston, who died in 1872. He had several children; the eldest son, Walter Barnard, was called to the bar in 1865, the second, Maurice Barnard, in 1866, and was appointed a revising barrister in 1874.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Davy's *Athenae Suffolcienses*, iv. 35; Davy's *Suffolk Collections*; Add. MS. 19121, pp. 351-2; *Men of the Time*, ed. 1879; *Law Journal*, viii. 33; *Solicitors' Journal*, 9 Feb. 1884; *Serjeant Ballantine's Reminiscences*, p. 190.]

J. A. H.

BYLOT, ROBERT (A. 1610-1616), navigator, is first mentioned as a seaman of the *Discovery*, in the expedition to the North-West under Hudson in 1610-11. His being rated as master's mate, and the jealousy which this promotion excited, were among the causes of the mutiny of the ship's company and the death of the captain [see HUDSON, HENRY]. No blame seems to have been attributed to Bylot; and in 1612-13 he was again employed under Button, who completed the exploration of Hudson's Bay [see BUTTON, SIR THOMAS]. It seems probable that in 1614 he was employed with Gibbons, and in 1615 he was appointed to the command of the *Discovery*, with Baffin as his mate. The accounts of the voyages in this and the following year were written by Baffin, who was unquestionably the more scientific navigator, and whose name has

rightly been associated with the principal results [see **BAFFIN, WILLIAM**]. Bylot's name appears in the list of the company of the merchants-discoverers of the North-West Passage (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial—East Indies*, 26 July 1612), but nothing further is known concerning him. Even the spelling of his name is quite uncertain. It appears in the different forms of Bylott, Bylot, and Byleth.

[Rundall's *Voyages towards the North-West* (Hakluyt Society), p. 97.] J. K. L.

**BYNG, ANDREW, D.D. (1574–1651)**, Hebraist, was born at Cambridge, and educated at Peterhouse in that university. He was elected regius professor of Hebrew in 1608, and died at Winterton in Norfolk in 1651. Byng was one of the translators employed in the authorised version of the Bible. About 1605 we find a decree of the chapter of York to keep a residentiary's place for him, as he was then occupied in this business.

[Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 448; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; Drake's *Eboracum*, app. p. lxxvii; *Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. iv. 228.] J. M.

**BYNG, GEORGE, VISCOUNT TORRINGTON (1663–1733)**, admiral, eldest son of John Byng, of a family settled for many centuries at Wrotham in Kent, was born on 27 Jan. 1662–3. In 1666 his father, having got into pecuniary difficulties, was obliged to part with the Wrotham estate, and went over to Ireland, where he would seem to have engaged in some speculations which were so far from fortunate that he lost what money had remained to him, and in 1672 he returned to England, flying, apparently, from his creditors. In 1678, by the interest of Lord Peterborough with the Duke of York, George Byng entered the navy as a king's letter-boy on board the *Swallow*. On 28 Nov. he was transferred to the *Reserve*, and again in June 1679 to the *Mary Rose*. The *Mary Rose* was paid off in June 1680, and in the following April young Byng was entered as a volunteer on board the *Phoenix*, commanded by Captain Blagg. The *Phoenix* was immediately afterwards sent to Tangier, where Byng's maternal uncle, Colonel Johnstone, was in garrison and on friendly terms with General Kirk, who, understanding that the boy complained of his captain's 'ill-temper,' offered him a cadetship in the grenadiers. This he gladly accepted, and was discharged from the *Phoenix* on 10 May 1681. In six months' time he was appointed as ensign, and early in 1683 was promoted to a lieutenancy. As this was held to be a grievance by his seniors, over whose head he had been

promoted, Kirk appointed him as lieutenant of a galley which attended on the garrison, and shortly afterwards to the acting command of the *Deptford ketch*. From this, however, he was superseded at the end of the year by order of Lord Dartmouth, who consented at Kirk's request to give him a commission as 'lieutenant in the sea-service,' and appointed him (February 1683–4) to the *Oxford*. On the arrival of the fleet in England the officers and men of the *Oxford* were turned over to the *Phoenix*, fitting for a voyage to the East Indies, on which she finally sailed from Plymouth, 28 Nov. 1684. Byng had had his commission in the army confirmed by the king, and was at this time lieutenant of Charles Churchill's company of grenadiers, from which he received leave of absence to attend to his duty on board the *Phoenix*.

The work at Bombay consisted chiefly in suppressing European 'interlopers' and native pirates. These last were rude enemies and fought desperately when attacked. On one occasion Byng was dangerously wounded. The service against the 'interlopers' required tact, energy, and moral, rather than physical, courage, and Captain Tyrrell's views of it differed much from those held by Sir Josiah Child, the representative of the Company. It was thus that during an illness of Tyrrell's, Byng, being for the time in command, had an opportunity, by entering more fully into his designs, of cultivating Child's goodwill, with, as it would seem, very profitable results. Afterwards, on their return to England, 24 July 1687, Sir Josiah offered him the command of one of the Company's ships, which Byng declined 'as being bred up in the king's service;' and when the *Phoenix* was paid off he rejoined his regiment, then quartered at Bristol.

In May 1688 Byng, still a lieutenant, was appointed to the *Mordaunt*, and in September to the *Defiance*. While serving in this subordinate employment, he was, on Kirk's suggestion and recommendation, appointed as an agent for the Prince of Orange, with the special work of winning over certain captains in the fleet. He was afterwards deputed by these captains to convey their assurances of goodwill and obedience to the prince. He found William at Sherborne: the prince 'promised that he would take particular care to remember him,' and entrusted him with a reply to the officers of the fleet, and a more confidential letter to Lord Dartmouth, which may be said to have fixed his wavering mind (*Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 31958*, ff. 15–21; *DALRYMPLE'S Memoirs*, appendix to pt. i, 814 *et seq.*) This was the turning-point of Byng's fortune; he had judiciously chosen

the winning side, and on 22 Dec. 1688 was appointed captain of the *Constant Warwick*, from which in April 1689 he was removed to the *Reserve*, and on 15 May to the *Dover*, in which he served during the summer in the main fleet under the Earl of Torrington, and was employed during the autumn and winter in independent cruising. On 20 May 1690 he was appointed to the *Hope* of 70 guns, which was one of the red squadron in the unfortunate action off Beachy Head. In September he was moved into the *Duchess*, which, however, was paid off a few weeks afterwards. His career afloat being now well established, in November he resigned his commission in the army to his brother John, and in January 1690-1 was appointed to the *Royal Oak* of 70 guns, in which he continued till the autumn of 1692; but, having been at the time delayed in the river refitting, he had no share in the glories of Barfleur and La Hogue. In September Sir John Ashby hoisted his flag on board the *Albemarle*, to which Byng was appointed as second-captain (*Admiralty Minute*, 12 Sept.), and which he paid off in the following November. In the spring of 1693 he was offered the post of first-captain to the joint admirals, but refused it out of compliment to his friend Admiral Russell, then in disgrace [see RUSSELL, EDWARD, Earl of Orford]; but accepted a similar offer made him in the autumn of the same year by Russell, then appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He continued on this station for the next two years, and in 1696 was appointed one of the commissioners for the registry of seamen, which office he held till its abolition in 1699.

In 1701, when the Earl of Pembroke was appointed lord high admiral, Byng was nominated as his secretary and first-captain if, as he intended, he took the command in person. This would have made Byng virtually commander-in-chief; for Lord Pembroke was neither sailor nor soldier, and had no experience in commanding men; but before the nomination took effect the king died, and the Churchills, who came into power, visited, it was believed, on Byng, the old grudge which they bore to Admiral Russell, whose follower and partisan Byng was. He asked for a flag, which he considered due to him after having been so long first-captain to the admiral of the fleet; it was refused him. He applied to be put on the half-pay of his rank; this also was refused him; and he was told plainly that he must either go to sea as a private captain or resign his commission. As his means did not permit him to quit his profession, he, under this constraint, accepted the command of the *Nassau*, a 70-gun ship

(29 June 1702), and in the course of July joined the fleet under Sir Clowdisley Shovell, which, after cruising off Brest for two months, looking out for the French under Chateau-Renaud, went south towards Cape Finisterre. On 10 Oct. Byng, having been separated from the fleet, fell in with Sir George Rooke, but was at once despatched in search of Sir Clowdisley, with orders to him to join the admiral at once. Knowing that the attack on Vigo was imminent, Byng tried to excuse himself from this duty, but without success; and though he made all haste to send the orders to Shovell, he rejoined the fleet only on the evening of the 12th, after the attack had been successfully made, and nothing remained but to complete the work of destruction.

On 1 March 1702-3 Byng was promoted to be rear-admiral of the red, and was sent out to the Mediterranean in the *Ranelagh* as second in command under Shovell. While there he was detached with a small squadron to Algiers, where he succeeded in renewing the treaty for the protection of English commerce; and towards the end of the year he returned to England, arriving in the Channel just in time to feel some of the strength of the great storm, though not in its full fury, and happily without sustaining any serious damage. In 1704, still in the *Ranelagh*, he commanded, as rear-admiral of the red squadron, in the fleet under Sir George Rooke in the Mediterranean; he had the immediate command of the detachment of the fleet actually engaged in the bombardment and capture of Gibraltar; and from his position in the centre of the line of battle, had a very important share in the battle of Malaga. On his return home he was (22 Oct.) knighted by the queen, 'as a testimony of her high approbation of his behaviour in the late action.' On 18 Jan. 1704-5 he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and during the summer of that year commanded a squadron in the Channel for the protection of trade. In March 1705-6 he sailed in the *Royal Anne* for Lisbon and the Mediterranean, where he took part in the operations on the Spanish coast and in the siege of Toulon, under the command of Sir John Leake and Sir Clowdisley Shovell, which last he accompanied on his homeward voyage, and narrowly escaped being lost with him on 22 Oct. 1707.

On 26 Jan. 1707-8 Sir George Byng was raised to the rank of admiral of the blue, and appointed to command the squadron in the North Sea for the protection of the coast of England or Scotland, then threatened with invasion from France in the cause of the Pretender. But jealousy and disputes

between the French officers frittered away much valuable time; and when just ready to sail the titular king of England was incapacitated by a sharp attack of measles. All these delays were in Byng's favour, and when the expedition put to sea in the midst of a gale of wind on 10 March the English fleet was collected and intercepted it off the entrance of the Firth on 13 March, captured one ship, the *Salisbury*, and scattered the rest, which eventually got back to Dunkirk some three weeks afterwards (*Mémoires du Comte de Forbin*, 1729, ii. 289 et seq.) In England the question was at once raised whether Byng had done all that he might. A parliamentary inquiry was demanded. It was said that he could have captured the whole French fleet as easily as he had captured the one ship, by some that his ships were foul, and by others the fault lay with the lord high admiral. Finally the discontent subsided, and the house passed a vote of thanks to Prince George for his promptitude; Edinburgh presented Byng with the freedom of the city; and the queen offered to appoint him as one of the prince's council, which, however, he declined. In October he carried the Queen of Portugal to Lisbon, and during the following year, 1709, commanded in chief in the Mediterranean. In November he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty under his old chief Russell, now Earl of Orford. Orford's term of office at that time was short, but Byng continued at the admiralty till early in 1714, and returned to it in the following October, after the accession of George I. In 1715 he was appointed to command the fleet for the defence of the coast, and succeeded so well in stopping and preventing all supplies to the adherents of the Pretender, that the collapse of the insurrection was considered to be mainly due to his efforts, in acknowledgment of which the king created him a baronet, and gave him a diamond ring of considerable value. In 1717, on information that a new movement in support of the exiled Stuarts was meditated by Charles XII of Sweden, Sir George Byng was sent into the Baltic with a strong squadron.

On 14 March 1717-18 he was advanced to the rank of admiral of the fleet, and was sent to the Mediterranean in command of a fleet ordered to restrain the Spanish attack on Sicily, in contravention of the treaty of Utrecht. He sailed from Spithead on 15 June 1718, and on 21 July anchored before Naples. Having conferred with the viceroy, and received more exact intelligence of the movements of the Spaniards, at that time besieging the citadel of Messina by sea and land, he

sailed from Naples on the 26th, and on the 29th arrived off the entrance of the Straits. From this position he wrote to the Spanish general, proposing 'a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace,' adding that if he failed in this desirable work 'he should then hope to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were to use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend,' to which the general replied that 'he could not agree to any suspension of arms,' and 'should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master the king of Spain.' Historically, this correspondence is important, for it was afterwards asserted 'that the English fleet surprised that of Spain without any warning, and even contrary to declarations in which Spain confided with security' (CORBETT, 5).

Early on the morning of 30 July the English fleet entered the Straits; before noon their advanced ships had made out the Spaniards far to the southward; the English followed; the chase continued through the night, the Spaniards retiring in long, straggling line, the English in no order, but according to their rates of sailing. About ten o'clock the next morning (31 July 1718), being then some three leagues to the east of Cape Passaro, the leading English ships came up with the sternmost of the Spaniards. They would have passed, for Byng's orders were to push on to the van; but the Spaniards opening fire, they were compelled to engage, and the action thus took the form necessarily most disastrous to the Spaniards; for, as successive ships came up, the Spaniards were one by one overpowered by an enormous superiority of force, and almost the whole fleet was captured without a possibility of making any effective resistance. So little doubt was there of the result from beginning to end, that—in the words of Corbett, the historian of the campaign—the English might be rather said to have made a seizure than to have gotten a victory.' The English had indeed a considerable superiority of numbers, but not to an extent commensurate with the decisive nature of their success; this was solely due to the measures adopted by the Spaniards, which rendered their defeat inevitable. There was little room for any display of genius on the part of Byng, though he was deservedly commended for the advantage he had taken of the enemy's incapacity; and to the world at large the issue appeared, as broadly stated, that the English fleet of twenty-one sail had

utterly destroyed a Spanish fleet of eighteen ships of the line beside a number of smaller vessels. The king wrote his congratulations to the admiral with his own hand; so also did the emperor; and the Queen of Denmark, who claimed a personal acquaintance with him, sent friendly messages through the master of her household.

With the destruction of the Spanish fleet the purely naval work of the expedition was accomplished, but for the next two years Byng continued in Sicilian and Neapolitan waters, keeping the command of the sea and co-operating with the German forces so far as possible. In August 1720 the Spaniards evacuated Sicily and embarked for Barcelona; and Byng, having convoyed the Piedmontese troops to Cagliari, acted as the English plenipotentiary at the conferences held there for settling the surrender of Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, who, in acknowledgment of his services, presented him with his picture set in diamonds. On his return home, immediately after these events, he was appointed rear-admiral of Great Britain and treasurer of the navy; in the following January he was sworn in as member of the privy council; and on 9 Sept. 1721 was raised to the peerage with the titles of Baron Southill and Viscount Torrington. In 1724 he resigned the treasurership of the navy in favour of his eldest son; in 1725 he was installed as a knight of the Bath; and on the accession of George II was appointed first lord of the admiralty, 2 Aug. 1727. He held this office till his death on 17 Jan. 1732-3. He was buried at Southill in Bedfordshire.

The victory which Byng won off Cape Passaro, by its extraordinary completeness, gave him a perhaps exaggerated reputation as a naval commander; but independently of this, his uniform success in all his undertakings sufficiently bears out Corbett's eulogium of him as a man who devoted his whole time and application to any service entrusted to him; who 'left nothing to fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application.' He describes him also as a man firm and straightforward in his dealings, impartial and punctual in the performance of whatever he engaged in. He was accused by his enemies of meanness, greediness, and avarice, and several of his letters show that he was in the habit of looking closely after his pecuniary interests; but to one brought up as he had been, the value of money may well have been unduly magnified, and lessons of parsimony must have been inculcated till it became almost a second nature.

He married on 5 March 1691 Margaret, daughter of James Master of East Langden

in Kent, who survived him by many years, dying at the age of eighty-seven in 1756. He had a numerous family, consisting of eleven sons and four daughters.

His portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, to which it was presented by George IV. There is also another portrait by J. Davidson, a bequest of Mr. Corbett in 1751; and a picture of the action off Cape Passaro, by Richard Paton, presented by William IV, but of no historical value.

[Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 31958 (this is the manuscript Life of Lord Torrington which has been quoted or referred to by Collins, Dalrymple, and others as in the Hardwicke Collection, and being undoubtedly what it claims to be, written from Byng's own journals and papers, is of the very highest authority, though of course its views are very partial; it ends abruptly in 1705); Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* ii. 194; Collins's *Peerage* (1779), vi. 100; *An Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily in the years 1718, 1719, and 1720, under the command of Sir George Byng, Bart., &c.* (published anonymously, dedication signed T. C.), by Thomas Corbett, secretary of the admiralty; Letters and other documents in the Public Record Office, more especially Home Office Records (Admiralty), No. 48.] J. K. L.

BYNG, JOHN (1704-1757), admiral, was the fourth son of George Byng, viscount Torrington [q. v.] He entered the navy in March 1718 on board the *Superb*, commanded by his maternal uncle, Streynsham Master, served in her for eighteen months in the Mediterranean, and was present at the defeat of the Spaniards off Cape Passaro, in which the *Superb* had a very prominent share [see ARNOLD, THOMAS]. After serving in the *Orford*, the *Newcastle*, and the *Nassau*, he was moved into the *Torbay*. He passed his examination on 31 Dec. 1722, and continued in the *Torbay*, with the rating of able seaman, till 26 Feb., when he was removed, with the same rating, to the *Dover*, and on 20 June was promoted into the *Solebay*. On 11 April 1724 he was appointed to the *Superb* as second lieutenant; and when that ship was ordered to the West Indies, he was superseded from her at his own request on 29 March 1726. On 23 April he was appointed to the *Burford* as fourth lieutenant, continued in her on the home station as third and as second lieutenant, and at Cadiz, on 26 May 1727, was discharged to the *Torbay* for a passage to England. On 8 Aug. 1727 he was promoted to the command of the *Gibraltar* frigate in the Mediterranean; in the summer of 1728 he was moved into the *Princess Louisa*, also in the Mediterranean, and continued in her for



three years, when she was paid off at Woolwich. He was immediately appointed to the *Falmouth*, and commanded her in the Mediterranean for the next five years. The details of this service present no interest: nothing could be more uneventful; but it is noteworthy on that very account. The son of Lord Torrington, admiral of the fleet and first lord of the admiralty, could pretty well choose his own employment, and he chose to spend his time for the most part as senior or sole officer at Port Mahon. This may have been very pleasant, but it was not exercising him in the duties of his rank, or training him for high command. In June 1738 he was appointed to the *Augusta*; in April 1739 was moved into the *Portland*; and in the following October was transferred to the *Sunderland*, in which he joined Vice-admiral Haddock off Cadiz. Early in 1742 he was appointed to the *Sutherland*, and went in her for a summer cruise to Newfoundland, coming home again in the autumn. In 1743 he was appointed to the *St. George*, and commanded her in the fleet under Sir John Norris in February 1743-4. He continued in her in the spring of 1744, when Sir Charles Hardy hoisted his flag on board for the voyage to Lisbon. On 8 Aug. 1745 he was promoted to be a rear-admiral, and was immediately appointed to command in the North Sea under Admiral Vernon, then commander-in-chief in the Downs, and after his resignation under Vice-admiral Martin. During the period of this service he was, in 1746, a member of the courts-martial on Vice-admiral Lestock and on Admiral Mathews. In 1747 he went out to the Mediterranean as second in command; on 15 July he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue; and by the death of Vice-admiral Medley, on 5 Aug., became commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, where he continued till after the conclusion of the peace. When war again broke out in 1755, Byng was appointed to command a squadron in the Channel; in the autumn he relieved Sir Edward Hawke in the Bay of Biscay; and in the following March was promoted to be admiral of the blue, and was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean with a small squadron intended for the defence of Minorca, which, by the concurrent testimony of every agent in those parts, was then threatened by a French armament from Toulon. The government was very slow to believe this, and was rather of opinion that the armament was destined for North America, or for some operations in the west, perhaps against Ireland. The squadron sent out with Byng was therefore by no means so large as it might easily have

been made; and the admiral's instructions laid most stress on the probability of the enemy passing the Straits. They were, however, perfectly explicit on the possibility of an attack on Minorca, in the event of which he was, in so many words, ordered 'to use all possible means in his power for its relief.'

At Gibraltar he received intelligence that the enemy had landed on Minorca, had overrun the island, and was laying siege to Fort St. Philip. This was exactly the contingency which his instructions specially and positively provided for. But the governor of Gibraltar refused to part with the troops which he was ordered to send, alleging that they could not be spared from the garrison; and Byng, who from the first had shown himself very ill satisfied with the condition and force of his squadron, accepted his refusal without protest, and sailed from Gibraltar on 8 May. On the 19th he was off Port Mahon, and sent in the frigates to see what was the position of affairs, and to communicate with the acting-governor, General Blakeney. But before they could get near enough, the French squadron came in sight, and Byng, afraid that the frigates might be cut off, hastily recalled them. The wind, however, fell light, and the two fleets did not get near each other that day, nor till the afternoon of the next, 20 May, when, the enemy having yielded the weather-gage, about two o'clock Byng made the signal to bear down, and some twenty minutes after the signal to engage. In point of numbers the two fleets were equal; but the French ships were larger, carried heavier guns and more men. A comparison of the two shows that the English flagship *Ramillies*, of 90 guns, threw a broadside of 842 lbs., while the French flagship *Foudroyant*, of 80 guns, threw a broadside of 1,000 lbs. The difference throughout was in favour of the French, but by no means so much as was afterwards said; and in point of fact, the difference, whatever it was, in no way affected the result; for the French stood entirely on the defensive. This was their great advantage; for while the English were running down to the attack from the position to windward, Byng insisted on stopping to dress his line, which was thus unduly exposed. The van, under Rear-admiral West, did, indeed, bear down as ordered, and engage at very close quarters; but the rear, under the commander-in-chief, backed their topsails, got thrown into disorder, and never came within effective gunshot. The ships in the van, thus unsupported, sustained great loss, and the whole French line, which had been lying by with their main topsails square, filled, and passing slowly



the disabled English ships, fired their broadsides into them, then wore in succession and reformed on the other tack. When Byng extricated his rear from the confusion into which he had himself thrown it, he found his van so shattered as to be incapable of forming line and renewing the action. The French, on their side, remained as before on the defensive, and as they were not attacked, there was no further fighting. During the night the fleets separated; and after waiting four days to refit, Byng summoned a council of war, the resolutions of which seemed to him to warrant his leaving Minorca to its fate, and he accordingly returned with the fleet to Gibraltar. When the news of the defeat reached England the wrath of the ministry and the fury of the populace were excessive. Hawke was at once sent out to supersede Byng, and send him home under arrest. He arrived at Spithead on 26 July. He was forthwith conveyed to Greenwich, and kept there, in a room in the hospital, under close and ignominious arrest. He was ordered to be tried by court-martial, and the court accordingly met at Portsmouth on 28 Dec. After continuous sitting till 27 Jan. 1757 this court pronounced that Admiral Byng had not done his utmost to relieve St. Philip's Castle, which it was his duty to relieve; had not done his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the enemy's ships which it was his duty to engage, or to assist those of his majesty's ships which it was his duty to assist. For this neglect of duty the court adjudged him to fall under part of the 12th article of war, and according to the stress of that article sentenced him to death. To this sentence they added an earnest recommendation to mercy, on the grounds that they did not believe the admiral's misconduct arose either from cowardice or disaffection, and that they had passed the sentence only because the law, in prescribing death, left no alternative to the discretion of the court. The king refused to entertain this recommendation, and the sentence was duly carried out. Admiral Byng was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, in Portsmouth Harbour, on 14 March 1757.

The strife of parties was at the time exceedingly bitter, and it suited the opponents of the ministry, past and present, to urge that Byng was being executed as a cloak to ministerial neglect. They thus made common cause with the personal friends of Byng, and a furious outcry was raised, not so much against the sentence as against the execution, which was roundly denounced as 'a judicial murder.' And this phrase, having caught the popular fancy, has been repeated over

and over again with parrot-like accuracy. Another statement, less sweeping but wholly incorrect, has also been often repeated, and has been accepted by even serious historians: it is said that Admiral Byng was shot for 'an error in judgment,' a fault which, as Lord Macaulay has properly shown, may be a very good reason for not employing a man again, but does not amount to a crime. It is right, therefore, to point out that neither in the charge against Admiral Byng, nor in the article of war under which he was found guilty, nor in the sentence pronounced on him, is there a single word about 'error in judgment.' The language of the article is perfectly clear and explicit, limiting its scope to those persons who shall commit the offences detailed 'through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection.' When, therefore, the court found Byng guilty under this article, and at the same time acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection, it did really, and with all the plainness of which the English language is capable, find him guilty of negligence—of negligence so gross as to be in the highest degree criminal. This being the decision of the court, the only question is, Should the sentence have been carried out? But the fact is that the court did not and could not give any reason for its recommendation except the severity of the law; and to this point the most rational of Byng's friends applied themselves. Admiral West, urging it on his cousin, Lord Temple, the first lord of the admiralty, wrote: 'The court have convicted him, not for cowardice nor for treachery, but for *misconduct*, an offence never till now thought capital, and now, it seems, only made so because no alternative of punishment was found in that article they bring him under.' On this it may be remarked that West, and all Byng's supporters, insisting on the novelty, the unheard-of nature of the sentence, and the severity of the law which permitted no alternative, or the absurdity of the law which took all discretionary power from the court, lost sight of the fact that it was the gross abuse of this discretionary power in a score of instances during the last war which had forced the parliament to abolish it; that absolute necessity had led to the passing of this stringent act only eight years before, and that, as these had been years of peace, it was still in effect new. It was unfortunate for Byng that he should be the first to feel its severity and its stringency: it was unfortunate for the country that it should have been goaded to an act so severe and stringent: but having passed that act, to have shrunk from the first occasion of giving it effect would have been imbecile.

When parliament refused to interfere, and the king finally rejected the recommendation to mercy, the admiral was left for execution, and in face of the inevitable walked to his death with a calm and noble bearing. His misconduct might be due to a want of resolution, to an unnerving sense of responsibility, or possibly, even probably, to a feeling of disgust at the government which had sent him out with a command so limited when it might have given him a force that would have swept the Mediterranean. But this want of temper, of confidence, of resolution, though leading to criminal misconduct, was not cowardice, certainly not that type of cowardice of which the court acquitted him, that cowardice which regards death or personal danger as the most terrible of evils. Of this, in his last moments, Admiral Byng showed himself entirely free. His demeanour on the *Monarque's* quarter-deck has been the theme of many a panegyrist; and though panegyric on Admiral Byng seems strangely misplaced, it may be most truly said of him

Nothing in his life  
Became him like the leaving it.

Admiral Byng was never married. His remains were buried in the family vault at Southill, with a monumental inscription in which even the usual license is somewhat exceeded.

[Official Documents in the Public Record Office; Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 31959, a statement of the case against Byng, prepared, apparently, for Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; Minutes of the Court-martial (published by order, fol. 1757). The copy of this in the British Museum (5806, g 1 (2)) is bound up with many other papers of great interest, including a series of plans of the engagement, a picture of the execution, and a portrait; Beatson's *Nav. and Mil. Memoirs*, vol. i.; Walpole's *Mem. of George II*, vol. ii. The literature on the subject of Byng's execution is most voluminous. The list under Byng's name occupies four pages in the British Museum printed Catalogue, and this is a very small portion of the whole. The number of contemporary pamphlets on each side of the question, for the most part equally scurrilous, is very great; but they have no historical value, and the same may be said of most modern criticisms. Sir John Barrow, in his *Life of Anson*, discusses the subject at some length, but with so little care that he bases a grave objection to the court-martial on the junior rank of the president, Vice-admiral Smith, and names as the three from whom the selection ought to have been made Admiral Stewart, who was at the time on his deathbed, and died on 30 March 1757, Admiral Martin, who died 17 Sept. 1756, two months before the convening of the court, and the Hon. George

Clinton, who had retired from active service for more than sixteen years.] J. K. L.

**BYNG, SIR JOHN, EARL OF STRAFFORD** (1772-1860), general, was the third son of Major George Byng of Wrotham Park, Middlesex, and M.P. for that county, a grandson of Admiral Sir George Byng, first Viscount Torrington [q. v.], by Anne Connolly, daughter of Lady Anne Wentworth, who was eventually co-heiress of the last Earl of Strafford of the second creation. He was born in 1772, and entered the army as ensign in the 33rd regiment on 30 Sept. 1793, and was promoted lieutenant on 1 Dec. 1793 and captain on 24 May 1794. With the 33rd, then commanded by Colonel Wellesley, he served in the disastrous campaigns in Flanders of 1793-5 and throughout the retreat to Bremen, and was wounded at the skirmish of Geldermalsen. In 1797 he was appointed aide-de-camp to General Vyse, then commanding the southern district of Ireland, and was much engaged in the suppression of the rebellion of 1798 in Ireland, when he was again wounded. In 1799 he became major in the 60th regiment, and in 1800 lieutenant-colonel of the 29th, and in 1804 he exchanged into the 3rd guards, with which he served in Hanover in 1805, at Copenhagen in 1807, and in the Walcheren expedition in 1809. In 1810 he was promoted colonel, and in 1811 ordered to join the army under Lord Wellington in Portugal. On 7 July 1811 the Duke of York wrote to Lord Wellington recommending him warmly (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vii. 177), and shortly after Colonel Byng's arrival in Portugal in September 1811 he was posted to the command of a brigade in the second division under General Hill, and retained it until the end of the Peninsular war.

He was with Hill's corps in Estremadura and Andalusia, and so was not present at the battle of Salamanca. In 1813 his brigade was hotly engaged at Vittoria, and was attacked by Soult at the pass of Roncesvalles, when that marshal tried to break through Wellington's lines, and though Byng had to fall back on Sorauren, his heroic resistance enabled Wellington to concentrate enough troops to beat the French. He was engaged in the attack on the entrenched camp on the Nivelle, where he was wounded, at the siege of the Nive at Cambo, before Bayonne. For his conduct at this battle he was afterwards 'permitted to bear as an honourable augmentation to his arms the colours of the 31st regiment, which he planted in the enemy's lines, as an especial mark in appreciation of the signal intrepidity and

heroic valour displayed by him in the action fought at Mouggerre, near Bayonne, on 18 Dec. 1813.' Major-general Byng, as he had been promoted on 4 June 1813, continued to command his brigade on the right of the army throughout the advance on Toulouse, and was present at the actions at Espellette and Garris, at the battle of Orthes, the storming of the camp of Aire, and the battle of Toulouse, and on the conclusion of the war was made a K.C.B. and K.T.S. and governor of Londonderry and Culmore. Byng commanded the second brigade of the first or guards division under General Cooke at Waterloo, and after the battle his brigade headed the advance into France, took Péronne, occupied the heights of Montmartre, and formed part of the army of occupation.

Byng saw no more service. In 1819 he received the command of the northern district, in 1822 the colonelcy of the 2nd West India regiment, in 1825 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1828 received the colonelcy of the 29th regiment. In 1828 he became commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland and was sworn a privy councillor of that kingdom, but resigned his command in 1831 to enter the House of Commons as M.P. for Poole. As one of the very few distinguished generals who supported the Reform Bill, he was looked upon with especial favour by Lord Melbourne, and was created by him in 1835 Baron Strafford of Harmondsworth, county Middlesex. His elder son held office under Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, and his services were recompensed by his father, the old general, being created Earl of Strafford and Viscount Enfield in 1847. He had been made a G.C.B. in 1828, a G.C.H. in 1831, and a Knight of Maria Theresa of Austria and of St. George of Russia after the battle of Waterloo, and in 1841 he was promoted full general. In 1850 he succeeded the Duke of Cambridge as colonel of the Coldstream guards, in 1855 he was made a field-marshal, and on 3 June 1860 he died at his residence in London, at the age of eighty-eight.

[Wellington Despatches; Royal Military Calendar; Obituary Notice in the Times.]

H. M. S.

BYNG, THOMAS (*d.* 1599), master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, matriculated as a sizar at Peterhouse in May 1552; proceeded B.A. in 1556, was admitted fellow of his college 7 Feb. 1557-8, and commenced M.A. 1559, and LL.D. 1570. In 1564, when Elizabeth visited Cambridge, Byng made a Latin oration in her presence on the excellence of a monarchical government; the speech is

printed in Nichols's 'Progresses' (iii. 63). He was proctor in the same year, and on 2 March 1564-5 became public orator. He was incorporated M.A. of Oxford on 6 Sept. 1566, while Queen Elizabeth was on a visit to that university. Byng became prebendary of York 18 Jan. 1566-7; master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1571; vice-chancellor of the university 1572; a member of the college of civilians 21 April 1572; regius professor of the civil law at Cambridge 18 March 1573-4; a special commissioner for the visitation of St. John's College, Cambridge, 13 July 1576; visitor of Ely Cathedral 6 Sept. 1593, and dean of the peculiars of Canterbury and dean of arches 24 July 1595. On 27 July 1578, with other dignitaries of the university, he visited the queen at Audley, and for a second time read a Latin oration in her presence. He died in December 1599, and was buried 23 Dec. at Hackney Church, Middlesex. By his wife, Catherine (1553-1627), he had ten sons and two daughters. Besides writing the orations mentioned above Byng edited Carr's translations from Demosthenes (1571), and contributed Latin and Greek verses to Wilson's translation of Demosthenes (1570), and to the university collections issued on the restoration of Bucer and Fagius (1560), and on the death of Sir Philip Sidney (1587). Many of Byng's official letters and publications are preserved among the university archives at Cambridge.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 279-80, 551; Coote's *Civilians*, 49; Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 173; Le Neve's *Fasti Angl. Eccl.*] S. L. L.

BYNHAM, SIMON. [See BINHAM.]

BYNNEMAN, HENRY (*d.* 1583), printer, was apprenticed to Richard Harrison, printer, on 24 June 1560. His master died in 1562, and he apparently served the remainder of his apprenticeship with Reginald Wolfe. He became a liveryman of the Stationers' Company 30 June 1578. He seems to have opened a shop in Paternoster Row as early as 1566. He afterwards moved to the sign of the Mermaid in Knight-rider Street, and finally to Thames Street, near Baynard's Castle. Archbishop Parker encouraged him in many ways, allowed him to open a shed at the north-west door of St. Paul's, at the sign of the 'Three Wells,' and asked Burghley to allow him to print 'a few usual Latin books for the use of grammarians, as Terence, Virgil, Tully's offices, &c., a thing not done here in England before or very rarely' (STRYPE, *Parker*, i. 552). In 1580 Bynneman was called to the bar of the House of Commons for having published in behalf of Arthur Hall, M.P. for Grantham, a libel on Sir Robert Hall,

the late speaker of the house, and on other members. The book was suppressed. Bynneman gave his testimony against Hall. Hall alone was punished (D'EWEES, *Journals of Parliaments under Elizabeth*, pp. 291-309). Bynneman died in 1583.

Bynneman's publications were very numerous and of varied character. His name first appears in print on the title-page of Robert Crowley's 'Apologie or Defence,' in 1566. The 'Manuall of Epictetus' in English was his second publication, followed by the second volume of Paynter's 'Palace of Pleasure' in the same year. Bynneman was the publisher of George Turberville's 'Booke of Faulconrie' (1575) and 'Noble Arte of Venerie' (1575); of George Gascoigne's 'Poems' (1575-6), and of Gabriel Harvey's Latin works (1577-8). He printed the first edition of Holinshed's 'Chronicles' in 1574, and had licenses for printing several Latin and Greek books. In 1583 'the first foure bookes of Virgil's "Æneis,"' by Richard Stanihurst, bears his imprint.

His usual device is a mermaid in an oval cartouch, with the motto 'Omnia tempus habet;' but he often employed in his earlier publications the device of a brazen serpent, which was the property of his master, Reginald Wolfe; in his later books he often used 'a doe passant on a half wreath,' with the motto 'Cerva charissima et gratissima hinnulus prod.'

[Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (ed. Herbert), ii. 965 et seq.; Arber's *Transcript of Stationers' Registers*, i. passim; Bullen's *Cat. of Books in Brit. Mus. before 1640*; Bigmore and Wyman's *Bibliography of Printing*, 96.]

S. L. L.

BYRD, WILLIAM (1538?-1623), musical composer, is generally supposed to have been the son of Thomas Byrd, a gentleman in the Chapel Royal under Edward VI and Mary. This statement is pure conjecture; there were several families who bore the same name at this period. The only evidence corroborative of it is that William Byrd's second son was named Thomas, possibly after his grandfather. Similarly it has been said that 'in the year 1554 he was senior chorister of St. Paul's, and consequently about fifteen or sixteen years old; and his name occurs at the head of the school in a petition for the restoration of certain obits and benefactions which had been seized under the Act for the Suppression of Colleges and Hospitals in the preceding reign' (RIMBAULT, *Some Account of William Byrd and his Works*, prefixed to the reprint of Byrd's Mass, published by the Musical An-

tiquarian Society in 1841); but even this detailed statement cannot be verified, as the petition is not to be found in the Public Records, and the proceedings referring to the pensions in the exchequer (*Queen's Remembrancer*, Memoranda Rolls, 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, 232, 238, 262 b) do not contain the name of William Byrd, though two other choristers named John and Simon Byrd are mentioned. It is more probable that he was a native of Lincoln and a descendant of Henry Byrd or Birde, mayor of Newcastle, who died at Lincoln 13 July 1512, and was buried in the cathedral. All that is known for certain of Byrd's early life is that he was 'bred up to musick under Thomas Tallis' (Wood, *Bodleian MS.* 19 D. (4), No. 106), and was appointed organist of Lincoln probably as early as 1563. On 25 Jan. 1569 Robert Parsons, gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was drowned at Newark-upon-Trent, and on 22 Feb. following Byrd was sworn in his place. The entry in the Chapel Royal Cheque Book records that he was from Lincoln. It was in all probability during his residence in Lincoln that he married Julian (or, as her name otherwise appears, Ellen), daughter of one 'M. Birley of Lincolnshire' (*Visitation of Essex*, 1634, Harl. Soc. Publications, vol. xiii.) It is possible that immediately on his appointment at the Chapel Royal Byrd did not leave Lincoln. At all events he must have kept up some sort of connection with the place, for on 7 Dec. 1572 the Chapter Records chronicle the appointment of Thomas Butler as master of the choristers and organist, 'on y<sup>e</sup> nomination and commendation of Mr. William Byrd.' In London Byrd seems rapidly to have made his way, sharing with Tallis the honorary post of organist of the Chapel Royal. On 22 Jan. 1575 Elizabeth granted the two composers and the survivors of them a license to print and sell music, English or foreign, and to rule, print, and sell music-paper for twenty-one years, all other printers being forbidden to infringe this patent under a penalty of forty shillings (ARBER, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, ii. 15). This monopoly has generally been considered to have been very productive to the patentees, but that it was not so regarded by contemporary printers is proved by a passage in a petition relating to these vexatious restrictions, which was written in 1582: 'Bird and Tallis, her maicesties servauntes, haue musike bokes with note, which the complainantes confesse they wold not print nor be furnished to print though there were no preuilege' (*ib.* p. 775). The first work which Byrd published (if the undated masses are excepted) was a collection of motets, 'Cantiones, quæ ab argumento

sacræ vocantur, quinque et sex partium.' Part of these were written by Byrd and part by his master, Tallis. The book was dedicated to Elizabeth and printed by Thomas Vautrollier; it appeared in 1575. Prefixed are eulogistic verses by Richard Mulcaster and Ferdinando Richardson, and at the end is an epitome of the patent granted to the authors. In 1578 Byrd was living at Harlington in Middlesex, where he had a house until 1588, and possibly for longer. Like most of the members of the Chapel Royal, although outwardly he had conformed to the state religion, yet he remained throughout his life a catholic at heart. The first evidence we have of this is a quotation given by Dr. Rimbault (*Grove, Dict. of Music*, i. 287 b) from a list of places frequented by recusants near London, in which his name occurs as living at Harlington in 1581, and 'in another entry he is set down as a friend and abettor of those beyond the sea, and is said to be residing with Mr. Lister, over against St. Dunstan's, or at the Lord Padgette's house at Draughton.' It was probably on account of his religion that he lived all his life some way out of London, where he would be less likely to attract attention. About 1579 Byrd set a three-part song, 'Preces Deo fundamus,' in Thomas Legge's Latin play 'Richardus III' (*Harl. MS.* 2412). In 1585 Tallis died, and under the terms of the patent the monopoly of printing music became Byrd's sole property. Accordingly, during the next few years he seems to have been unusually active in composition. His first important work was entitled 'Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie, made into Musicke of fivie parts: whereof, some of them going abroade among diuers, is vntrue coppies, are heere truly corrected, and th' other being Songs very rare and newly composed, are heere published, for the recreation of all such as delight in Musicke.' This work (consisting of five part-books) was published by Thomas Easte, 'the assigne of W. Byrd,' in 1588. Rimbault (*Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*, p. 1) mentions another edition without date; probably this is the one referred to in an entry in the Stationers' Company's Registers (*Arber, Transcript*, ii. 477) as being already in print on 6 Nov. 1587. The work is dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton; at the back of the title are eight quaint 'Reasons briefly set downe by th' auctor to perswade euery one to learne to sing.' In the same year (1588) Byrd contributed two madrigals to a collection made by one N. Yonge, entitled, 'Musica Transalpina. Madrigals translated out of foure, fivie, and sixe parts, chosen out of diuers excellent Authors, with the first

and second part of *La Verginella*, made by Maister Byrd, vpon two Stanzs of Ariosto, and brought to speake English with the rest.' By this it will be seen that he was the composer of the first English madrigal. In the following year Byrd published two important works. The first was entitled 'Songs of sundrie natures, some of grauitie, and others of mirth, fit for all companies and voyces.' This consists of six part-books, and is dedicated to Sir Henry Cary, lord Hunsdon. It was published by Thomas Easte, and a second edition appeared in 1610, published by Easte's widow, Lucretia, 'the assigne of William Barley.' The second work was the 'Liber Primus Sacrarum Cationum quinque vocum,' which was published by Easte on 25 Oct., and dedicated to the Earl of Worcester. An edition in score of this was published by the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1842. In 1590 Byrd contributed two settings of 'This sweet and merry month of May' to Thomas Watson's 'First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished,' and in 1591 (4 Nov.) he published the 'Liber Secundus Sacrarum Cationum,' dedicated to Lord Lumley. These printed books do not by any means represent all that Byrd produced at this period of his career. As a composer of music for the virginals—the English equivalent for the spinet—he was indefatigable, and fortunately many collections of these characteristic pieces are still in existence, though but few of them have been printed. The most important are the manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, wrongly known as 'Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book,' which contains an immense number of Byrd's compositions, and the beautiful manuscript 'Ladye Nevell's Booke,' belonging to the Marquis of Abergavenny, which consists entirely of Byrd's virginal lessons, and was copied by John Baldwin, a singing-man of Windsor, who finished the volume on 11 Sept. 1591 (*Grove, Dict. of Music*, iii. 305 et seq.). Somewhere about this time, certainly in 1598, and probably earlier, Byrd and his family were living at Stondon Place, Essex, where for several years he was involved in a curious dispute. This estate belonged to a member of the Shelley family who in 1598 was committed to the Fleet for taking part in a popish plot. The property was sequestered, and a lease for three lives was granted to Byrd by the crown. William Shelley, the rightful owner, died about 1601, and his heir paid a large sum for the restoration of his lands in 1604, whereupon Shelley's widow attempted to oust Byrd from Stondon, which formed part of her jointure. This drew from James I a letter of remonstrance (*State Papers*, Dom.

James I, Add. Ser. vol. xxxvi.), commanding her to permit Byrd quietly to enjoy the possession of the property; but in spite of this Mrs. Shelley persevered, and four years later (27 Oct. 1608) she presented a petition to the Earl of Salisbury, praying for the restoration to her of Stondon Place, and setting forth in an enclosure eight grievances against Byrd. The chief of these are that Byrd in 1608 began a suit against Mrs. Shelley to force her to ratify the lease he had from Elizabeth; but being unsuccessful, he combined with the individuals who held her other jointure lands to maintain suits against her, and when all these had submitted except 'one Petiver,' who also finally submitted, 'the said Bird did give him vile and bitter words;' that when told that he had no right to the property, he replied 'that yf he could not hold it by right, he would holde it by might;' that he had cut down much timber, and for six years had paid no rent (*ib.* vol. xxxvii.) What the end of the dispute was does not transpire. Mrs. Shelley in 1608 was seventy years old, and as both Byrd's son and grandson occupied the same property, it is probable that she did not live much longer. While Byrd was in the possession of lands belonging to a recusant, and was actively engaged in performing his duties in the Chapel Royal, where he was present at the coronation of James I, he was not only being presented with his family for popish practices before the archidiaconal court of Essex, but he had actually been excommunicated since 1598. From the year 1605 until 1612, and probably later, it was regularly recorded that the Byrd family were 'papistical recusants.' Mrs. Byrd in particular, 'if the reports of the minister and churchwardens of Stondon are to be believed, seems to have been very zealous in making converts. Apart from these incidents, the particulars of Byrd's life consist chiefly of the list of his published works. In 1600 he contributed some instrumental music to 'Parthenia,' a collection of virginal lessons by Bull, Orlando Gibbons, and Byrd. On 15 Oct. 1603 Easte published a work bearing the following title: 'Medulla Musickæ. Sucked out of the sappe of Two [of] the most famous Musitians that euer were in this land, namely Master Wylliam Byrd . . . and Master Alfonso Ferabosco . . . either of whom having made 40<sup>th</sup> severall waies (without contention), shewing most rare and intricate skill in 2 partes in one vpon the playne songe "Miserere." The which at the request of a friend is most plainly sett in severall distinct partes to be sunge (with moore ease and vnderstanding of the lesse skilfull), by Master

Thomas Robinson,' &c. (ARBER, *Transcript of Stationers' Registers*, iii. 247). All copies of this work seem to have disappeared, and its existence was only revealed by the publication of the entry in the Stationers' Registers. Thomas Morley (*Introduction*, ed. 1608, p. 115) mentions how Byrd ('never without reverence to be named of musicians') and Ferabosco had a friendly contention, each one judging his rival's work, and he adds that they both set a plain song forty different ways; but it was not previously known that the result of their labours had been printed. In 1607 appeared the first and second books of 'Gradualia, seu Cantionum Sacrarum,' &c., of which the first book was dedicated to the Earl of Northampton in terms which seem to imply that the author had received some special protection or benefit from that nobleman: 'Te habui, atque etiam (ni fallor) habeo, in afflictis familiæ meæ rebus benignissimum patronum.' In the same dedication Byrd alludes to the increase in the salaries of the gentlemen of the chapel which was obtained by the earl's help in 1604. A second edition of this book appeared in 1610. The second book of the 'Gradualia' is dedicated to Lord Petre; a second edition was issued by the author in 1610. In 1611 appeared 'Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets: some solemne, others joyfull, framed to the life of the Words: Fit for Voyces or Viols, &c.' This work was dedicated to Francis, earl of Cumberland, and contains a quaintly written address by the author 'to all true louers of musicke.' The last work which Byrd contributed to was Sir Thomas Leighton's 'Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule' (1614), in which four of his sacred vocal compositions are contained. Byrd's death took place (probably at Stondon) on 4 July 1623. It is recorded in the 'Chapel Royal Cheque Book' as that of a 'father of musicke,' a title which refers as much to his age as to the veneration in which he was held by his contemporaries, a feeling which was expressed by Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, ed. 1622, p. 100) as follows: 'In Motets, and Musicke of pietie and deuotion, as well for the honour of our Nation, as the merit of the Man, I preferre aboue all other our *Phanix*, M. William Byrd, whom in that kind, I know not whether any may equall. I am sure, none excell, euen by the iudgement of *France* and *Italy*. . . His *Cantiones Sacræ*, as also his *Gradualia*, are meere Angelicall and Diuine; and being of himselfe naturally disposed to Grauitie and Pietie, his veine is not so much for light Madrigals or Canzonets, yet his *Virginella*, and some others in his

first set, cannot be mended by the best *Italian* of them all.' In addition to the works already mentioned, Byrd wrote three masses, for three, four, and five voices respectively. These were all printed, but the copies of the two former (although they have been traced in sale catalogues from 1691 to 1822) disappeared. The third mass is in existence, but seems to have been published without a title-page (possibly owing to theological reasons); it was reprinted in score by the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1841. Manuscript compositions by Byrd are to be found in the British Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum, Buckingham Palace, Lambeth Palace, Music School (Oxford), Christ Church (Oxford), and Peterhouse (Cambridge) collections. According to an old tradition (alluded to in some prefatory verses to Blow's 'Amphion Anglicus') a canon by Byrd is preserved in the Vatican, engraved on a golden plate; this has generally been supposed to be the well-known 'Non nobis, Domine,' the authorship of which is usually ascribed to Byrd.

Byrd's arms were three stags' heads caboshed, a canton ermine, and not those engraved in the Musical Antiquarian Society's edition of the mass. By his wife, Ellen Birley, he had five children: 1. Christopher, who married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Moore of Bamborough, Yorkshire, and had a son named Thomas, who was living at Stondon in 1634; 2. Thomas, who was a musician, and lived at Drury Lane; he acted as deputy to John Bull [q. v.] at Gresham College; 3. Elizabeth, who married twice (her husbands' names were John Jackson and Burdett); 4. Rachel, who married Edward Biggs; and 5. Mary, who married Thomas Falconbridge. A portrait of him—which was probably imaginary—was engraved by Vanderghucht for a projected 'History of Music' by N. Haym, a work which never appeared.

[The documents quoted above from the State Papers and Archidecanal Records were printed by the writer in the Musical Review (1883), Nos. 19, 20, 21; Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal (Camden Soc. 1872), pp. 2, 10, 183; information from the Rev. A. R. Maddison and Mr. W. H. Cummings; Registers of Harlington; authorities quoted above.] W. B. S.

**BYRHTFERTH**, less correctly written **BRIDFERTH** (*A.* 1000), mathematician, was a monk (in priest's orders) of the abbey of Ramsey, and studied under the celebrated Abbo of Fleury, who taught there for two years. Leland mentions that Byrhtferth was described by some as a monk of Thorney, and it has been conjectured that he may have originally belonged to that monas-

tery, and migrated to Ramsey soon after the foundation of the abbey there about 970. He subsequently became the head of the Ramsey school, and his extant works have for the most part the appearance of being notes of his lectures to his pupils. From a passage in his commentary on Bæda's work, 'De Temporum Ratione,' it appears that he had travelled in France, as he mentions an observation on the length of shadows which he had made at Thionville ('in Gallia in loco qui Teotonis villa dicitur').

The only undisputed writings of Byrhtferth which have hitherto been printed are his commentaries on four treatises of Bæda ('De Temporum Ratione,' 'De Natura Rerum,' 'De Indigitatione,' and 'De Ratione Unciarum'), which may be found in the edition of Bæda published at Cologne in 1612. Considering the age in which they were written, these commentaries display a surprising degree of scientific knowledge, and the wide range of classical reading which they exhibit is perhaps still more remarkable. Some interesting extracts from them are given in Wright's 'Biographia Britannica Literaria.'

Bale ascribes to Byrhtferth two works, entitled respectively, 'De Principiis Mathematicis' and 'De Institutione Monachorum.' Of these writings no trace is known to exist; but a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (*Ashmole*, 328) contains a treatise of Byrhtferth's, bearing the title 'Computus Latinorum ac Græcorum Hebræorumque et Ægyptiorum necnon et Anglorum.' This work is written in Latin, with an Anglo-Saxon translation at the foot of each page. From the account given of this manuscript by Dr. Stubbs in the introduction to his 'Memorials of St. Dunstan,' it would appear to be well worthy of publication, as affording valuable information respecting the state of scientific knowledge among the Anglo-Saxons, and the methods of teaching adopted in their schools. It contains the following couplet, which is interesting as being probably the earliest attempt at imitating the classical hexameter in English:

Cum nu, Hālig Gást! Bútan the ne bist thu  
gewurthod.  
Gyf thine gyfe thære tungan the thu gyfst gyfe  
on gereorde.

From the terms in which Abbo is mentioned ('Abbo dignæ memoriæ'), it may be inferred that this work was not written until after his death, which occurred in 1004; and the reference to 'Eádnóth the bishop' (of Dorchester) seems to point to a date a few years later.

Another work which is usually attributed



to Byrhtferth is a life of St. Dunstan, the writer of which calls himself 'B. presbyter.' The conjecture that this initial stands for Byrhtferth is due to Mabillon, who had seen the 'Life,' but did not consider it worth while to print it. He gives, however, some extracts from it in his preface and notes to the 'Life of Dunstan' by Osbern, and it has been published in the 'Acta Sanctorum' of the Bollandists, and in Dr. Stubbs's 'Memorials of St. Dunstan.' Mabillon's suggestion appears at first sight highly plausible, as Byrhtferth in the 'Computus' describes himself as 'presbyter,' and his master Abbo had intimate relations with Dunstan. The wretched Latinity and the bombastic style of the 'Life,' however, cannot easily be reconciled with the supposition of Byrhtferth's authorship. Dr. Stubbs has furnished some other arguments, which appear to be decisive against Mabillon's conjecture, although his attempt to show that the author of the 'Life' was a continental Saxon can scarcely be considered successful.

[Bale's Script. Ill. Maj. Brit. (Basle edition), 138; Pits, De Angliæ Scriptoribus, 178; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 125; Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit. i. 174; Memorials of St. Dunstan (ed. Stubbs), introd. p. xix; Bæda's Works (Cologne edition), 1612], ii. 103 et al.] H. B.

**BYRNE, ANNEFRANCES** (1775-1837), flower-painter, was born in 1775 in London, and was the eldest daughter of William Byrne, engraver [q. v.] She early became one of her father's pupils and assistants, etching for him and preparing his work. She also had some proficiency in fruit-painting, and exhibited a fruit-piece at the Academy in her twenty-first year, 1796, after which date pictures of hers appeared there from time to time, and at the British Institute, and Suffolk Street, down to 1832 (GRAVES's *Dict. of Artists*, p. 38). In 1805 Miss Byrne's father died. In 1806 she was elected associate-exhibitor at the Water Colour Society, which was followed by her election to full membership in 1809. Miss Byrne died 2 Jan. 1837, aged 62.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists of British School*, ed. 1878.] J. H.

**BYRNE, CHARLES** (1761-1783), Irish giant, was born in Ireland in 1761. His father was an Irishman, and his mother a Scotch-woman, but neither of them was of extraordinary size. In August 1780 he 'measured exactly eight feet; in 1782 he had gained two inches, and after he was dead he measured eight feet four inches' (*Gent. Mag.* liv. pt. i. 541). He travelled about the country for ex-

hibition; at Edinburgh he alarmed the watchmen on the North Bridge one morning by lighting his pipe at one of the lamps without standing even on tiptoe. In London he created such a sensation, that the pantomime at the Haymarket, produced on 18 Aug. 1782, was entitled, with reference to him, 'Harlequin Teague, or the Giant's Causeway.' He died (of, it is said, excessive drinking and vexation at losing a note for 700*l.*) at Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, on 1 June 1783, aged 22. His skeleton, which measures exactly 92½ inches, is to be seen in the museum of the College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where there is also a portrait of him. Two sketches of the giant by Kay will be found in the first volume of 'Original Etchings,' Nos. 4 and 164. Byrne has often been confused with Patrick Cotter, another Irish giant, who took the name of O'Brien, and died at Bristol in 1806.

[Kay's *Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* (1877), i. 10-11, 417; Chambers's *Book of Days* (1864), ii. 326-7; Buckland's *Curiousities of Natural History*, 4th ser. pp. 19-21; *Scots Mag.* 1783, xlv. 335; *Annual Register*, 1783, app. pp. 209-10; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. xi. 369, 396, 476, xii. 59; 5th ser. iv. 132-3.]

G. F. R. B.

**BYRNE, LETITIA** (1779-1849), engraver, was born 24 Nov. 1779, presumably in London, being the third daughter of William Byrne, engraver [q. v.], and the sister of Anne Frances Byrne [q. v.] (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxv. pt. ii. p. 1071). As a pupil of her father, she exhibited landscape-views at the Academy when she was only twenty, in 1799. In 1810 she etched the illustrations for 'A Description of Tunbridge Wells,' and among other work entrusted to her were four views for Hakewill's 'History of Windsor.' She exhibited 'From Eton College Play-fields' at the Academy in 1822; and had other pictures there (twenty-one in all) down to 1848 (GRAVES's *Dict. of Artists*, p. 38). She died 2 May 1849, aged 70, and was buried at Kensal Green.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists of British School*, ed. 1878, p. 66; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*, p. 38.] J. H.

**BYRNE, MILES** (1780-1862), member of the Society of United Irishmen, and afterwards *chef de bataillon* in the service of France, was the son of a farmer, and was born at Monaseed, in the county of Wexford, Ireland, on 20 March 1780. In 1796 he agreed to join a corps of yeomanry cavalry on condition of obtaining the renewal of a lease of land for his mother; but his father, who was then ill, dying shortly afterwards, he was absolved



from serving, and thus, in his own words, 'never wore a red coat.' Having in the spring of 1797 joined the Society of United Irishmen, he entered into their plans with ardour, and took a leading part in organising the confederation in Wexford. On 3 June 1798 he united with the insurrectionists encamped at Corrigraua, and, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill on the 21st, rallied a number of pikemen, with whom he took part in a variety of minor skirmishes. An attack was made on Castlecomer, but without success, and after the battle of Ballygullen on 4 July he joined Holt in the Wicklow mountains, where for some months he kept up a faint show of resistance in the vain hope of obtaining aid from France. On All Hallows' eve Byrne paid a visit to his mother and sister, when, finding that he was in imminent danger of arrest, he made his escape to Dublin in the disguise of a car-driver. There for some years he was employed as clerk in a timber-yard. In the spring of 1803 he was introduced to Robert Emmet, who found him ready to devote himself with enthusiasm to his new enterprise for a rising, and who entrusted him with some of the most difficult of the arrangements connected with it. He supplied Emmet with a list of persons for the three counties of Carlow, Wicklow, and Wexford, 'who had acquired the reputation of being good patriots in 1798,' and he also made contracts with the gunmakers, arranged for the manufacture of pike-handles, and procured the necessary war material. In the scheme for the capture of Dublin Castle on 23 July he was entrusted with the command of the Wexford and Wicklow men, who were to seize on the entrance to the castle from the side of Ship Street, but as Emmet was prevented from keeping his agreement to attack the main entrance, the whole affair proved abortive. On returning from the Wicklow mountains, Byrne was commissioned by Emmet to go to Paris to communicate with Thomas Addis Emmet, the agent of the United Irishmen to the first consul, regarding help from France. Succeeding with some difficulty in reaching Bordeaux in an American vessel, he helped in composing a report on the state of Ireland, which was presented to Napoleon, who, in view of a contemplated expedition at no distant date, decreed in November 1803 the formation of the Irish legion in the service of France. In this legion Byrne obtained the commission of lieutenant of infantry, and served in the campaigns of Napoleon from 1804 to 1815. At an early period he was promoted captain, and in 1810 he was chosen to command a *bataillon d'élite* of the Irish troops. On 18 June 1813 he was made a chevalier of the Legion of

Honour. Shortly before the abdication of Napoleon he was named to be promoted *chef de bataillon*, but not soon enough to permit of the formality of signing the commission. After the revolution of 1830 he was appointed *chef de bataillon* in the 56th regiment of the line, then commanded by Bugeaud, afterwards marshal, and in 1832 he received the cross of the Legion of Honour from Louis-Philippe. In 1835 he resigned his commission, and took up his residence in Paris, where his tall and to the last straight figure, thin bronzed face, and mobile yet keen features were during the latter period of his life well known to frequenters of the avenue of the Champs-Élysées. He retained strong sympathies in behalf of freedom throughout the world, and his devoted attachment to Ireland was of course rendered only more intense by his enforced exile. He died on 24 Jan. 1862, and was interred in the cemetery at Montmartre, where there is a monument to his memory.

[The Memoirs of Miles Byrne, published at Paris in 1863 in 3 vols. edited by his widow, contain many interesting details regarding the conspiracies in Ireland, the campaigns of Napoleon, and the Irish officers in the service of France.] T. F. H.

BYRNE, OSCAR (1795?–1867), ballet-master, was the son of James Byrne, an actor and a ballet-master. His first appearance, according to one authority, was made in 1803 at Drury Lane Theatre in a ballet arranged by his father from 'Ossian,' and called 'Oscar and Elwina,' which had been first presented twelve years previously at Covent Garden. A second authority states that he played his first part at Covent Garden 16 Nov. 1803 as Cheerly in Hoare's 'Lock and Key.' Much of Byrne's early life was passed abroad or in Ireland. In 1850 Charles Kean, in his memorable series of performances at the Princess's Theatre, engaged Oscar Byrne, who arranged the ballets for the principal revivals. In 1862 Byrne went to Drury Lane, then under Falconer and Chatterton. His last engagement was at Her Majesty's Theatre, when Mr. Falconer produced his ill-starred drama of 'Oonah.' In his own line Oscar Byrne showed both invention and resource. He died rather suddenly on 4 Sept. 1867 at the reputed age of seventy-two, leaving a young wife and seven children.

[Oxberry's Dramatic Chronology; private information.] J. K.

BYRNE, WILLIAM (1743–1805), landscape engraver, was born in London in 1743. He studied for some time under his uncle, a Birmingham engraver of arms, and at the

age of twenty-two gained the Society of Arts medal for a plate of the 'Villa Madama,' after Richard Wilson. He then went to Paris and became a pupil of Aliamet and afterwards of J. G. Wille. He was a member of the Incorporated Society, and exhibited in Suffolk Street between 1760 and 1780. He died in Titchfield Street, London, on 24 Sept. 1805, and was buried at Old St. Pancras Church. His works, which are numerous, display much skill in aerial perspective and beauty in the finish of the skies. Among them are 'The Antiquities of Britain,' after Hearne; 'The View of the Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland,' after Joseph Farington; 'Apollo watching the Flocks of King Admetus,' after Lauri; 'The Flight into Egypt,' after Domenichino; 'The Death of Captain Cook;' 'The Waterfall of Niagara,' after Wilson, &c. Byrne had a son and three daughters, who all became artists, two of the latter, Anne Frances [q. v.] and Letitia [q. v.], following their father's profession with great ability and success.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 1878, 8vo; MS. notes in British Museum.] L. F.

**BYRNSTAN, BIRNSTAN, or BEORNSTAN** (d. 933), bishop of Winchester, was in early life a king's thegn or minister of Eadward the Elder, in which capacity he attests charters of the years 900-2 (*Codex Diplomaticus*, mlxxvi. and mlxxvii.; cf. *Liber de Hyda*, pp. 97, 101, 116). In 902 he became a priest, and very probably a secular canon in the new minster of Winchester, which Ælfred the Great had projected, and Eadward himself established under the headship of Grimbold. Between 902 and 910 Byrnstan frequently appears as attesting charters, including especially the series of grants made by the king to the churches of Winchester (*Cod. Dipl.* mlxxxiv-mcevi.; *Liber de Hyda*, p. 105). After this we have no trace of his activity for twenty years. Whether an increasing fervour of devotion drove him from the court to those ascetic practices for which he became celebrated, and whether, as the later monastic writers assert, he forsook the secular life of a canon for the regular obligations of a monk, cannot be determined. The fact that the most zealous champion of the monks revived his cultus makes the latter very probable. The charters of the twenty years are too few to enable us to base any inference upon them; but in 931 the resignation of the bishopric of Winchester by the saintly Frithestan was succeeded by the election of Byrnstan to rule over the diocese with which he had been so long

connected. On 29 May he was consecrated by Frithestan, but he only ruled over the church two years and a half, dying on All Saints' day 933 (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.* s. a.) Florence puts his death in 934, and his consecration in 932; but the attestation of a charter of 933 by Bishop Ælfheah, his successor (*Cod. Dipl.* mcix.), and the definite statement of the chronicle as to the length of his government of his bishopric, make the earlier date preferable. The only acts of Byrnstan as bishop that have survived are his attestation of a few charters (*ib.* mciiii-viii.) Byrnstan had been bishop so short a time that his saintliness and charity were almost at once forgotten, until his memory was revived, a generation later, by Bishop Æthelwold. Henceforward he received the honours due to one of the holiest of the early bishops of Winchester. William of Malmesbury commends his sanctity, his humility, and his care for the poor, whose feet he daily washed, and whose needs he supplied with a lavish hand. He also tells how Byrnstan said every day a mass for the repose of the souls of the dead, and how by night, regardless of the terrors that haunt churchyards, he perambulated the cemetery in the midst of which the new minster was built, reciting psalms for the same pious purpose. In 1150 his relics were translated to a nobler sepulchre, along with those of Birinus, of Swithun, and the most famous of the occupants of the see.

[Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; *Annales de Winton* (*Annales Monastici*, vol. ii. in Rolls edition); William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Pontificum*; *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*; Rudborne's *Historia Major Wintoniensis in Anglia Sacra*; *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. v.; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii.] T. F. T.

**BYROM, JOHN** (1692-1763), poet and stenographer, was born 29 Feb. 1691-2 at Kersall Cell, Broughton, near Manchester. He was the second son and seventh of the nine children of Edward Byrom, by his wife Sarah Allen. The Byroms of Manchester were a younger branch of the Byroms of Salford, themselves a younger branch of the Byroms of Byrom. The last representative of the parent stem was Samuel, commonly called 'Beau Byrom,' a spendthrift, who sold his estates (some of which were bought by John Byrom's father and uncle), got into the Fleet prison, and there published (in 1729) an 'Irrefragable argument fully proving that to discharge great debts is . . . more reasonable than to discharge small.' It was sold for the benefit of the author, and was, in reality, a covert appeal for charity. The 'beau' got out of prison, and John Byrom helped him to obtain support.

The Byroms of Manchester had been prosperous merchants and linendrapers. John Byrom's father, Edward, was son of another Edward (1627-1668), and had a younger brother, Joseph, whose daughter, Elizabeth, was thus John's cousin, and afterwards became his wife (see pedigrees appended to Byrom's *Remains*). John's name is in the register of Merchant Taylors' School in March 1707. He was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 6 July 1708; was elected scholar in May 1709; became B.A. in 1712; M.A. in 1715, and was elected fellow of his college at Michaelmas 1714. He had many scruples as to taking the oath of abjuration. While at college he contributed two papers on dreams to the 'Spectator' (Nos. 586, 593, and perhaps 597), and a playful pastoral, called 'Colin and Phoebe' (No. 605, 6 Oct. 1714). Joan or 'Jug' Bentley, then only eleven years old, daughter of the master, and afterwards mother of Richard Cumberland, is said to have been his Phoebe (*MONK'S Bentley*, i. 200, ii. 113). The poem was very popular. In 1716 Byrom travelled abroad and studied medicine for a time at Montpellier. He was afterwards called 'doctor' by his friends, but never took the degree. He declined a proposal to practise at Manchester (*Remains*, i. 267), and his journey may possibly have had rather a political than a professional purpose. He showed strong Jacobite leanings through life.

He returned to London in 1718, and on 14 Feb. 1721 married his cousin, with the consent of her parents (*Remains*, i. 43), though the contrary has been alleged as an explanation of his subsequent poverty. His father had died in 1711, and the estates had gone to his elder brother, Edward. Byrom now resolved to increase his income by teaching shorthand. He had invented a new system at Cambridge, in concert, it is said, with Thomas Sharp, a college contemporary, son of the archbishop of York. He issued proposals for publishing his system, dated 27 May 1723. During many years he made visits to London, where he often stayed for months, and occasionally to Cambridge, in order to give lessons in his art. His pupils paid five guineas and took an oath of secrecy. Byrom was soon challenged to a trial of skill by a rival teacher named Weston, whom he treated with good-humoured ridicule. In June 1725 he acted as moderator between Weston and one Clayton at the Chapter Coffee-house. His pupils formed a kind of society; they called him grand master, and upon opening his 'sessions' he delivered addresses upon the history and utility of shorthand. His occupation brought him many distinguished acquaint-

tance. On 17 March 1724 he became a fellow of the Royal Society, and contributed two papers upon shorthand to the 'Philosophical Transactions' (No. 488). In June 1727 he had a sharp dispute at the society with Sir Hans Sloane. Byrom seems to have opposed an address to the king, and was accused of Jacobitism. He unsuccessfully supported Jurin against Sloane in the election of the president on 30 Nov. 1727.

Byrom's diary, with many letters, published by the Chetham Society, are full of lively accounts of meetings with distinguished contemporaries during these years. He was intimate with Bentley and his family; with Bishop Hoadly's son, whose father he occasionally met; he reports interesting conversations with Bishop Butler and Samuel Clarke; David Hartley was a pupil and a very warm friend; he saw something of Wesley; and took a great interest in all the religious speculations of the time. He meets Whiston, the Arian; the deist Collins; the heretical Elwal; and discusses Chubb and Woolston. His own leaning was towards mysticism. He is said to have become acquainted with the writings of Malebranche and Antoinette Bourignon in France. One of his liveliest poems describes his buying a portrait of Malebranche (9 March 1727), whom he calls 'the greatest divine that e'er lived upon earth.' In this he sympathised with William Law, whom he first went to see at Putney, 4 March 1729, in consequence apparently of having bought the 'Serious Call,' then just published. Law was at this time tutor to Gibbon's father, whom he accompanied to Cambridge, where Byrom met him again. Byrom became an ardent disciple of Law, whom he calls his master. When Law became a student of Behmen, Byrom followed, with a modest confession of partial comprehension. He versified several passages of Law's writings, hoping that his verse would cling to the prose 'like ivy to an oak' (*Remains*, ii. 521), and when Law settled at King's Cliffe, Byrom visited him in his retirement. He corresponded with Law's disciple, Dr. Cheyne, and defended his master against Warburton's brutality. Warburton, who tells Hurd (2 Jan. 1752) that Byrom is 'not malevolent but mad,' treated his new antagonist with unusual courtesy (see letters in *Remains*, ii. 522-39).

Byrom's uncle and father-in-law, Joseph, died in 1733, leaving his property to a son, Edward, on whose death, in 1760, it came to John Byrom's family (*Remains*, ii. 93). The death of his own elder and unmarried brother, Edward (12 May 1740), put him in possession of the family estates, and relieved him

from the necessity of teaching shorthand. He had printed new proposals for publishing his system by subscription (dated 1 Nov. 1739). Difficulties arose, and he obtained an act of parliament, passed on 5 May 1742, giving him the sole right both of publishing and teaching the system for twenty-one years. A list of persons testifying to its merits is appended to the proposals, and includes the Duke of Queensberry, Bishop Hoadly and his son, Hartley, R. Smith, the Cambridge astronomer, and other university authorities. The third Duke of Devonshire, Lord Delawarr, Horace Walpole, Gibbon (the historian's father), and, it is said, Lord Chesterfield, were also among his pupils.

At Manchester, Byrom was known as a warm supporter of the high church and Jacobite party. He acted as agent in a successful opposition to a bill for establishing a workhouse in Manchester in the early months of 1731. The objection was that the proposed board of guardians was so constituted as to give a majority to whigs and dissenters (BAINES, *Lancashire*, ii. 293, and WARE'S *Collegiate Church of Manchester*, ii. 79). Byrom was in Manchester during the Pretender's entry in 1745. His daughter's journal (*Remains*, ii. 385 seq.) shows that, in spite of his strong Jacobite sympathies, he avoided committing himself, though two sons of his intimate friend Dr. Deacon, physician and non-juring clergyman, joined the regiment raised by the Pretender. A strong party feeling distracted the town for some years afterwards. Jacobites were insulted at public assemblies (*ib.* ii. 509), and Byrom, with his friend Dr. Deacon, contributed various essays and epigrams to the 'Chester Courant,' which were collected in a small volume, called 'Manchester Vindicated' (Chester, 1749), and form a curious illustration of the time.

The correspondence of later years is chiefly theological. Byrom died, after a lingering illness, on 28 Sept. 1763. A fine of 5*l.* was levied on his estate because he was not buried in woollen.

Byrom's poems were collected for the first time and published at Manchester in 1773. They were republished with a life and notes in 1814. To the last is prefixed a portrait, showing a man of great height and a strongly marked face. The poems are also (with some exceptions) given in Chalmers's 'English Poets.' Byrom had an astonishing facility in rhyming. Some of his poems are discussions on points of classical or theological criticism (e.g. against Conyers Middleton's reply to Sherlock), and scarcely better than clever doggerel. One is an argument to prove that St. George was really Gregory the

Great. Pegge, who is challenged in the poem, replied to Byrom and Pettingall in the fifth volume of the 'Archæologia.' Others are versifications of Behmen, Rusbrochius, and Law (e.g. the 'Enthusiasm' is from Law's 'Appeal,' p. 30 et seq. and the 'Pond' from the same writer's 'Serious Call,' chap. xi.), and there are a few hymns. Byrom can be forcible, but frequently adopts a comic metre oddly inappropriate to his purpose. Some occasional poems in which his good-humoured sprightliness finds a natural expression have been deservedly admired, especially 'Colin to Phœbe' (see above), the 'Three Black Crows,' 'Figg' and Sutton,' printed in the sixth volume of Dodsley's collection and turned to account in Thackeray's 'Virginians,' chap. xxxvii.; the 'Centaur Fabulous' upon Warburton's 'Divine Legation,' and the epilogue to 'Hurlrothumbo.' Samuel Johnson, the author of this play, was a favourite object of Byrom's playful satire. Some epigrams are still familiar, 'Handel and Bononcini' (see *Remains*, i. 136), often erroneously given to Swift; 'Bone and Skin,' which refers to the mills belonging to the Manchester grammar school, and the well-known

God bless the king, God bless our faith's defender,  
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender;  
But who pretender is, and who is king,  
God bless us all! that's quite another thing.

Byrom's system of shorthand was not printed until four years after his death, when it was explained in a volume illustrated with thirteen copper-plates, and entitled 'The Universal English Shorthand; or the way of writing English in the most easy, concise, regular, and beautiful manner, applicable to any other language, but particularly adjusted to our own,' Manchester, 1767, second edit. 1796. The method is in appearance one of the most elegant ever devised, but it cannot be written with sufficient rapidity, and consequently it was never much used by professional stenographers. For reporting purposes it is decidedly inferior to the systems of Mason, Gurney, Taylor, Lewis, and Pitman. Still its publication marks an era in the history of shorthand, and there can be no doubt that the more widely diffused system published by Samuel Taylor in 1786 was suggested by and based upon that of Byrom. Thomas Molineux of Macclesfield issued several elegantly printed manuals of instruction in Byrom's system between 1796 and 1824, but the best exposition of the method is to be found in the 'Practical Introduction to the Science of Shorthand,' by William Gawtress, Leeds, 1819, third edit. London, 1830.

[The chief authority for Byron is *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byron*, related by Richard Parkinson, D.D., for the Chetham Society, in two vols., 1854-7; some account is given of an unpublished fragment of the journal from 1731 to 1733 by Mr. J. E. Bailey in the *Palatine Note-book* for May 1882, also printed separately; Chalmers's *Life* in the *Collection of Poets*, and *Life* prefixed to *Works*; Baines's *County Palatine of Lancaster*, ii. 79, 293; Hibbert Ware's *Collegiate Church of Manchester*, ii. 79, 129, 142, &c.; Case in relation to an Act of Parliament, 1731; Case of Petitioners, &c., 1731, for the Manchester Workhouse question.]

L. S.

**BYRON, GEORGE GORDON**, sixth lord (1788-1824), poet, descended from John, first Lord Byron [q. v.], who was succeeded by his brother Richard (1605-1679). Richard's son, William (*d.* 1695), became third lord, and wrote some bad verses. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Viscount Chaworth, he was father of William, fourth lord (1669-1736), gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark. The fourth lord was father, by his wife, Frances, daughter of Lord Berkeley of Stratton, of William, fifth lord, John, afterwards Admiral Byron [q. v.], and Isabella, wife of the fourth and mother of the fifth earl of Carlisle. The fifth lord (1722-1798) quarrelled with his cousin Mr. Chaworth (great grandson of Viscount Chaworth) at a club dinner of Nottinghamshire gentlemen, 26 Jan. 1765, and killed him after a confused scuffle in a room to which they had retired by themselves after dinner. Byron was convicted of manslaughter before the House of Lords, 16 April 1765 (*State Trials*, xix. 1175), and, though exempted from punishment by his privilege as a peer, became a marked man. He lived in seclusion at Newstead Abbey, ill-treated his wife, was known as the 'wicked lord,' encumbered his estates, and made a sale of his property at Rochdale, the disputed legality of which led to a prolonged lawsuit. His children and his only grandson (son of his son by the daughter of his brother, the admiral) died before him. Admiral Byron had two sons, John and George Anson (ancestor of the present peer), and three daughters, one of whom became wife of her cousin, son of the fifth lord; another of Admiral Parker; the third of Colonel Leigh, by whom she was mother of another Colonel Leigh, who married his cousin, Augusta, daughter of John Byron, the admiral's eldest son. This John Byron (born 1750) was educated at Westminster, entered the guards, was known as 'mad Jack,' and was a handsome profligate. He seduced the Marchioness of Carmarthen, who became Baroness Conyers

on the death of her father, fourth earl of Holderness. He married her (June 1779) after her divorce, and had by her in 1782 a daughter, Augusta, married to Colonel Leigh in 1807. Lady Conyers's death in France, 26 Jan. 1784, deprived her husband of an income of 4,000*l.* a year. He soon afterwards met at Bath a Miss Catherine Gordon of Gicht, with a fortune of 23,000*l.*, doubled by rumour. The pair were married at St. Michael's Church, Bath, 13 May 1785 (parish register). John Byron took his second wife to France, squandered most of her property, and returned to England, where their only child, George Gordon, was born in Holles Street, London, 22 Jan. 1788. John Hunter saw the boy when he was born, and prescribed for the infant's feet (Mrs. Byron's letters in *Add. MS.* 31037). A malformation was caused, as Byron afterwards said, by his mother's 'false delicacy.' Trelawny (*Records*, ii. 132) says that the tendo Achillis of each foot was so contracted that he could only walk on the balls of the toes, the right foot being most distorted and bent inwards. Injudicious treatment increased the mischief, and through life the poet could only hobble a few paces on foot, though he could at times succeed in concealing his infirmity.

John Byron's creditors became pressing. The daughter, Augusta, was sent to her grandmother, the Dowager Countess Holderness. Mrs. Byron retired to Aberdeen, and lived upon 150*l.* a year, the interest of 3,000*l.* in the hands of trustees, the sole remnant of her fortune. She took lodgings in Queen Street, Aberdeen, and was followed by her husband, who occupied separate lodgings and sometimes petted the child, who professed in later years to remember him perfectly (*MEDWIN*, p. 58). With money got from his wife or his sister, Mrs. Leigh, he escaped to France in January 1791, and died at Valenciennes, 2 Aug. 1791, possibly by his own hand (*JEAFFRESON*, i. 48; *HARNES*, p. 33; Letter No. 460 in *MOORE's Life of Byron* implicitly denies suicide). Mrs. Byron's income, reduced to 135*l.* by debts for furniture and by helping her husband, was raised to 190*l.* on the death of her grandmother, and she lived within her means. Capricious and passionate by nature, she treated her child with alternate excesses of violence and tenderness. Scott (*MOORE*, ch. xxiv.) says that in 1784 she was seized with an hysterical fit during Mrs. Siddons's performance in Southern's 'Fatal Marriage,' and carried out screaming, 'Oh, my Biron, my Biron' (the name of a character in the play). She was short and fat, and would chase her mocking child round the room in impotent fury. To the frank remark of a

schoolfellow, 'Your mother is a fool,' he replied, 'I know it.' Another phrase is said to have been the germ of the 'Deformed Transformed.' His mother reviling him as a 'lame beast,' he replied, 'I was born so, mother.' The child was passionately fond of his nurse, May Gray, to whom at the final parting he gave a watch and his miniature—afterwards in the possession of Dr. Ewing of Aberdeen—and by whose teaching he acquired a familiarity with the Bible, preserved through life by a very retentive memory. At first he went to school to one 'Bodsy Bowers,' and afterwards to a clergyman named Ross. The son of his shoemaker, Paterson, taught him some Latin, and he was at the grammar school from 1791 to 1798 (BAIN, *Life of Arnott*, in the papers of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, gives his places in the school). He was regarded as warm-hearted, pugnacious, and idle. Visits to his mother's relations and an excursion to Ballater for change of air in 1796 varied his schooldays. In a note to the 'Island' (1813) he dates his love of mountainous scenery from this period; and in a note to 'Don Juan' (canto x. stanza 18) he recalls the delicious horror with which he leaned over the bridge of Balgounie, destined in an old rhyme to fall with 'a wife's æ son and a mare's æ foal.' An infantile passion for a cousin, Mary Duff, in his eighth year was so intense that he was nearly thrown into convulsions by hearing, when he was sixteen, of her marriage to Mr. Robert Cockburn (a well-known wine merchant, brother of Lord Cockburn). She died 10 March 1858 (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, iii. 231; she is described in Mr. Ruskin's 'Præterita').

In 1794, by the death of the fifth Lord Byron's grandson at the siege of Calvi in Corsica, Byron became heir to the peerage. A Mr. Ferguson suggested to Mrs. Byron that an application to the civil list for a pension might be successful if sanctioned by the actual peer (Letters in *Morrison MSS.*) The grand-uncle would not help the appeal, but after his death (19 May 1798) a pension of 300*l.* was given to the new peer's mother (warrant dated 2 Oct. 1799). In the autumn Mrs. Byron with her boy and May Gray left Aberdeen for Newstead. The house was ruinous. The Rochdale property was only recoverable by a lawsuit. The actual income of the Newstead estate was estimated at 1,100*l.* a year, which might be doubled when the leases fell in. Byron told Medwin (p. 40) that it was about 1,500*l.* a year. Byron was made a ward in chancery, and Lord Carlisle, son of the old lord's sister, was appointed his guardian.

Mrs. Byron settled at Nottingham, and

sent the boy to be prepared for a public school by Mr. Rogers. He was tortured by the remedies applied to his feet by a quack named Lavender. His talent for satire was already shown in a lampoon on an old lady and in an exposure of Lavender's illiteracy. In 1799 he was taken to London by his mother, examined for his lameness by Dr. Baillie, and sent to Dr. Glennie's school at Dulwich, where the treatment prescribed by Baillie could be carried out. Glennie found him playful, amiable, and intelligent, ill-grounded in scholarship, but familiar with scripture, and a devourer of poetry. At Glennie's he read a pamphlet on the shipwreck of the *Juno* in 1795, which was afterwards worked up in 'Don Juan'; and here, about 1800, he wrote his first love poem, addressed to his cousin Margaret Parker. Byron speaks of her transparent and evanescent beauty, and says that his passion had its 'usual effects' of preventing sleep and appetite. She died of consumption a year or two later. Meanwhile Mrs. Byron's tempers had become insupportable to Glennie, whose discipline was spoiled by her meddling, and to Lord Carlisle, who ceased to see her. Her importunity prevailed upon the guardian to send the boy to Harrow, where (in the summer of 1801) he became a pupil of the Rev. Joseph Drury.

Drury obtained the respect and affection of his pupil. A note to 'Childe Harold' (canto iv.), upon a passage in which he describes his repugnance to the 'daily drug' of classical lessons, expresses his enthusiastic regard for Drury, and proves that he had not profited by Drury's teaching. His notes in the books which he gave to the school library show that he never became a tolerable scholar. He was always 'idle, in mischief, or at play,' though reading voraciously by fits. He shone in declamation, and Drury tells how he quite unconsciously interpolated a vigorous passage into a prepared composition. Unpopular and unhappy at first, he hated Harrow (MOORE, ch. iv.) till his last year and a half; but he became attached to it on rising to be a leader. Glennie had noticed that his deformity had increased his desire for athletic glory. His strength of arm made him formidable in spite of his lameness. He fought Lord Calthorpe for writing 'd——d atheist' under his name (MEDWIN, p. 68). He was a cricketer (*Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. viii. 245), and the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe remembered seeing him playing in the match against Eton with another boy to run for him. Byron was one of the ringleaders in a childish revolt against the appointment of Dr. Butler (March 1805) as Drury's successor, and in favour of Mark Drury. Byron said that he saved the hall from

burning by showing to the boys the names of their ancestors on the walls (MEDWIN, p. 68). He afterwards satirised Butler as 'Pomposus' in 'Hours of Idleness,' but had the sense to apologise before his first foreign tour.

'My school friendships,' says Byron, 'were with me passions.' Byron remonstrates with a boyish correspondent for calling him 'my dear' instead of 'my dearest Byron.' His most famous contemporary at Harrow was Sir Robert Peel, for whom he offered to take half the thrashing inflicted by a bully. He protected Harness, his junior by two years, who survived till 1869. His closest intimates were apparently Lords Clare and Dorset and John Wingfield. When he met Clare long afterwards in Italy, he was agitated to a painful degree, and says that he could never hear the name without a beating of the heart. He had been called at Glennie's 'the old English baron,' and some aristocratic vanity perhaps appears in his choice of intimates and dependents.

His mother was at Bath in 1802 (where he appeared in Turkish costume at a masquerade); at Nottingham in 1803; and at Southwell, in a house called Burgage Manor, in 1804. Byron visited Newstead in 1803, then occupied by Lord Grey de Ruthin, who set apart a room for his use. He was often at Annesley Hall, the seat of his distant cousins the Chaworths. Mary Anne Chaworth was fifth in descent from Viscount Chaworth, and her grandfather was brother to the William Chaworth killed by the fifth Lord Byron. A superstitious fancy (duly turned to account in the 'Siege of Corinth,' xxi.), that the family portraits would descend from their frames to haunt the duellist's heir, made him refuse to sleep there; till a 'bogle' seen on the road to Newstead—or some less fanciful motive—induced him to stay for the night. He had fallen desperately in love with Mary Anne Chaworth, two years his senior, who naturally declined to take him seriously. A year later Miss Pigot describes him as a 'fat bashful boy.' In 1804 he found Miss Chaworth engaged to John Musters. The marriage took place in 1805. Moore gives a report, probably inaccurate (see JEAFFERSON, i. 123), of Byron's agitation on hearing of the wedding. He dined with her and her husband in 1808, and was much affected by seeing her infant daughter. Poems addressed to her appeared in 'Hours of Idleness' and Hobbhouse's 'Miscellany.' He told Medwin (p. 65) that he had found in her 'all that his youthful fancy could paint of beautiful.' Mrs. Musters's marriage was unhappy; she was separated from her husband; her mind became affected, and she died in 1832 from a shock caused by riots at

Nottingham. This passion seems to have left the most permanent traces on Byron's life; though it was a year later (if his account is accurate) that the news of Mary Duff's marriage nearly caused convulsions.

In October 1805 Byron entered Trinity College, Cambridge, as a nobleman. A youth of 'tumultuous passions' (in the phrase of his college tutor), he was exposed to the temptations of his rank, yet hardly within the sphere of its legitimate ambition. He rode, shot with a pistol, and boxed. He made a friend of the famous pugilist, Jackson, paid for postchaises to bring 'dear Jack' to visit him at Brighton, invited him to Newstead, and gave him commissions about dogs and horses. He was greatest at swimming. The pool below the sluice at Grantchester is still called by his name. Leigh Hunt first saw him (HUNT, *Byron*, &c. p. 1) swimming a match in the Thames under Jackson's supervision, and in August 1807 he boasts to Miss Pigot of a three miles swim through Blackfriars and Westminster bridges. He travelled to various resorts with a carriage, a pair of horses, a groom and valet, besides a bulldog and a Newfoundland. In 1806 his mother ended a quarrel by throwing the poker and tongs at his head. She followed him to his lodgings in London, whither he retreated, and there another engagement resulted in the defeat of the enemy—his mother. On a visit to Harrogate in the same summer with his friend Pigot he was shy, quiet, avoided drinking, and was polite to Professor Hailstone, of Trinity. On some of his rambles he was accompanied by a girl in boy's clothes, whom he introduced as his younger brother. He tells Miss Pigot that he has played hazard for two nights till four in the morning; and in a later diary (MOORE, chap. viii.) says that he loved gambling, but left off in time, and played little after he was of age. It is not surprising to find him confessing in 1808 (Letter 25) that he is 'cursedly dipped,' and will owe 9,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* on coming of age. The college authorities naturally looked askance at him; and Byron symbolised his opinion of dons by bringing up a bear to college, and declaring that the animal should sit for a fellowship.

Byron formed friendships and had pursuits of a more intellectual kind. He seems to have resided at Cambridge for the Michaelmas term 1805, and the Lent and Easter terms 1806; he was then absent for nearly a year, and returned to keep (probably) the Easter term of 1807, the following October and Lent terms, and perhaps the Easter term of 1808, taking his M.A. degree on 4 July 1808 (information kindly given by Cambridge autho-



rities). In the first period of residence, though sulky and solitary, he became the admiring friend of W. J. Bankes, was intimate with Edward Noel Long, and protected a chorister named Eddlestone. His friendship with this youth, he tells Miss Pigot (July 1807), is to eclipse all the classical precedents, and Byron means to get a partnership for his friend, or to take him as a permanent companion. Eddlestone died of consumption in 1811, and Byron then reclaimed from Miss Pigot a cornelian, which he had originally received from Eddlestone, and handed on to her. References to this friendship are in the 'Hours of Idleness,' and probably in the 'Cornelian Heart' (dated March 1812). Long entered the army, and was drowned in a transport in 1809, to Byron's profound affliction. He became intimate with two fellows of King's—Henry Drury and Francis Hodgson, afterwards provost of Eton. Byron showed his friendship for Hodgson by a present of 1,000*l.* in 1813, when Hodgson was in embarrassment and Byron not over rich (HODGSON, *Memoirs*, i. 268). In his later residence a closer 'coterie' was formed by Byron, Hobhouse, Davies, and C. S. Matthews (Letter 66). John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, was his friend through life. Scrope Berdmore Davies, a man of wit and taste, delighted Byron by his 'dashing vivacity,' and lent him 4,800*l.*, the repayment of which was celebrated by a drinking bout at the Cocoa on 27 March 1814. Hodgson reports (i. 104) that when Byron exclaimed melodramatically 'I shall go mad,' Davies used to suggest 'silly' as a probable emendation. Matthews was regarded as the most promising of the friends. Byron described his audacity, his swimming and boxing, and conversational powers in a letter to Murray (20 Nov. 1820), and tells Dallas (Letter 61) that he was a 'most decided' and outspoken 'atheist.'

Among these friends Byron varied the pursuit of pleasure by literary efforts. He boasts in a juvenile letter (No. 20) that he has often been compared to 'the wicked' Lord Lyttelton, and has already been held up as 'the votary of licentiousness and the disciple of infidelity.' A list (dated 30 Nov. 1807) shows that he had read or looked through many historical books and novels 'by the thousand.' His memory was remarkable (see e.g. GAMBA, p. 148; LADY BLESSINGTON, p. 134). Scott, however, found in 1815 that his reading did 'not appear to have been extensive, either in history or poetry;' and the list does not imply that he had strayed beyond the highways of literature.

At Southwell, in September 1806, he took the principal part (Penruddock, an 'amiable

misanthrope') in an amateur performance of Cumberland's 'Wheel of Fortune,' and 'spun a prologue' in a postchaise. About the same time he confessed to Miss Pigot, who had been reading Burns to him, that he too was a poet, and wrote down the lines 'In thee I fondly hoped to clasp.' In November 1806 Ridge, a Newark bookseller, had privately printed for him a small volume of poems, entitled 'Fugitive Pieces.' His friend Mr. Becher, a Southwell clergyman [see BECHER, JOHN], remonstrated against the license of one poem. Byron immediately destroyed the whole impression (except one copy in Becher's hands and one sent to young Pigot, then studying medicine at Edinburgh). A hundred copies, omitting the offensive verses, and with some additions, under the title 'Poems on Various Occasions,' were distributed in January 1807. Favourable notices came to the author from Bankes, Henry Mackenzie ('The Man of Feeling'), and Lord Woodhouselee. In the summer of 1807 Byron published a collection called 'Hours of Idleness, a series of Poems, original and translated, by George Gordon, Lord Byron, a minor,' from which twenty of the privately printed poems were omitted and others added. It was praised in the 'Critical Review' of September 1807, and abused in the first number of the 'Satirist.' A new edition, with some additions and without the prefaces, appeared in March 1808 (see account of these editions in appendix to English translation of ELZE's *Byron* (1872), p. 446). In January 1808 the famous criticism came out in the 'Edinburgh' (Byron speaks of this as about to appear in a letter (No. 24) dated 26 Feb. 1808). The critique has been attributed both to Brougham and Jeffrey. Jeffrey seems to have denied the authorship (see MEDWIN, p. 174), and the ponderous legal facetiousness is certainly not unlike Brougham, whom Byron came to regard as the author (see *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. vi. 368, 480). The severity was natural enough. Scott, indeed, says that he remonstrated with Jeffrey, thinking that the poems contained 'some passages of noble promise.' But the want of critical acumen is less obvious than the needless cruelty of the wound inflicted upon a boy's harmless vanity. Byron was deeply stung. He often boasted afterwards (e.g. Letter 420) that he instantly drank three bottles of claret and began a reply. He had already in his desk (Letter 18), on 26 Oct. 1807, 380 lines of his satire, besides 214 pages of a novel, 560 lines in blank verse of a poem on Bosworth Field, and other pieces. He now carefully polished his satire, and had it put in type by Ridge.



On leaving Cambridge he had settled at Newstead, given up in ruinous condition by Lord Grey in the previous April, where he had a few rooms made habitable, and celebrated his coming of age by some meagre approach to the usual festivities. A favourable decision in the courts had given him hopes of Rochdale, and made him, he says, 60,000*l.* richer. The suit, however, dragged on through his life. Meanwhile he had to raise money to make repairs and maintain his establishment at Newstead, with which he declares his resolution never to part (Letter of 6 March 1809). The same letter announces the death of his friend Lord Falkland in a duel. In spite of his own difficulties Byron tried to help the widow, stood godfather to her infant, and left a 500*l.* note for his god-child in a breakfast cup. In a letter from Mrs. Byron (*Athenæum*, 6 Sept. 1884) this is apparently mentioned as a loan to Lady Falkland. On 13 March he took his seat in the House of Lords. Lord Carlisle had acknowledged the receipt of 'Hours of Idleness,' the second edition of which had been dedicated to him, in a 'tolerably handsome letter,' but would take no trouble about introducing his ward. Byron was accompanied to the house by no one but Dallas, a small author, whose sister was the wife of Byron's uncle, George Anson, and who had recently sought his acquaintance. Byron felt his isolation, and sulkily put aside a greeting from the chancellor (Eldon). He erased a compliment to Carlisle and substituted a bitter attack in his satire which was now going through the press under Dallas's superintendence. 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' appeared in the middle of March, and at once made its mark. He prepared a second edition at the end of April with additions and a swaggering prose postscript, announcing his departure from England and declaring that his motive was not fear of his victims' antipathies. The satire is vigorously written and more carefully polished than Byron's later efforts; but has not the bitterness, the keenness, or the fine workmanship of Pope. The retort upon his reviewers is only part of a long tirade upon the other poets of the day. In 1816 Byron made some annotations on the poem at Geneva, admitting the injustice of many lines. A third and fourth edition appeared in 1810 and 1811; in the last year he prepared a fifth for the press. He suppressed it, as many of his adversaries were now on friendly terms with him, and destroyed all but one copy, from which later editions have been printed. He told Murray (23 Oct. 1817) that he would never consent to its republication.

Byron had for some time contemplated making his 'grand tour.' In the autumn of 1808 he got up a play at Newstead; he buried his Newfoundland, Boatswain, who died of madness 18 Nov. 1808, under a monument with a misanthropical inscription; and in the following spring entertained his college friends. C. S. Matthews describes their amusements in a letter published by Moore. They dressed themselves in theatrical costumes of monks (with a recollection, perhaps, of Medmenham), and drank burgundy out of a human skull found near the abbey, which Byron had fashioned into a cup with an appropriate inscription. Such revelries suggested extravagant rumours of reckless orgies and 'harems' in the abbey. Moore assures us that the life there was in reality 'simple and inexpensive,' and the scandal of limited application.

Byron took leave of England by some verses to Mrs. Musters about his blighted affections, and sailed from Falmouth in the Lisbon packet on 2 July 1809. Hobhouse accompanied him, and he took three servants, Fletcher (who followed him to the last), Rush-ton, and Joe Murray. From Lisbon he rode across Spain to Seville and Cadiz, and thence sailed to Gibraltar in the *Hyperion* frigate in the beginning of August. He sent home Murray and Rushton with instructions for the proper education of the latter at his own expense. He sailed in the packet for Malta on 19 Aug. 1809, in company with Galt, who afterwards wrote his life, and who was rather amused by the affectations of the youthful peer. At Malta he fell in with a Mrs. Spencer Smith with a romantic history (see *Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantes* (1834), xv. 1-74), to whom he addressed the verses 'To Florence,' 'stanzas composed during a thunderstorm,' and a passage in 'Childe Harold' (ii. st. 30-3), explaining that his heart was now past the power of loving. From Malta he reached Prevesa in the *Spider*, brig of war, on 19 Sept. 1809. He thence visited Ali Pasha at Tepelen, and was nearly lost in a Turkish man-of-war on his return. In November he travelled to Missolonghi (21 Nov.) through Acarnania with a guard of Albanians. He stayed a fortnight at Patras, and thence left for Athens. He reached Athens on Christmas eve and lodged with Theodora Macri, widow of the English vice-consul, who had three lovely daughters. The eldest, Theresa, celebrated by Byron as the Maid of Athens, became Mrs. Black. She fell into poverty, and an appeal for her support was made in the 'Times' on 23 March 1872. She died in October 1875 (*Times*, 21, 25, 27 Oct. 1875). He sailed from Athens for

Smyrna in the *Pylades*, sloop of war, on 5 March 1810; visited Ephesus; and on 11 April sailed in the *Salsette* frigate for Constantinople, and visited the Troad. On 3 May he repeated Leander's feat of swimming from Sestos to Abydos. In February 1821 he wrote a long letter to Murray, defending his statements against some criticisms in W. Turner's 'Tour in the Levant' (see Appendix to MOORE). Byron reached Constantinople on 14 May, and sailed in the *Salsette* on 14 July. Hobhouse returned to England, while Byron landed at Zea, with Fletcher, two Albanians, and a Tartar, and returned to Athens. Here he professed to have met with the adventure returned to account in the 'Giaour' about saving a girl from being drowned in a sack. A letter from Lord Sligo, who was then at Athens, to Byron (31 Aug. 1813), proves that some such report was current at Athens a day or two later, and may possibly have had some foundation. Hobhouse (*Westminster Review*, January 1825) says that Byron's Turkish servant was the lover of the girl. He made a tour in the Morea, had a dangerous fever at Patras (which left a liability to malaria), and returned to Athens, where he passed the winter of 1810-11 in the Capuchin convent. Here he met Lady Hester Stanhope, and formed one of his strong attachments to a youth called Nicolo Giraud. To this lad he gave a sum of money on parting, and left him 7,000*l.* in a will of August 1811. From Athens Byron went to Malta, and sailed thence for England in the *Volage* frigate on 3 June 1811. He reached Portsmouth at the beginning of July, and was met by Dallas at Reddish's Hotel, St. James's Street, on 15 July 1811.

Byron returned to isolation and vexation. He had told his mother that, if compelled to part with Newstead, he should retire to the East. To Hodgson he wrote while at sea (Letter 51) that he was returning embarrassed, unsocial, 'without a hope and almost without a desire.' His financial difficulties are shown by a series of letters published in the 'Athenæum' (30 Aug. and 6 Sept. 1884). The court of chancery had allowed him 500*l.* a year at Cambridge, to which his mother had added as much, besides incurring a debt of 1,000*l.* on his behalf. He is reduced to his last guinea in December 1807, has obtained loans from Jews, and expects to end by suicide or the marriage of a 'golden dolly.' His mother was put to the greatest difficulties during his travels, and he seems to have been careless in providing for her wants. The bailiffs were at Newstead in February 1810; a sale was threatened in June. Byron writes from Athens in November refusing to sell

Newstead. While returning to England he proposed to join the army, and had to borrow money to pay for his journey to London. News of his mother's illness came to him in London, and before he could reach her she died (1 Aug. 1811) of 'a fit of rage caused by reading the upholsterer's bills.' The loss affected him deeply, and he was found sobbing by her remains over the loss of his one friend in the world. The deaths of his school-friend Wingfield (14 May 1811), of C. S. Matthews, and of Eddlestone, were nearly simultaneous blows, and he tells Miss Pigot that the last death 'made the sixth, within four months, of friends and relatives lost between May and the end of August.' In February 1812 he mentions Eddlestone to Hodgson (*Memoirs*, i. 221) as the 'only human being that ever loved him in truth and entirely.' He adds that where death has set his seal the impression can never be broken. The phrase recurs in the most impressive of the poems to Thyrsa, dated in the same month. The coincidence seems to confirm Moore's statement that Thyrsa was no more than an impersonation of Byron's melancholy caused by many losses. An apostrophe to a 'loved and lovely one' at the end of the second canto of 'Childe Harold' (st. 95, 96) belongs to the same series. Attempts to identify Thyrsa have failed. Byron spoke to Trelawny of a passion for a cousin who was in a decline when he left England, and whom Trelawny identifies with Thyrsa. No one seems to answer to the description. It may be added that he speaks (see MOORE, chap. iv.) of a 'violent, though pure love and passion' which absorbed him while at Cambridge, and writes to Dallas (11 Oct. 1811) of a loss about this time which would have profoundly moved him but that he 'has supped full of horrors,' and that Dallas understands him as referring to some one who might have made him happy as a wife. Byron had sufficient elasticity of spirit for a defiance of the world, and a vanity keen enough to make a boastful exhibition of premature cynicism and a blighted heart.

At the end of October 1811 he took lodgings in St. James's Street. He had shown to Dallas upon his return to England the first two cantos of 'Childe Harold' and 'Hints from Horace,' a tame paraphrase of the 'Ars Poetica.' According to Dallas, he preferred the last, and was unwilling to publish the 'Childe.' Cawthorn, who had published the 'English Bards,' &c., accepted the 'Hints' (which did not appear till after Byron's death), but the publication was delayed, apparently for want of a good classical reviser (*To Hodgson*, 13 Oct. 1811). The Longmans had refused the 'English Bards,' which attacked

their friends, and Byron told Dallas to offer 'Childe Harold' elsewhere. Miller objected to the attack upon Lord Elgin (as the despoiler of the Parthenon), for whom he published; and it was ultimately accepted by Murray, who thus began a permanent connection with Byron. 'Childe Harold' appeared in March 1812. Byron had meanwhile spoken for the first time in the House of Lords, 27 Feb. 1812, against a bill for suppressing riots of Nottingham frameworkers, and with considerable success. A second and less successful speech against catholic disabilities followed on 21 April 1812. He made one other short speech in presenting a petition from Major Cartwright on 1 June 1813. Lord Holland helped him in providing materials for the first, and the speeches indicate a leaning towards something more than whiggism. The first two are of rather elaborate rhetoric, and his delivery was criticised as too theatrical and sing-song. Any political ambition was extinguished by the startling success of 'Childe Harold,' of which a first edition was immediately sold. Byron 'woke one morning and found himself famous.' Murray gave 600*l.* for the copyright, which Byron handed over to Dallas, declaring that he would never take money for his poems.

The two cantos now published are admittedly inferior to the continuation of the poem; and the affectation of which it set the fashion is obsolete. Byron tells Murray (3 Nov. 1821) that he is like a tiger. If he misses his first spring, he goes 'grumbling back to the jungle again.' His poems are all substantially impromptu; but the vigour and descriptive power, in spite of all blemishes, are enough to explain the success of a poem original in conception and setting forth a type of character which embodied a prevailing sentiment.

Byron became the idol of the sentimental part of society. Friends and lovers of notoriety gathered round this fascinating rebel. Among the first was Moore, who had sent him a challenge for a passage in 'English Bards' ridiculing the bloodless duel with Jeffrey. Hodgson had suppressed the letter during Byron's absence. Moore now wrote a letter ostensibly demanding explanations, but more like a request for acquaintance. The two met at a dinner given by Rogers, where Campbell made a fourth. Byron surprised his new friends by the distinction of his appearance and the eccentricity of his diet, consisting of potatoes and vinegar alone. Moore was surprised at Byron's isolation. Dallas, his solicitor, Hanson, and three or four college friends were at this time (November 1811) his only associates. Moore

rapidly became intimate. Byron liked him as a thorough man of the world and as an expert in the arts which compensate for inferiority of birth, and which enabled Moore to act as an obsequious monitor and to smother gentle admonition in abundant flattery. In his diary (10 Dec. 1813) Byron says that Moore was the best-hearted man he knew and with talents equal to his feelings. Byron was now at the height of his proverbial beauty. Coleridge in 1816 speaks enthusiastically of the astonishing beauty and expressiveness of his face (GILLMAN, p. 267). Dark brown locks, curling over a lofty forehead, grey eyes with long dark lashes, a mouth and chin of exquisite symmetry are shown in his portraits, and were animated by an astonishing mobility of expression, varying from apathy to intense passion. His head was very small; his nose, though well formed, rather too thick; looking, says Hunt (i. 150), in a front view as if 'grafted on the face;' his complexion was colourless; he had little beard. His height, he says (*Diary*, 17 March 1814), 5ft. 8½in. or a little less (MEDWIN, p. 5). He had a broad chest, long muscular arms, with white delicate hands, and beautiful teeth. A tendency to excessive fatness, inherited from his mother, was not only disfiguring but productive of great discomfort, and increased the unwieldiness arising from his lameness. To remedy the evil he resorted to the injurious system of diet often set down to mere affectation. Trelawny (ii. 74) observes more justly that Byron was the only human being he knew with self-restraint enough not to get fat. In April 1807 he tells Pigot that he has reduced himself by exercise, physic, and hot baths from 14st. 7lbs. to 12st. 7lbs.; in January 1808 he tells Drury that he has got down to 10st. 7lbs. When last weighed at Genoa he was 10st. 9lbs. (TRELAWNY). He carried on this system at intervals through life; at Athens he drank vinegar and water, and seldom ate more than a little rice; on his return he gave up wine and meat. He sparred with Jackson for exercise, and took hot baths. In 1813 he lived on six biscuits a day and tea; in December he fasts for forty-eight hours; in 1816 he lived on a thin slice of bread for breakfast and a vegetable dinner, drinking green tea and seltzer-water. He kept down hunger by chewing mastic and tobacco (HUNT, i. 65). He sometimes took laudanum (*Diary*, 14 Jan. 1821; and Lady Byron's Letter, 18 Jan. 1816). He tells Moore (Letter 461) in 1821 that a dose of salts gave him most exhilaration. Occasional indulgences varied this course. Moore describes a supper (19 May 1814) when he

finished two or three lobsters, washed down by half a dozen glasses of strong brandy, with tumblers of hot water. He wrote 'Don Juan' on gin and water, and Medwin (p. 336) speaks of his drinking too much wine and nearly a pint of hollands every night (in 1822). Trelawny (i. 73), however, declares that the spirits was mere 'water bewitched.' When Hunt reached Pisa in 1822, he found Byron so fat as to be scarcely recognisable. Medwin, two or three months later, found him starved into 'unnatural thinness.' Such a diet was no doubt injurious in the long run; but the starvation seems to have stimulated his brain, and Trelawny says that no man had brighter eyes or a clearer voice.

In the spring of 1813 Byron published anonymously the 'Waltz,' and disowned it on its deserved failure. Various avatars of 'Childe Harold,' however, repeated his previous success. The 'Giaour' appeared in May 1813; the 'Bride of Abydos' in December 1813; the 'Corsair' in January 1814. They were all struck off at a white heat. The 'Giaour' was increased from 400 lines in the first edition to 1,400 in the fifth, which appeared in the autumn of 1813. The first sketch of the 'Bride' was written in four nights (*Diary*, 16 Nov. 1813) 'to distract his dreams from . . .,' and afterwards increased by 200 lines. The 'Corsair,' written in ten days, or between 18 and 31 Dec., was hardly touched afterwards. He boasted afterwards that 14,000 copies of the last were sold in a day. With its first edition appeared the impromptu lines, 'Weep, daughter of a royal line;' the Princess Charlotte having wept, it was said, on the inability of the whigs to form a cabinet on Perceval's death. The lines were the cause of vehement attacks upon the author by the government papers. A satire called 'Anti-Byron,' shown to him by Murray in March 1814, indicated the rise of a hostile feeling. Byron was annoyed by the shift of favour. He had said in the dedication of the 'Corsair' to Moore that he should be silent for some years, and on 9 April 1814 tells Moore that he has given up rhyming. The same letter announces the abdication of Napoleon, and next day he composed and sent to Murray his ode upon that event. On 29 April he tells Murray that he has resolved to buy back his copyrights and suppress his poetry, but he instantly withdrew the resolution on Murray's assurance that it would be inconvenient. By the middle of June he had finished 'Lara,' which was published in the same volume with Rogers's 'Jacqueline' in August. The 'Hebrew Melodies,' written at the request of Kinnaird, appeared with

music in January 1815. The 'Siege of Corinth,' begun July 1815 and copied by Lady Byron, and 'Parisina,' written the same autumn, appeared in January and February 1816. Murray gave 700*l.* for 'Lara' and 500 guineas for each of the others. Dallas wrote to the papers in February 1814, defending his noble relative from the charge of accepting payment; and stated that the money for 'Childe Harold' and 'The Corsair' had been given to himself. The sums due for the other two poems then published were still, it seems, in the publisher's hands. In the beginning of 1816 Byron declined to take the 1,000 guineas for 'Parisina' and the 'Siege of Corinth,' and it was proposed to hand over the money to Godwin, Coleridge, and Maturin. The plan was dropped at Murray's objection, and the poet soon became less scrupulous. These poems were written in the thick of many distractions. Byron was familiar at Holland, Melbourne, and Devonshire Houses. He knew Brummell and was one of the dandies; he was a member of Watier's, then a 'superb club,' and appeared as a caloyer in a masquerade given by his fellow-members in 1813; of the more literary and sober Alfred; of the Union, the Pugilistics, and the Owls, or 'Fly-by-nights.' He indulged in the pleasures of his class, with intervals of self-contempt and foreboding. Scott and Mme. de Staël (like Lady Byron) thought that a profound melancholy was in reality his dominant mood. He had reasons enough in his money embarrassments and in dangerous entanglements. Fashionable women adored the beautiful young poet and tried to soothe his blighted affections. Lady Morgan (ii. 2) describes him as 'cold, silent, and reserved,' but doubtless not the less fascinating. Dallas (iii. 41) observed that his coyness speedily vanished, and found him in a brown study writing to some fine lady whose page was waiting in scarlet and a hussar jacket. This may have been Lady Caroline Lamb, a woman of some talent, but flighty and excitable to the verge of insanity. She was born 23 Nov. 1785, the daughter of the Earl of Bessborough, and in June 1805 married William Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne. The women, as she says, 'suffocated him' when she first saw him. On her own introduction by Lady Westmorland, she turned on her heel and wrote in her diary that he was 'mad, bad, and dangerous to know.' The acquaintance was renewed at Lady Holland's, and for nine months he almost lived at Melbourne House; where he contrived to 'sweep away' the dancing, in which he could take no part. Lady Caroline did her best to make her passion notorious. She 'absolutely besieged

him,' says Rogers (*Table Talk*, p. 235); told him in her first letter that all her jewels were at his service; waited at night for Rogers in his garden to ask him to reconcile her to Byron; and would return from parties in Byron's carriage or wait for him in the street if not invited. At last, in July 1813 (see JACKSON, *Bath Archives*, ii. 146), it was rumoured in London that after a quarrel with Byron at a party Lady Caroline had tried to stab herself with a knife and then with the fragments of a glass (the party was on 5 July; HAYWARD, *Eminent Statesmen*, i. 350-3). Her mother now insisted upon her retirement to Ireland. After a farewell interview, Byron wrote her a letter (printed from the original manuscript in JEAFFRESON, i. 261), which reads like an attempt to use the warmest phrases consistent with an acceptance of their separation, though ending with a statement of his readiness to fly with her. She corresponded with Byron from Ireland till on the eve of her return she received a brutal letter from him (printed in 'Glenarvon,' and apparently acknowledged by Byron, MEDWIN, p. 274), saying roundly that he was attached to another, and telling her to correct her vanity and leave him in peace. The letter, marked with Lady Oxford's coronet and initials, threw Lady Caroline into a fit, which involved leeching, bleeding, and bed for a week.

Lady Caroline's mother-in-law, Lady Melbourne, was sister of Sir R. Milbanke, who, by his wife, Judith Noel, daughter of Lord Wentworth, was father of an only daughter, Anne Isabella Milbanke, born 17 May 1792. Miss Milbanke was a woman of intellectual tastes; fond of theology and mathematics, and a writer of poems, one or two of which are published in Byron's works (two are given in Madame Belloc's 'Byron,' i. 68). Byron described her to Medwin (p. 36) as having small and feminine, though not regular, features; the fairest skin imaginable; perfect figure and temper and modest manners. She was on friendly terms with Mrs. Siddons, Miss Baillie, Miss Edgeworth, and other literary persons who frequented her mother's house (see HARNESSE, p. 23). A strong sense of duty, shown in a rather puritanical precision, led unsympathetic observers to regard her as prudish, pedantic, and frigid. Her only certain fortune was 10,000*l*. Her father had injured a considerable estate by electioneering. Her mother's brother, Lord Wentworth, was approaching seventy. His estate of some 7,000*l*. a year was at his own disposal, and she was held to be his favourite; but he had illegitimate children, and his sister, Lady Scarsdale, had sons and a daughter. Miss

Milbanke was therefore an heiress with rather uncertain prospects. Byron, from whatever motives, made her an offer in 1812, which was refused, and afterwards opened a correspondence with her (CAMPBELL, *New Monthly*, xxviii. 374, contradicts, on Lady Byron's authority, Medwin's statement (p. 37), that she began the correspondence), which continued at intervals for two years. On 30 Nov. 1813 he notices the oddness of a situation in which there is 'not a spark of love on either side.' On 15 March 1813 he receives a letter from her and says that he will be in love again if he does not take care. Meanwhile he and his friends naturally held that a marriage might be his salvation. Lady Melbourne, whom on her death in 1818 he calls (Letter 316) the 'best, kindest, and ablest female' he ever knew, promoted a match with her niece, possibly because it would effectually bar the intrigue with her daughter-in-law. In September 1814 he made an offer to Miss Milbanke in a letter, which, according to a story told by Moore, was the result of a momentary impulse. Byron may be acquitted of simply mercenary motives. He never acted upon calculation, and had he wished, he might probably have turned his attractions to better account. The sense that he was drifting into dangerous embarrassments, which (see *Diary*, 10. Dec. 1813) suggests hints of suicide, would no doubt recommend a match with unimpeachable propriety, as the lady's vanity was equally flattered by the thought of effecting such a conversion. Byron was pre-eminently a man who combined strange infirmity of will with overpowering gusts of passion. He drifted indolently as long as drifting was possible, and then acted impetuously in obedience to the uppermost influence.

Byron's marriage took place 2 Jan. 1815 at Seaham, Durham, the seat of Sir R. Milbanke. The honeymoon was passed at Hainaby, another of his houses in the same county. The pair returned to Seaham 21 Jan.; in March they visited Colonel and Mrs. Leigh at Six Mile Bottom, Newmarket, on their way to London, where they settled, 18 March 1815, at 13 Piccadilly Terrace for the rest of their married life. Byron, in 'The Dream,' chose to declare that on his wedding day his thoughts had been with Miss Chaworth. He also told Medwin (p. 39) that on leaving the house he found the lady's-maid placed between himself and his bride in the carriage. Hobhouse, who had been his 'best man,' authoritatively contradicted this (*Westminster Review*, No. 5), and the statement of Mrs. Minns (first published in 'Newcastle Chronicle,' 23 Sept. 1869), who had been Lady Byron's maid at

Halnaby and previously, is that Lady Byron arrived there in a state 'buoyant and cheerful,' but that Byron's 'irregularities' began there and caused her misery, which she tried to conceal from her mother. Lady Byron also wrote to Hodgson (15 Feb. 1816) that Byron had married her 'with the deepest determination of revenge, avowed on the day of my marriage and executed ever since with systematic and increasing cruelty' (Byron contradicts some report to this effect to Medwin, p. 39). The letters written at the time, however, hardly support these statements. Byron speaks of his happiness to Moore, though he is terribly bored by his 'pious father-in-law' (see a reference to this in *TRELAWNY*, i. 72). Lady Milbanke speaks of their happiness at Seaham (*Bland-Burgess Papers*, p. 339). Mrs. Leigh tells Hodgson that Lady Byron's parents were pleased with their son-in-law, and reports favourably of the pair on their visit to Six Mile Bottom. In April Lord Wentworth died. The bulk of his property was settled upon Lady Milbanke (who, with her husband, now took the name of Noel) and Lady Byron. On 29 July 1815 Byron executed the will proved after his death. He left all the property of which he could dispose in trust for Mrs. Leigh and her children, his wife and any children he might have by her being now amply provided for. Lady Byron fully approved of this provision, and communicates it in an affectionate letter to Mrs. Leigh.

Harness says that when the Byrons first came to London no couple could be apparently more devoted (*HARNESS*, p. 14); but troubles approached. Byron's expenses were increased. He had agreed to sell Newstead for 140,000*l.* in September 1812; but two years later the purchaser withdrew, forfeiting 25,000*l.*, which seems to have speedily vanished. In November 1815 Byron had to sell his library, though he still declined Murray's offers for his copyrights. Creditors (at whose expense this questionable delicacy must have been exercised) dunned the husband of an heiress, and there were nine executions in his house within the year. He found distractions abroad. He was a zealous playgoer; Kean's performance of Sir Giles Overreach gave him a kind of convulsive fit—a story which recalls his mother's at the Edinburgh theatre, and of the similar effect afterwards, produced upon himself by Alfieri's 'Mirra' (*MOORE*, chap. xxii.) He became member of the committee of management of Drury Lane, and was brought into connections of which Moore says that they gave no real cause of offence, though the circumstances were dangerous to the 'steadiness of married life.' We hear, too, of parties where all ended in

'hiccup and happiness;' and it seems that Byron's dislike of seeing women eat led to a separation at the domestic board. The only harsh action to which he confessed was that Lady Byron once came upon him when he was musing over his embarrassments and asked 'Am I in your way?' to which he replied 'Damnably' (*MEDWIN*, p. 43).

On 10 Dec. 1815 Lady Byron gave birth to her only child, Augusta Ada. On 6 Jan. 1816 Byron gave directions to his wife 'in writing' to leave London as soon as she was well enough. It was agreed, he told Medwin (p. 40), that she should stay with her father till some arrangement had been made with the creditors. On 8 Jan. Lady Byron consulted Dr. Baillie, 'with the concurrence of his family,' that is, apparently, Mrs. Leigh and his cousin, George Byron, with whom she constantly communicated in the following period. Dr. Baillie, on her expressing doubts of Byron's sanity, advised her absence as an 'experiment.' He told her to correspond with him on 'light and soothing' topics. She even believed that a sudden excitement might bring on a 'fatal crisis.' She left London on 15 Jan. 1816, reaching her parents at Kirkby Mallory on the 16th. She wrote affectionately to her husband on starting and arriving. The last letter, she says, was circulated to support the charge of desertion. It began, as Byron told Medwin, 'Dear Duck,' and was signed by her pet name 'Pippin' (*HUNT, Autobiogr.* 1860, pp. 247, 254). She writes to Mrs. Leigh on the same day that she has made 'the most explicit statement' to her parents. They are anxious to do everything in their power for the 'poor sufferer.' He was to be invited at once to Kirkby Mallory, and her mother wrote accordingly on the 17th. He would probably drop a plan, already formed, for going abroad with Hobhouse on her parents' remonstrance. On 18 Jan. she tells Mrs. Leigh that she hopes that Byron will join her for a time and not leave her till there is a prospect of an heir. Lady Noel has suggested that Mrs. Leigh might dilute a laudanum bottle with water without Byron's knowledge. She still writes as an affectionate wife, hoping that her husband may be cured of insanity. An apothecary, Le Mann, is to see the patient, and Lady Noel will go to London, consult Mrs. Leigh, and procure advice.

The medical advisers could find no proof of insanity, though a list of sixteen symptoms had been submitted to them. The strongest, according to Moore, was the dashing to pieces of a 'favourite old watch' in an excess of fury. A similar anecdote (*HODGSON*, ii. 6) was told of his throwing a jar of

ink out of window, and his excitement at the theatre is also suggested. Lady Byron upon hearing the medical opinion immediately decided upon separation. Dr. Baillie and a lawyer, by Lady Noel's desire, 'almost forced themselves upon Byron' (MEDWIN, p. 46), and confirmed Le Mann's report. On 25 Jan. 1816 Lady Byron tells Mrs. Leigh that she must resign the right to be her sister, but hopes that no difference will be made in their feelings. From this time she consistently adhered to the view finally set forth in her statement in 1830. Her letters to Mrs. Leigh, to Hodgson, who had ventured to intervene, and her last letter to Byron (13 Feb. 1816), take the same ground. Byron had been guilty of conduct inexcusable if he were an accountable agent, and therefore making separation a duty when his moral responsibility was proved. She tells Mrs. Leigh and Hodgson that he married her out of revenge; she tells Hodgson (15 Feb.) that her security depended on the 'total abandonment of every moral and religious principle,' and tells Byron himself that to her affectionate remonstrances and forewarnings of consequences he had replied by a 'determination to be wicked though it should break my heart.'

On 2 Feb. 1816 Sir R. Noel proposed an amicable separation to Byron, which he at first rejected. Lady Byron went to London and saw Dr. Lushington, who, with Sir S. Romilly, had been consulted by Lady Noel, and had then spoken of possible reconciliation. Lady Byron now informed him of facts 'utterly unknown,' he says, 'I have no doubt, to Sir R. and Lady Noel.' His opinion was 'entirely changed.' He thought reconciliation impossible, and should it be proposed he could take no part, 'professionally or otherwise, towards effecting it.' Mrs. Leigh requested an interview soon after, which Lady Byron declined 'with the greatest pain.' Lushington had forbidden any such interview, as they 'might be called upon to answer for the most private conversation.' In a following letter (neither dated) Lady Byron begs for the interview which she had refused. She cannot bear the thought of not meeting, and the 'grounds of the case are in some degree changed' (*Addit. MS.* 31037, ff. 33, 34). According to Lady Byron's statement (in 1830) Byron consented to the separation upon being told that the matter must otherwise come into court. We may easily believe that, as Mrs. Leigh tells Mr. Horton, Byron would be happy to 'escape the exposure,' whatever its precise nature. He afterwards threw the responsibility for reticence on the other side. He gave a paper to Mr. Lewis, dated at La Mira in 1817, saying that

Hobhouse had challenged the other side to come into court; that he only yielded because Lady Byron had claimed 'a promise that he would consent to a separation if she really desired it. He declares his ignorance of the charges against him, and his desire to meet them openly. This paper was apparently shown only to a few friends. It was first made public in the 'Academy' of 9 Oct. 1869. Hobhouse (see *Quarterly Review* for October 1869, January 1870, and July 1883) also said that Byron was quite ready to go into court, and that Wilmot Horton on Lady Byron's part disclaimed all the current scandals. It would seem, however, Byron could have forced an open statement had he really chosen to do so. This paper shows his consciousness that he ought to have done it if his case had been producible. Lady Byron tells Hodgson at the time (15 Feb. 1816) he 'does know, too well, what he affects to inquire.'

The question remains, what were the specific charges which decided Lady Byron and Lushington? A happy marriage between persons so little congenial would have surprised his best friends. So far we might well accept the statement which Moore assigns to him: 'My dear sir, the causes were too simple to be easily found out.' But this will not explain Lady Byron's statements at the time, nor the impression made upon Lushington by her private avowal. Lady Byron only exchanged the hypothesis of insanity for that of diabolical pride. Byron's lifelong habit of 'inverse hypocrisy' may account for something. Harness reports (p. 32) that he used to send paragraphs to foreign papers injurious to his own character in order to amuse himself by mystifying the English public. Some of Lady Byron's statements may strengthen the belief that she had taken some such foolish brags too seriously.

Other explanations have been offered. In 1866 Lady Byron told a story to Mrs. Beecher Stowe. She thought that by blasting his memory she might weaken the evil influence of his writings, and shorten his expiation in another world. Lady Byron died in 1860. After the publication of the Guiccioli memoirs in 1868, Mrs. Stowe thought it her duty to publish the story in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for September 1869 and the 'Atlantic Monthly.' Her case is fully set forth, with documents and some explanations, in 'Lady Byron Vindicated; a History of the Byron Controversy,' 1870. According to Mrs. Stowe, Lady Byron accused her husband to Lushington of an incestuous intrigue with Mrs. Leigh. An examination of all that is known of Mrs. Leigh (see *Quarterly Review*,



July 1869), of the previous relations between brother and sister, and especially of Lady Byron's affectionate relations to Mrs. Leigh at the time, as revealed in letters since published, proves this hideous story to be absolutely incredible. Till 1830 Mrs. Leigh continued to be on good terms with Lady Byron, and had conveyed messages between Byron and his wife during his life. The appointment of a trustee under Byron's marriage settlements in 1830 led to a disagreement. Lady Byron refused with considerable irritation a request made by Mrs. Leigh. All acquaintance dropped, till in 1851 Lady Byron consented to an interview. Mrs. Leigh was anxious to declare that she had not (as she supposed Lady Byron to believe that she had) encouraged Byron's bitterness of feeling towards his wife. Lady Byron replied simply, 'Is that all?' No further communication followed, and Mrs. Leigh died 18 Oct. 1851. It can only be surmised that Lady Byron had become jealous of Byron's public and pointed expressions of love for his sister, contrasted so forcibly with his utterances about his wife, and in brooding over her wrongs had developed the hateful suspicion communicated to Mrs. Stowe, and, as it seems, to others. It appears too, from a passage in the Guiccioli memoirs, that at a time when Byron was accused of 'every monstrous vice,' his phrases about his pure fraternal affection suggested some such addition to the mass of calumny ('Reminiscences of an Attaché,' by Hubert Jermyingham (1886), contains a curious statement by Mme. Guiccioli as to Byron's strong affection for his sister).

Another suggestion made by Mr. Jeaffreson, that the cause was a connection formed by Byron about the time of the first separation with Jane Clairmont, daughter, by a previous marriage, of William Godwin's second wife, seems quite inadmissible. It entirely fails to explain Lady Byron's uniform assertions at the time and in 1830 (see *ante*, and letter to Lady Anne Barnard, published by Lord Lindsay in the 'Times' in September 1869) that Byron had been guilty of conduct excusable only on the ground of insanity, and continued during their whole cohabitation. Byron's extreme wrath against a Mrs. Clermont (a former governess of Lady Byron's), whom he accused (MEDWIN, p. 43) of breaking open a desk, seems to suggest that some discovery was made subsequently to Lady Byron's departure from London, but affords no confirmation of this hypothesis.

The problem must remain unsolved. The scandal excited a general explosion of public indignation. In some 'Observations upon an article in "Blackwood's Magazine"' (dated

15 March 1820, but not published till after Byron's death) Byron describes the state of feeling; he was accused of 'every monstrous vice'; advised not to go to the theatre or to parliament for fear of public insults, and his friends feared violence from the mob when he started in his travelling carriage. This indignation, perhaps exaggerated (see HOBHOUSE in *Westminster Review*), has been ridiculed; and doubtless included mean and hateful elements—love of scandal and delight in trampling on a great name. Yet it was not unnatural. Byron's very guarded sceptical utterances in 'Childe Harold' frightened Dallas into a formal and elaborate protest, and shocked a sensitive public extravagantly. He had been posing as a rebel against all the domestic proprieties. So long as his avowed license could pass for a literary affectation, or be condoned in the spirit of the general leniency shown to wild young men in the era of the prince regent, the protest was confined to the stricter classes. But when a Lara passed from the regions of fancy to 13 Piccadilly Terrace, matters became more serious. Byron was outraging a woman of the highest character and with the strongest claims on his tenderness; and a feeling arose such as that which, soon afterwards, showed itself when the prince regent passed from simple immorality to the persecution of a wife with infinitely less claims to respect than Lady Byron's. Lady Caroline Lamb claimed her part in the outcry by her wild novel of 'Glenarvon,' published at this time.

The separation was signed, and Byron left his country for ever. Some friends still stood by him. Lady Jersey earned his lasting gratitude by giving an assembly in his honour; and Miss Mercer (afterwards Lady Keith) met him there with marked cordiality. Leigh Hunt in the 'Examiner' and Perry in the 'Morning Chronicle' defended him. Mrs. Leigh's affection was his chief comfort, when even his cousin George took his wife's part (MEDWIN, p. 49). Two poems appeared in the papers, through the 'injudicious zeal of a friend,' says Moore, in the middle of April. 'A Sketch' (dated 29 March) is a savage onslaught upon Mrs. Clermont. 'Fare thee well' (dated 17 March), written with tears, it is said, the marks of which still blot the manuscript, expostulates pathetically with his wife for inflicting a 'cureless wound.' On 8 March Byron told Moore that there was 'never a brighter, kinder, or more amiable and agreeable being' than Lady Byron, and that no blame attached to her. He appeals to Rogers (25 March) to confirm his statement that he had never attacked her. In 1823 he repeated this statement to Lady



Blessington (p. 117). In fact, however, he oscillated between attempts to preserve the air of an injured yet forgiving husband and outbursts of bitterness. At the instance of Mme. de Staël he made some kind of overture for reconciliation in 1816, and (apparently) upon its failure wrote the 'Dream,' intended to show that his love had always been reserved for Mary Chaworth; and a novel upon the 'Marriage of Belphegor,' representing his own story. He destroyed it, says Moore, on hearing of her illness; but a fragment is given in the notes to 'Don Juan.' In a poem written at the same time, 'On hearing that Lady Byron was ill,' he attacks her implacability, and calls her a 'moral Clytemnestra.' He never met Lady Blessington without talking of his domestic troubles. He showed an (unsent) conciliatory letter, and apologised for public allusions in his works. Some angry communications were suppressed by his friends, but the allusions in the last cantos of 'Childe Harold' and in 'Don Juan' were unpardonable. While Byron was bemoaning his griefs to even casual acquaintance with a strange incontinence of language, and circulating letters and lampoons, his occasional conciliatory moods were of little importance. Lady Blessington remarks on his curious forgetfulness of the way in which he had consoled himself when he complained of his wife's implacability. Her dignified reticence irritated and puzzled him, and his prevailing tone only illustrates the radical incompatibility of their characters.

Byron sailed for Ostend (24 April 1816) with a young Italian doctor, Polidori, a Swiss and two English servants, Rushton and Fletcher, who had both started with him in 1809. Byron's good nature to his servants was an amiable point in his character. Harness describes the 'hideous old woman' who had nursed him in his lodgings and followed him through all his English establishments, and speaks of his kindness to an old butler, Murray, at Newstead. Byron travelled in a large coach, imitated from Napoleon's, carrying bed, library, and kitchen, besides a calèche bought at Brussels. His expenses were considerable, and his scruples about copyright soon vanished. In 1817 he was bargaining sharply with Murray. He demanded 600*l.* for the 'Lament of Tasso' and the last act of 'Manfred' (9 May 1817). On 4 Sept. 1817 he asks 2,500*l.* instead of 1,500*l.* for the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold,' accepting ultimately 2,000 guineas. The sums paid by Murray for copyrights to the end of 1821 amounted to 15,455*l.*, including the amounts made over to Dallas. He must have received at least

12,500*l.* at this period, and the 1,100*l.* for 'Parisina' and the 'Siege of Corinth' was in Murray's hands. In November 1817 he at last sold Newstead for 90,000 guineas. Payment of debts and mortgages left the 60,000*l.* settled upon Lady Byron, the income of which was payable to Byron during his life. He was aggrieved by the refusal of his trustees in 1820 to invest this in a mortgage on Lord Blessington's estates (*Diary*, 24 Jan. 1821; Letter 374). Hanson, Byron's solicitor, went to Venice to obtain his signature to the necessary deeds in November 1818 (Hobson, ii. 53). Byron declared that he would receive no advantage from Lady Byron's property. On the death of Lady Noel in 1822, however, her fortune of 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* a year was divided equally between her daughter and Byron by arbitrators (Sir F. Burdett and Lord Dacre); and such a division had, it seems, been provided for in the deed of separation (Hobhouse in *Westminster Review*, January 1825). Byron then became a rich man for his Italian position, and grew careful of money. He spent much time in settling his weekly bills (TRELAUNY, ii. 75), and affected avarice as a 'good old gentlemanly vice.' But this must be taken as partly humorous, and he was still capable of munificence.

From Brussels Byron visited Waterloo, and thence went to Geneva by the Rhine, where (June 1816) he took the Villa Diodati, on the Belle Rive, a promontory on the south side of the lake (see *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. viii. 1, 24, 115). Here Byron met the Shelleys and Miss Clairmont. Miss Clairmont came expressly to meet him, but it is authoritatively stated that the Shelleys were not in her confidence. The whole party became the objects of curiosity and scandal. Tourists gazed at Byron through telescopes (see letter from Shelley, GUICCIOLI, i. 97). When he visited Mme. de Staël at Coppet, a Mrs. Herve thought proper to faint. Southey was in Switzerland this year, and Byron believed that he had spread stories in England imputing gross immorality to the whole party. They amused themselves one rainy week by writing ghost stories; Mrs. Shelley began 'Frankenstein,' and Byron a fragment called 'The Vampire,' from which Polidori 'vamped up' a novel of the same name. It passed as Byron's in France and had some success. Polidori, a fretful and flighty youth, quarrelled with his employer, proposed to challenge Shelley, and left Byron for Italy. He was sent out of Milan for a quarrel with an Austrian officer, but afterwards got some patients. Byron tried to help him, and recommended him to Murray (Letters 275, 285). He com-

mitted suicide in 1821. Byron and Shelley made a tour of the lake in June (described in Shelley's 'Six Weeks' Tour'), and were nearly lost in a storm. Two rainy days at Ouchy produced Byron's 'Prisoner of Chillon;' and about the same time he finished the third canto of 'Childe Harold.' Shelley, as Byron told Medwin (p. 237), had dosed him with Wordsworth 'even to nausea,' and the influence is apparent in some of his 'Childe Harold' stanzas (see Wordsworth's remarks in MOORE'S *Diary* (1853), iii. 161). In September Byron made a tour in the Bernese Oberland with Hobhouse, and, as his diary shows, worked up his impressions of the scenery. At the Villa Diodati he wrote the stanzas 'To Augusta' and the verses addressed to 'My sweet sister,' which by her desire were suppressed till after his death. Here, too, he wrote the monody on the death of Sheridan, and the striking fragment called 'Darkness.'

On 29 Aug. the Shelley party left for England. In January 1817 Miss Clairmont gave birth to Allegra, Byron's daughter. The infant was sent to him at Venice with a Swiss nurse, and placed under the care of the Hoppners. Byron declined an offer from a Mrs. Vavasour to adopt the girl, refusing to abdicate his paternal authority as the lady desired. He afterwards sent for the child to Bologna in August 1819, and kept her with him at Venice and Ravenna till April 1821, when he placed her in a convent at Bagna-Cavallo (twelve miles from Ravenna), paying double fees to insure good treatment. He wished her, he said, to be a Roman catholic, and left her 5,000*l.* for a marriage portion. The mother vehemently protested against this (*Eg. MS.* 2332), but the Shelleys approved (*To Hoppner*, 11 May 1821; *To Shelley*, 26 April 1821). The child improved in the convent, and is described by Shelley as petted and happy (GARNETT, *Select Letters of Shelley*, p. 171, 1882). She died of a fever 20 April 1822. Byron was profoundly agitated by the news, and, as the Countess Guiccioli says, would never afterwards pronounce her name. He directed her to be buried at Harrow, and a tablet to be erected in the church, at a spot precisely indicated by his school recollections (Letter 494). Of the mother he spoke with indifference or aversion (BLESSINGTON, p. 164). Byron and Hobhouse crossed the Simplon, and reached Milan by October. At Milan Beyle (Stendhal) saw him at the theatre, and has described his impressions (see his Letter first published in Mme. BELLOC'S *Byron*, i. 353, Paris, 1824). He went by Verona to Venice, intending to spend the winter in this 'the greenest island,' as he says, 'of my imagination.' He stayed for three years, taking as a

summer residence a house at La Mira on the Brenta. April and May 1817 were spent in a visit to Rome, whence, 5 May, he sent to Murray a new third act of 'Manfred,' having heard that the original was thought unsatisfactory.

On arriving at Venice he found that his 'mind wanted something craggy to break upon' (Letter 252), and he set to work learning Armenian at the monastery. He saw something of the literary salon of the Countess Albrizzi. Mme. Albrizzi wrote a book of portraits, one of which is a sketch of Byron, published by Moore, and not without interest. He became bored with the Venetian 'blues,' and took to the less pretentious salon of the Countess Benzoni. He soon plunged into worse dissipations. He settled in the Palazzo Mocenigo on the Grand Canal. And here, in ostentatious defiance of the world, which tried to take the form of contempt, he abandoned himself to degrading excesses which injured his constitution, and afterwards produced bitter self-reproach. 'I detest every recollection of the place, the people, and my pursuits,' he said to Medwin (p. 78). Shelley, whose impressions of a visit to Byron are given in the famous 'Julian and Maddalo,' says afterwards that Byron had almost destroyed himself. He could digest no food, and was consumed by hectic fever. Daily rides on the Lido kept him from prostration. Moore says that Byron would often leave his house in a fit of disgust to pass the night in his gondola. In the midst of this debasing life his intellectual activity continued. He began the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold' by 1 July 1817, and sent 126 stanzas (afterwards increased to 186) to Murray on 20 July. On 23 Oct. he states that 'Beppo,' in imitation, as he says, of 'Whistlecraft' (J. H. Frere), is nearly finished. It was sent to Murray 19 Jan. 1819, and published in May. This experiment led to his greatest performance. On 19 Sept. 1818 he has finished the first canto of 'Don Juan.' On 25 Jan. 1819 he tells Murray to print fifty copies for private distribution. On 6 April he sends the second canto. The two were published without author's or publisher's name in July 1819. The third canto was begun in October 1819. The outcry against its predecessors had disconcerted him, and he was so put out by hearing that a Mr. Saunders had called it 'all Grub Street,' as to lay it aside for a time. The third canto was split into the third and fourth in February 1820, and appeared with the fifth, still anonymously and without the publisher's name, in August 1821.

A new passion had altered his life. In April 1819 he met at the Countess Benzoni's Teresa,

daughter of Count Gamba of Ravenna, recently married at the age of sixteen to a rich widower of sixty, Count Guiccioli, also of Ravenna. Her beauty is described by Moore, an American painter West, who took her portrait, Medwin, and Hunt. She had regular features, a fine figure, rather too short and stout, and was remarkable among Italians for her fair complexion, golden hair (see JEAFFRESON, ii. 80), and blue eyes. She at once conceived a passion for Byron, and they met daily at Venice. Her husband took her back to Ravenna in the same month, and she wrote passionate letters to Byron. She had fainted three times on her first day's journey; her mother's death had deeply affected her; she was ill, and threatened by consumption; and she told him in May that her relations would receive him at Ravenna. In spite of heat and irresolution, Byron left La Mira on 2 June 1819, and moved slowly, and after some hesitation, to Ravenna, writing on the way 'River that rollest by the ancient walls' (first published by Medwin). Here he found the countess really ill. He studied medical books, she says, for her benefit, and sent for Aglietti, the best physician in Venice. As she recovered, Byron felt rather awkward under the polite attentions of her husband, though her own relations were unfavourable. His letters to her, says Moore, show genuine passion. His letters to Hoppner show a more ambiguous interest. He desired at times to escape from an embarrassing connection; yet, out of 'wilfulness,' as Moore thinks, when she was to go with her husband to Bologna, he asked her to fly with him, a step altogether desperate according to the code of the time. Though shocked by the proposal, she suggested a sham death, after the Juliet precedent. Byron followed the Guicciolis to Bologna, and stayed there while they made a tour of their estates. Hence (23 Aug.) he sent off to Murray his cutting 'Letter to my Grandmother's Review.' Two days later he wrote a curious declaration of love to the countess in a volume of 'Corinna' left in her house. A vehement quarrel with a papal captain of dragoons for selling him an unsound horse nearly led to an impromptu duel like his granduncle's. On the return of the Guicciolis the count left for Ravenna, leaving his wife with Byron at Bologna 'on account of her health.' Her health also made it expedient to travel with Byron to Venice by way of the Euganean Hills; and at Venice the same cause made country air desirable, whereupon Byron politely 'gave up to her his house at La Mira,' and 'came to reside there' himself. The whole proceeding was so like an elopement, that Venetian society naturally failed to make a dis-

tinction. Moore paid a visit to Byron at this time, was cordially received at La Mira, and lodged in the palace at Venice. Hanson had described Byron in the previous year as 'enormously large' (HOBSON, ii. 2), and Moore was struck by the deterioration of his looks. He found that his friend had given up, or been given up by, Venetian society. English tourists stared at him like a wild beast, and annoyed him by their occasional rudeness. It was at this time that Byron gave his memoirs to Moore, stipulating only that they should not appear during his lifetime. Moore observed that they would make a nice legacy for his little Tom. Moore was alarmed at Byron's position. The Venetians were shocked by the presence of his mistress under his roof, especially as he had before 'conducted himself so admirably.' A proposed trip to Rome, to which Byron had almost consented, was abandoned by Moore's advice, as it would look like a desertion of the countess. The count now wrote to his wife proposing that Byron should lend him 1,000*l.*, for which he would pay 5 per cent.; the loan would otherwise be an *avvilimento*. Moore exhorted Byron to take advantage of this by placing the lady again under her husband's protection, a result which would be well worth the money. Byron laughingly declared that he would 'save both the lady and the money.' The count himself came to Venice at the end of October. After a discussion, in which Byron declined to interfere, the lady agreed to return to her husband and break with her lover. Byron, set free, almost resolved to return to England. Dreams of settling in Venezuela under Bolivar's new republic occasionally amused him, and he made serious inquiries about the country. The return to England, made desirable by some business affairs (Letters 346, 359, 367), was apparently contemplated as a step towards some of these plans, though he also thought a year later (Letter 403) of settling in London to bring out a paper with Moore. In truth, he was restless, dissatisfied, and undecided. He shrank from any decided action, from tearing himself from Italy, and, on the other hand, from such a connection with the countess as would cause misery to both unless his passion were more durable than any one, he least of all, could expect. The journey to England was nearly settled, however, when he was delayed by an illness of Allegra, and a touch of malaria in himself. The countess again wrote to him that she was seriously ill, and that her friends would receive him. While actually ready for a start homewards, he suddenly declared that if the clock struck one before some final preparation was ready, he

would stay. It struck, and he gave up the journey. He wrote to the countess that he would obey her, though his departure would have been best for them all. At Christmas 1819 he was back in Ravenna.

He now subsided into an indolent routine, to which he adhered with curious pertinacity. Trelawny describes the day at Pisa soon afterwards, and agrees with Moore, Hunt, Medwin, and Gamba. He rose very late, took a cup of green tea, had a biscuit and soda-water at two, rode out and practised shooting, dined most abstemiously, visited the Gambas in the evening, and returned to read or write till two or three in the morning. At Ravenna previously and afterwards in Greece he kept nearly to the same hours. His rate of composition at this period was surprising. Medwin says that after sitting with Byron till two or three the poet would next day produce fresh work. He discontinued 'Don Juan' after the fifth canto in disgust at its reception, and in compliance with the request of the Countess Guiccioli, who was shocked at its cynicism. In February 1820 he translated the 'Morgante Maggiore;' in March the 'Francesca da Rimini' episode. On 1 April he began his first drama, the 'Marino Faliero,' finished it 16 July, and copied it out by 17 Aug. It was produced at Drury Lane the next spring, in spite of his remonstrance, and failed, to his great annoyance. 'Sardanapalus,' begun 13 Jan. 1821, was finished 13 May (the last three acts in a fortnight). The 'Two Foscari' was written between 11 June and 10 July; 'Cain,' begun on 16 July, was finished 9 Sept. The 'Deformed Transformed' was written at the end of the same year. 'Werner,' a mere dramatisation of Harriet Lee's 'Kruitzner' in the 'Canterbury Tales,' was written between 18 Dec. 1821 and 20 Jan. 1822. The vigorous, though perverse, letters to Bowles on the Pope controversy are also dated 7 Feb. and 25 March 1821. No literary hack could have written more rapidly, and some would have written as well. The dramas thus poured forth at full speed by a thoroughly undramatic writer, hampered by the wish to preserve the 'unities,' mark (with the exception of 'Cain') his lowest level, and are often mere prose broken into apparent verse.

Count Guiccioli began to give trouble. Byron was warned not to ride in the forest alone for fear of probable assassination. Guiccioli's long acquiescence had turned public opinion against him, and a demand for separation on account of his 'extraordinary usage' of his wife came from her friends. On 12 July a papal decree pronounced a separation accordingly. The countess was to receive 200*l.* a

year from her husband, to live under the paternal roof, and only to see Byron under restrictions. She retired to a villa of the Gambas fifteen miles off, where Byron rode out to see her 'once or twice a month,' passing the intervals in 'perfect solitude.' By January 1821, however (*Diary*, 4 Jan. 1821), she seems to have been back in Ravenna. Byron did all he could (*Diary*, 24 Jan. 1821, and Letter 374) to prevent her from leaving her husband.

Political complications were arising. Italy was seething with the Carbonaro conspiracies. The Gambas were noted liberals. Byron's aristocratic vanity was quite consistent with a conviction of the corruption and political blindness of the class to which he boasted of belonging. The cant, the imbecility, and immorality of the ruling classes at home and abroad were the theme of much of his talk, and inspired his most powerful writing. His genuine hatred of war and pity for human suffering are shown, amidst much affectation, in his loftiest verse. Though no democrat after the fashion of Shelley, he was a hearty detester of the system supported by the Holy alliance. He was ready to be a leader in the revolutionary movements of the time. The walls of Ravenna were placarded with 'Up with the republic!' and 'Death to the pope!' Young Count Gamba (Teresa's brother) soon afterwards returned to Ravenna, became intimate with Byron, and introduced him to the secret societies. On 8 Dec. 1820 the commandant of the troops in Ravenna was mortally wounded in the street. Byron had the man carried into his house at the point of death, and describes the event in 'Don Juan' (v. 34). It was due in some way to the action of the societies. A rising in the Romagna was now expected. Byron had offered a subscription of one thousand louis to the constitutional government in Naples, to which the societies looked for support. He had become head of the Americans, a section of the Carbonari (Letter 450), and bought some arms for them, which during the following crisis were suddenly returned to him, and had to be concealed in his house (*Diary*, 16 and 18 Feb. 1821). An advance of Austrian troops caused a collapse of the whole scheme. A thousand members of the best families in the Roman states were banished (Letter 439), and among them the Gambas. Mme. Guiccioli says that the government hoped by exiling them to get rid of Byron, whose position as an English nobleman made it difficult to reach him directly for his suspected relations with the Carbonari. The countess helped, perhaps was intentionally worked upon, to dislodge him. Her husband requested that she should be forced to return to him or placed

in a convent. Frightened by the threat, she escaped to her father and brother in Florence.

A quarrel in which a servant of Byron's proposed to stiletto an officer made his relations with the authorities very unpleasant. The poor of Ravenna petitioned that the charitable Englishman might be asked to remain, and only increased the suspicions of the government. Byron fell into one of his usual states of indecision. Shelley, at his request, came from Pisa to consult, and reports him greatly improved in health and morals. He found Byron occupying splendid apartments in the palace of Count Guiccioli. Byron had now, he says, an income of 4,000*l.* a year, and devoted 1,000*l.* to charity (the context seems to disprove the variant reading 100*l.*), an expenditure sufficient to explain the feeling at Ravenna mentioned by Mme. Guiccioli. Shelley, by Byron's desire, wrote to the countess, advising her against Switzerland. In reply she begged Shelley not to leave Ravenna without Byron, and Byron begged him to stay and protect him from a relapse into his old habits. Byron lingered at Ravenna till 29 Oct., still hoping, it seems, for a recall of the Gambas. At last he got in motion, with many sad forebodings, and preceded by his family of monkeys, dogs, cats, and peahens. He met Lord Clare on the way to Bologna, and accompanied Rogers from Bologna. Rogers duly celebrated the meeting in his poem on Italy; but Trelawny (i. 50) tells how Byron grinned sardonically when he saw Rogers seated upon a cushion under which was concealed a bitter satire written by Byron upon Rogers himself (it was afterwards published in 'Fraser,' January 1833). Byron settled in the Casa Lanfranchi at Pisa, an old ghost-haunted palace, which Trelawny contrasted with the cheerful and hospitable abode of the Shelleys (i. 85). The Gambas occupied part of the same palace (HUNT, *Byron*, i. 23). Byron again saw some English society. A silly Irishman named Taaffe, author of a translation of Dante, for which Byron tried to find a publisher, with Medwin, Trelawny, Shelley, and Williams, were his chief associates. Medwin, of the 24th light dragoons, was at Pisa from 30 Nov. 1821 till 15 March 1822, and again for a few days in August. Trelawny, who reached Pisa early in 1822, and was afterwards in constant intercourse with Byron, was the keenest observer who has described him. Trelawny insists upon his own superiority in swimming, and regards Byron as an effeminate pretender to masculine qualities. Byron turned his worst side to such a man; yet Trelawny admits his genuine

courage and can do justice to his better qualities.

Mme. Guiccioli had withdrawn her prohibition of 'Don Juan' on promise of better behaviour (Letter 500). On 8 Aug. 1822 he has finished three more cantos and is beginning another. Meanwhile 'Cain' (published December 1821) had produced hostile reviews and attacks. Scott had cordially accepted the dedication. Moore's timid remonstrances showed the set of public opinion. When Murray applied for an injunction to protect his property against threatened piracy, Eldon refused; holding (9 Feb. 1822) that the presumption was not in favour of the innocent character of the book. Murray had several manuscripts of Byron in hand, including the famous 'Vision of Judgment;' and this experience increased his caution. Byron began to think of a plan, already suggested to Moore in 1820, of starting a weekly newspaper with a revolutionary title, such as 'I Carbonari.' In Shelley's society this plan took a new shape. It was proposed to get Leigh Hunt for an editor. In 1813 Byron had visited Hunt when imprisoned for a libel on the prince regent. Hunt had taken Byron's part in the 'Examiner' in 1816, and had dedicated to him the 'Story of Rimini.' Shelley and Byron now agreed (in spite of Moore's remonstrances against association with ill-bred cockneys) to bring Leigh Hunt to Italy. They assumed that Hunt would retain his connection with the 'Examiner,' of which his brother John was proprietor (see TRELAWNY, ii. 53). Hunt threw up this position without their knowledge, and started for Italy with his wife and six children. Shelley explained to Hunt (26 Aug. 1821) that he was himself to be 'only a sort of link,' neither partner nor sharer in the profits. He sent 150*l.*, to which Byron, taking Shelley's security, added 200*l.* to pay Hunt's expenses. Hunt reproaches Byron as being moved solely by an expectation of large profits (not in itself an immoral motive). The desire to have an organ under his own command, with all consequent advantages, is easily intelligible. When Hunt landed at Leghorn at the end of June 1822, Byron and Shelley found themselves saddled with the whole Hunt family, to be supported by the hypothetical profits of the new journal, while Hunt asserted and acted upon the doctrine that he was under no disgrace in accepting money obligations. Hunt took up his abode on the ground-floor of the palace. His children, says Trelawny, were untamed, while Hunt considers that they behaved admirably and were in danger of corruption from Byron. Trelawny describes Byron as

disgusted at the very start and declaring that the journal would be an 'abortion.' His reception of Mrs. Hunt, according to Williams, was 'shameful.' Mrs. Hunt naturally retorted the dislike, and Hunt reported one of her sharp sayings to Byron, in order, as he says, to mortify him. No men could be less congenial. Byron's aristocratic loftiness encountered a temper forward to take offence at any presumption of inequality. Byron had provided Hunt with lodgings, furnished them decently, and doled out to him about 100*l.* through his steward, a proceeding which irritated Hunt, who loved a cheerful giver. Shelley's death (8 July) left the two men face to face in this uncomfortable relation.

The 'Liberal,' so named by Byron, survived through four numbers. It made a moderate profit, which Byron abandoned to Hunt (HUNT, i. 87, ii. 412), but he was disgusted from the outset, and put no heart into the experiment. He told his friends, and probably persuaded himself, that he had engaged in the journal out of kindness to the Hunts, and to help a friend of Shelley's; and takes credit for feeling that he could not turn the Hunts into the street. His chief contributions, the 'Vision of Judgment' and the letter 'To my Grandmother's Review,' appeared in the first number, to the general scandal. 'Heaven and Earth' appeared in the second number, the 'Blues' in the third, the 'Morgante Maggiore' in the fourth, and a few epigrams were added. Hunt and Hazlitt, who wrote five papers (*Memoirs of Hazlitt*, ii. 73), did most of the remainder, which, however, had clearly not the seeds of life in it. The 'Vision of Judgment' was the hardest blow struck in a prolonged and bitter warfare. Byron had met Southey, indeed, at Holland House in 1813, and speaks favourably of him, calls his prose perfect, and professes to envy his personal beauty (*Diary*, 22 Nov. 1813). His belief that Southey had spread scandalous stories about the Swiss party in 1816 gave special edge to his revived antipathy. In 1818 he dedicated 'Don Juan' to Southey in 'good simple savage verse' (Letter 322), bitterly taunting the poet as a venal renegade. In 1821 Southey published his 'Vision of Judgment,' an apotheosis of George III, of grotesque (though most unintentional) profanity. In the preface he alludes to Byron as leader of the 'Satanic school.' Byron in return denounced Southey's 'calumnies' and 'cowardly ferocity.' Southey retorted in the 'Courier' (11 Jan. 1822), boasting that he had fastened Byron's name 'upon the gibbet for reproach and ignominy, so long as it shall endure.' Medwin (p. 179) describes Byron's fury on

reading these courtesies. He instantly sent off a challenge in a letter (6 Feb. 1822) to Douglas Kinnaird, who had the sense to suppress it. His own 'Vision of Judgment,' written by 1 Oct. 1821, was already in the hands of Murray, now troubled by 'Cain.' Byron now swore that it should be published, and it was finally transferred by Murray to Hunt.

Byron meanwhile had been uprooted from Pisa. A silly squabble took place in the street (21 March 1822), in which Byron's servant stabbed an hussar (see depositions in MEDWIN). Byron spent some weeks in the summer at Monte Nero, near Leghorn (where he and Mme. Guiccioli sat to the American painter West), and returned to Pisa in July. About the same time the Gambas were ordered to leave Tuscan territory. Byron's stay at Pisa had been marked by the death of Allegra (20 April) and of Shelley (8 July). Details of the ghastly ceremony of burning the bodies of Williams and Shelley (15 and 16 Aug.) are given by Trelawny, with characteristic details of Byron's emotion and hysterical affectation of levity. Shelley, who exaggerated Byron's poetical merits (see his enthusiastic eulogy of the fifth canto of 'Don Juan' on his visit to Pisa), was kept at a certain distance by his perception of Byron's baser qualities. Byron had always respected Shelley as a man of simple, lofty, and unworldly character, and as undeniably a gentleman by birth and breeding. Shelley, according to Trelawny (i. 80), was the only man to whom Byron talked seriously and confidentially. He told Moore that Shelley was 'the least selfish and the mildest of men,' and added to Murray that he was 'as perfect a gentleman as ever crossed a drawing-room' (Letters 482 and 506). He was, however, capable of believing and communicating to Hoppner scandalous stories about the Shelleys and Claire, and of meanly suppressing Mrs. Shelley's confutation of the story (see Mr. Froude in *Nineteenth Century*, August 1883; and Mr. Jeaffreson's reply in the *Athenæum*, 1 and 22 Sept. 1883).

Trelawny had stimulated the nautical tastes of Byron and Shelley. Captain Roberts, a naval friend of his at Genoa, built an open boat for Shelley, and a schooner, called the Bolivar, for Byron. Trelawny manned her with five sailors and brought her round to Leghorn. Byron was annoyed by the cost; knew nothing, says Trelawny, of the sea, and could never be induced to take a cruise in her. When Byron left Pisa, after a terrible hubbub of moving his household and his baggage, Trelawny sailed in the Bolivar, Byron's servants following in one

felucca, the Hunts in another, Byron travelling by land. They met at Lerici. Byron with Trelawny swam out to the Bolivar, three miles, and back. The effort cost him four days' illness. On his recovery he went to Genoa and settled in the Casa Salucci at Albaro; the Gambas occupying part of the same house. Trelawny laid up the Bolivar, afterwards sold to Lord Blessington for four hundred guineas (TRELAWNY, i. 62), and early next year went off on a ramble to Rome. Lord and Lady Blessington, with Count d'Orsay, soon afterwards arrived at Genoa; and Lady Blessington has recorded her conversations with Byron. His talk with her was chiefly sentimental monologue about himself. Trelawny says that he was a spoilt child; the nickname 'Baby Byron' (given to him, says HUNT, i. 139, by Mrs. Leigh) 'fitted him to a T' (TRELAWNY, i. 56). His waywardness, his strange incontinence of speech, his outbursts of passion, his sensitiveness to all that was said of him come out vividly in these reports.

His health was clearly enfeebled. Residence in the swampy regions of Venice and Ravenna had increased his liability to malaria (see Letter 311). His restlessness and indecision grew upon him. His passion for Madame Guiccioli had never blinded him to its probable dangers for both. This experience had made him sceptical as to the durability of his passions; especially for a girl not yet of age, and of no marked force of intellect or character. Hunt speaks of a growing coldness, which affected her spirits and which she injudiciously resented. Byron's language to Lady Blessington (BLESSINGTON, pp. 68 and 117) shows that the bonds were acknowledged but no longer cherished. He talked of returning to England, of settling in America, of buying a Greek island, of imitating Lady Hester Stanhope. He desired to restore his self-esteem, wounded by the failure of the 'Liberal.' He had long before (28 Feb. 1817) told Moore that if he lived ten years longer he would yet do something, and declared that he did not think literature his vocation. He still hoped to show himself a man of action instead of a mere dreamer and dawdler. The Greek committee was formed in London in the spring of 1823, and Trelawny wrote to one of the members, Blaquière, suggesting Byron's name. Blaquière was soon visiting Greece for information, and called upon Byron in his way. The committee had unanimously elected him a member. Byron was flattered and accepted. His old interest in Greece increased his satisfaction at a proposal which fell in with his mood. He at once told the committee (12 May) that his first wish was

to go to the Levant. Though the scheme gave Byron an aim and excited his imagination, he still hesitated, and with reason. Weak health and military inexperience were bad qualifications for the leader of a revolt. Captain Roberts conveyed messages and counter messages from Byron to Trelawny for a time. At last (22 June 1823) Trelawny heard from Byron, who had engaged a 'collier-built tub' of 120 tons, called the *Hercules*, for his expedition and summoned Trelawny's help. Byron had taken leave of the Blessingtons with farewell presents, forebodings, and a burst of tears. He took 10,000 crowns in specie, 40,000 in bills, and a large supply of medicine; Trelawny, young Gamba, Bruno, an 'unfledged medical student,' and several servants, including Fletcher. He had prepared three helmets with his crest, 'Crede Byron,' for Trelawny, Gamba, and himself; and afterwards begged from Trelawny a negro servant and a smart military jacket. They sailed from Genoa on Tuesday, 15 July; a gale forced them to return and repair damages. They stayed two days at Leghorn, and were joined by Mr. Hamilton Browne. Here, too, Byron received a copy of verses from Goethe, who had inserted a complimentary notice of Byron in the 'Kunst und Alterthum,' and to whom Byron had dedicated 'Werner.' By Browne's advice they sailed for Cephalonia, where Sir C. J. Napier was in command and known to sympathise with the Greeks. Trelawny says that he was never 'on shipboard with a better companion.' Byron's spirits revived at sea; he was full of fun and practical jokes; read Scott, Swift, Grimm, Rochefoucauld; chatted pleasantly, and talked of describing Stromboli in a fifth canto of 'Childe Harold.' On 2 Aug. they sighted Cephalonia. They found that Napier was away, and that Blaquière had left for England. Byron began to fancy that he had been used as a decoy, and declared that he must see his way plainly before moving. Napier soon returned, and the party was warmly received by the residents. Information from Greece was scarce and doubtful. Trelawny resolved to start with Browne, knowing, he says, that Byron, once on shore, would again become dawdling and shilly-shallying. Byron settled at a village called Metaxata, near Argostoli, and remained there till 27 Dec.

Byron's nerve was evidently shaken. He showed a strange irritability and nervousness (TRELAWNY, ii. 116). He wished to hear of some agreement among the divided and factious Greek chiefs before trusting himself among them. The Cephalonian Greeks, according to Trelawny, favoured the election



of a foreign king, and Trelawny thought that Byron was really impressed by the possibility of receiving a crown. Byron hinted to Parry afterwards of great offers which had been made to him. Fancies of this kind may have passed through his mind. Yet his general judgment of the situation was remarkable for its strong sense. His cynical tendencies at least kept him free from the enthusiasts' illusions, and did not damp his zeal.

In Cephalonia Byron had some conversations upon religious topics with Dr. Kennedy, physician of the garrison. Kennedy reported them in a book, in which he unfortunately thought more of expounding his argument than of reporting Byron. Byron had, in fact, no settled views. His heterodoxy did not rest upon reasoning, but upon sentiment. He was curiously superstitious through life, and seems to have preferred catholicism to other religions. Lady Byron told Crabb Robinson (5 March 1855) that Byron had been made miserable by the gloomy Calvinism from which, she said, he had never freed himself. Some passages in his letters, and the early 'Prayer to Nature'—an imitation of Pope's 'Universal Prayer'—seem to imply a revolt from the doctrines to which Lady Byron referred. 'Cain,' his most serious utterance, clearly favours the view that the orthodox theology gave a repulsive or a nugatory answer to the great problems. But, in truth, Byron's scepticism was part of his quarrel with cant. He hated the religious dogma as he hated the political creed and the social system of the respectable world. He disavowed sympathy with Shelley's opinions, and probably never gave a thought to the philosophy in which Shelley was interested.

Trelawny was now with Odysseus and the chiefs of Eastern Greece. Prince Mavrocordato, the most prominent of the Western Greeks, had at last occupied Missolonghi. Byron sent Colonel Stanhope (afterwards Lord Harrington), a representative of the Greek committee, with a letter to Mavrocordato and another to the general government (2 Dec. and 30 Nov. 1823), insisting upon the necessity of union; and on 28 Dec. sailed himself, on the entreaty of Mavrocordato and Stanhope. The voyage was hazardous. Gamba's ship was actually seized by a Turkish man-of-war, and he owed his release to the lucky accident that his captain had once saved the Turkish captain's life. Byron, in a 'misticco,' took shelter under some rocks called the Scrophes. Thence, with some gunboats sent to their aid, they reached Missolonghi, in spite of a gale, in which Byron showed great coolness. Byron was heartily welcomed.

Mavrocordato was elected governor-general. Attempts were made to organise troops. Byron took into his pay a body of five hundred disorderly Suliotes. He met thickening difficulties with unexpected temper, firmness, and judgment. Demands for money came from all sides; Byron told Parry that he had been asked for fifty thousand dollars in a day. He raised sums on his own credit, and urged the Greek committee to provide a loan. His indignation when Gamba spent too much upon some red cloth was a comic exhibition of his usual economy—hardly unreasonable under the circumstances. His first object was an expedition against Lepanto, held, it was said, by a weak garrison ready to come over. At the end of January he was named commander-in-chief. His wild troops were utterly unprovided with the stores required for an assault. The Greek committee had sent two mountain guns, with ammunition, and some English artisans under William Parry, a 'rough burly fellow' (TRELAUNY, ii. 149), who had been a clerk at Woolwich. Parry after a long voyage reached Missolonghi on 5 Feb. 1824. In the book to which he gave his name, and for which he supplied materials, he professes to have received Byron's confidence. Byron called him 'old boy,' laughed at his sea slang, his ridiculous accounts of Bentham (one of the Greek committee), and played practical jokes upon him. Parry landed his stores, set his artisans to work, and gave himself military airs. The Suliotes became mutinous. They demanded commissions, says Gamba, for 150 out of three or four hundred men. Byron, disgusted, threatened to discharge them all, and next day, 15 Feb., they submitted. The same day Byron was seized with an alarming fit—the doctors disputed whether epileptic or apoplectic; but in any case so severe that Byron said he should have died in another minute. Half an hour later a false report was brought that the Suliotes were rising to seize the magazine. Next day, while Byron was still suffering from the disease and the leeches applied by the doctors, who could hardly stop the bleeding, a tumultuous mob of Suliotes broke into his room. Stanhope says that the courage with which he awed the mutineers was 'truly sublime.' On the 17th a Turkish brig came ashore, and was burned by the Turks after Byron had prepared an attack. On the 19th a quarrel arose between the Suliotes and the guards of the arsenal, and a Swedish officer, Sasse, was killed. The English artificers, alarmed at discovering that shooting was, as Byron says, a 'part of housekeeping' in these parts, insisted on leaving for peaceable regions. The Suliotes became intolerable, and



were induced to leave the town on receiving a month's wages from Byron, and part of their arrears from government. All hopes of an expedition to Lepanto vanished.

Parry had brought a printing-press, though he had not brought some greatly desired rockets. Stanhope, an ardent disciple of Bentham's, started a newspaper, and talked of Lancastrian schools, and other civilising apparatus, including a converted blacksmith with a cargo of tracts. Byron had many discussions with him. Stanhope produced Bentham's 'Springs of Action' as a new publication, when Byron 'stamped with his lame foot,' and said that he did not require lessons upon that subject. Though Trelawny says that Stanhope's free press was of eminent service, Byron may be pardoned for thinking that the Greeks should be freed from the Turks first, and converted to Benthamism afterwards. He was annoyed by articles in the paper, which advocated revolutionary principles and a rising in Hungary, thinking that an alienation of the European powers would destroy the best chance of the Greeks (*To Barff*, 10 March 1824). He hoped, he said, that the writers' brigade would be ready before the soldiers' press. The discussions, however, were mutually respectful, and Byron ended a talk by saying to Stanhope, 'Give me that honest right hand,' and begging to be judged by his actions, not by his words.

Other plans were now discussed. Stanhope left for Athens at the end of February. Odysseus, with whom was Trelawny, proposed a conference with Mavrocordato and Byron at Salona. Byron wrote agreeing to this proposal 19 March. He had declined to answer an offer of the general government to appoint him 'governor-general of Greece' until the meeting should be over. The prospects of the loan were now favourable. Byron was trying, with Parry's help, to fortify Missolonghi and get together some kind of force. His friends were beginning to be anxious about the effects of the place on his health. Barff offered him a country-house in Cephalonia. Byron replied that he felt bound to stay while he could. 'There is a stake worth millions such as I am.' Missolonghi, with its swamps, meanwhile, was a mere fever-trap. The mud, says Gamba, was so deep in the gateway that an unopposed enemy would have found entrance difficult. Byron's departure was hindered by excessive rains. He starved himself as usual. Moore says that he measured himself round the wrist and waist almost daily, and took a strong dose if he thought his size increasing. He rode out when he could with his body-guard of fifty or sixty Suliotes, but complained of frequent weak-

ness and dizziness. Parry in vain commended his panacea, brandy. Trelawny had started in April with a letter from Stanhope, entreating him to leave Missolonghi and not sacrifice his health, and perhaps his life, in that bog.

Byron produced his last poem on the morning of his birthday, in which the hero is struggling to cast off the dandy with partial success. He had tried to set an example of generous treatment of an enemy by freeing some Turkish prisoners at Missolonghi. A lively little girl called Hato or Hatagée, who was amongst them, wished to stay with him, and he resolved to adopt her. A letter from Mrs. Leigh, found by Trelawny among his papers, contained a transcript from a letter of Lady Byron's to her with an account of Ada's health. An unfinished reply from Byron (23 Feb. 1824) asked whether Lady Byron would permit Hatagée to become a companion to Ada. Lady Byron, he adds, should be warned of Ada's resemblance to himself in his infancy, and he suggests that the epilepsy may be hereditary. He afterwards decided to send Hatagée for the time to Dr. Kennedy. On 9 April he received news of Mrs. Leigh's recovery from an illness and good accounts of Ada. On the same day he rode out with Gamba, was caught in the rain, insisted upon returning in an open boat, and was seized with a shivering fit. His predisposition to malaria, aided by his strange system of diet, had produced the result anticipated by Stanhope. He rode out next day, but the fever continued. The doctors had no idea beyond bleeding, to which he submitted with great reluctance, and Parry could only suggest brandy. The attendants were ignorant of each other's language, and seem to have lost their heads. On the 18th he was delirious. At intervals he was conscious and tried to say something to Fletcher about his sister, his wife, and daughter. A strong 'antispasmodic potion' was given to him in the evening. About six he said, 'Now I shall go to sleep,' and fell into a slumber which, after twenty-four hours, ended in death on the evening of 19 April. Trelawny arrived on the 24th or 25th, having heard of the death on his journey. He entered the room where the corpse was lying, and, sending Fletcher for a glass of water, uncovered the feet. On Fletcher's return he wrote upon paper, spread on the coffin, the servant's account of his master's last illness.

Byron's body was sent home to England, and after lying in state for two days was buried at Hucknall Torkard (see *Edinburgh Review* for April 1871 for Hobhouse's account of the funeral). The funeral procession was

accidentally met by Lady Caroline Lamb and her husband. She fainted on being made aware that it was Byron's. Her mind became more affected; she was separated from her husband; and died 26 Jan. 1828, generously cared for by him to the last. (For Lady Caroline Lamb see LADY MORGAN, *Memoirs*, i. 200-14; *Annual Obituary* for 1828; Mr. TOWNSHEND MAYER in *Temple Bar* for June 1868; Lord LYTTON, *Memoirs*, vol. i.; PAUL, *Life of Godwin*, vol. ii.)

Lady Byron afterwards led a retired life. Her daughter Ada was married to the Earl of Lovelace 8 July 1835, and died 29 Nov. 1852. She is said to have been a good mathematician. A portrait of her is in Bentley's 'Miscellany' for 1853. Lady Byron settled ultimately at Brighton, where she became a warm admirer and friend of F. W. Robertson. She took an interest in the religious questions of the day, and spent a large part of her income in charity. Miss Martineau (*Biographical Sketches*, 1808) speaks of her with warm respect, and some of her letters will be found in Crabb Robinson's diary. Others (see HOWITT's letter in *Daily News*, 4 Sept. 1869) thought her pedantic and over strict. She died 16 May 1860. Mme. Guiccioli returned to her husband; she married the Marquis de Boissy in 1851 and died at Florence in March 1873.

The following appears to be a full list of original portraits of Byron (for fuller details see article by Mr. R. EDGUMBE and Mr. A. GRAVES in *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vi. 422, 472, vii. 269). Names of proprietors added: 1. Miniature by Kaye at the age of seven. 2. Full-length in oils by Sanders; engraved in standard edition of Moore's life (Lady Dorchester). 3. Miniature by same from the preceding (engraving destroyed at Byron's request). 4. Half-length by Westall, 1814 (Lady Burdett-Coutts). 5. Half-length by T. Phillips, 1814 (Mr. Murray); engraved by Agar, R. Graves, Lupton, Mote, Warren, Edwards, and C. Armstrong. 6. Miniature by Holmes, 1815 (Mr. A. Morrison); engraved by R. Graves, Ryall, and H. Meyer. 7. Bust in marble by Thorwaldsen, 1816 (Lady Dorchester); replicas at Milan and elsewhere. 8. Half-length by Harlowe, 1817; engraved by H. Meyer, Holl, and Scriven. 9. Miniature by Prepiani, 1817, and another by the same; given to Mrs. Leigh. 10. Miniature in water-colours of Byron in college robes by Gilchrist about 1807-8; at Newstead. 11. Half-length in Albanian dress by T. Phillips, R.A. (Lord Lovelace); replica in National Portrait Gallery; engraved by Finden. 12. Pencil Sketch by G. Cattermole from memory (Mr. Toone). 13. Medallion by A. Stothard. 14. Bust by Bartolini, 1822

(Lord Malmesbury); lithographed by Fromentin. 15. Half-length by West (Mr. Horace Kent); engraved by C. Turner, Engleheart, and Robinson. 16. Three sketches by Count d'Orsay, 1823; one at South Kensington. 17. Statue by Thorwaldsen, finished 1834. This statue was ordered from Thorwaldsen in 1829 by Hobhouse in the name of a committee. Thorwaldsen produced it for 1,000*l.* It was refused by Dean Ireland for Westminster Abbey, and lay in the custom-house vaults till 1842, when it was again refused by Dean Tinton. In 1843 Whewell, having just become master of Trinity, accepted it for the college, and it was placed in the library (Correspondence in *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. iv. 421). 18. A silhouette cut in paper by Mrs. Leigh Hunt is prefixed to 'Byron and some of his Contemporaries.'

Byron's works appeared as follows: 1. 'Hours of Idleness' (see above for a notice of first editions). 2. 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' (Cawthorne) (for full details of editions see *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. vii. 145, 204, 296, 355). 3. 'Imitations and Translations, together with original poems never before published, collected by J. C. Hobhouse, Trinity College, Cambridge' (1809) (contains nine poems by Byron, reprinted in works, among 'occasional pieces,' 1807-8 and 1808-10). 4. 'Childe Harold, a Romaunt,' 4to, 1812 (an appendix of twenty poems, including those during his travels and those addressed to Thyrza). 5. 'The Curse of Minerva' (anonymous; privately printed in a thin quarto in 1812 (Lowndes); at Philadelphia in 1815, 8vo; Paris (Galignani), 12mo, 1818; and imperfect copies in Hone's 'Domestic Poems' and in later collections). 6. 'The Waltz' (anonymous), 1813 (again in Works, 1824). 7. 'The Giaour, a Fragment of a Turkish Tale,' 1813, 8vo. 8. 'The Bride of Abydos, a Turkish Tale,' 1813, 8vo. 9. 'The Corsair, a Tale,' 1814, 8vo (to this were added the lines, 'Weep, daughter of a royal line,' omitted in some copies (see Letters of 22 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1814)). 10. 'Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte' (anonymous), 8vo, 1814. 11. 'Lara, a Tale,' 1814, 8vo (originally published with Rogers's 'Jacqueline'). 12. 'Hebrew Melodies,' 1815 (lines on Sir Peter Parker appended); also with music by Braham and Nathan in folio. 13. 'Siege of Corinth,' 1816, 8vo. 14. 'Parisina,' 1816, 8vo (this and the last together in second edition, 1816). 15. 'Poems by Lord Byron' (Murray), 1816, 8vo ('When all around,' 'Bright be the place of thy soul,' 'When we two parted,' 'There's not a joy,' 'There be none of beauty's daughters,' 'Fare thee well,' poems from the French and lines to Rogers). The original

of 'Bright be the place of thy soul,' by Lady Byron, corrected by Lord Byron, is in the Morrison MSS. 16. 'Poems on his Domestic Circumstances by Lord Byron,' Hone, 1816 (includes a 'Sketch,' and in later editions a 'Farewell to Malta' and 'Curse of Minerva' (mutilated); a twenty-third edition in 1817. It also includes 'O Shame to thee, Land of the Gaul,' and 'Mme. Lavalette,' which, with an 'Ode to St. Helena,' 'Farewell to England,' 'On his Daughter's Birthday,' and 'The Lily of France,' are disowned by Byron in letter to Murray 22 July 1816, but are reprinted in some later unauthorised editions. 17. 'Prisoner of Chillon, and other Poems,' 1816, 8vo (sonnet to Lake Lemán, 'Though the day of my destiny's over,' 'Darkness,' 'Churchill's Grave,' the 'Dream,' the 'Incantation' (from Manfred), 'Prometheus'). 18. 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,' canto iii., 1816, 8vo. 19. 'Monody on the Death of Sheridan' (anonymous), 1816, 8vo. 20. 'Manfred, a Dramatic Poem,' 1817, 8vo. 21. 'The Lament of Tasso,' 8vo, 1817. 22. 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,' canto iv., 1818 (the Alhama ballad and sonnet from Vittorelli appended). 23. 'Beppo, a Venetian Story' (anonymous in early editions), 1818, 8vo. 24. 'Suppressed Poems' (Galignani), 1818, 8vo ('English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' 'Land of the Gaul,' 'Windsor Poetics, a Sketch'). 25. Three Poems not included in the works of Lord Byron (Ellingham Wilson), 1818, 8vo ('Lines to Lady J[ersey]'; 'Enigma on H.,' often erroneously attributed to Byron, really by Miss Fanshawe; 'Curse of Minerva,' fragmentary). 26. 'Mazeppa,' 1819 (fragment of the 'Vampire' novel appended). 27. 'Marino Faliero,' 1820. 28. 'The Prophecy of Dante,' 1821 (with 'Marino Faliero'), 8vo. 29. 'Sardanapalus, a Tragedy,' 'The Two Foscari, a Tragedy,' 'Cain, a Mystery' (in one volume, 8vo), 1821. 30. 'Letter . . . on the Rev. W. L. Bowles's Strictures on Pope,' 1821. 31. 'Werner, a Tragedy' (J. Hunt), 1822, 8vo. 32. 'The Liberal' (J. Hunt), 1823, 8vo (No. I. 'Vision of Judgment,' 'Letter to the Editor of my Grandmother's Review,' 'Epigrams on Castlereagh.' No. II. 'Heaven and Earth.' No. III. 'The Blues.' No. IV. 'Morgante Maggiore'). 33. 'The Age of Bronze' (anonymous) (J. Hunt), 1823, 8vo. 34. 'The Island' (J. Hunt), 1823, 8vo. 35. 'The Deformed Transformed' (J. & H. L. Hunt), 1824, 8vo. 36. 'Don Juan' (cantos i. and ii. 'printed by Thomas Davison,' 4to, 1819; cantos iii., iv., and v. (Davison), 8vo, 1821; cantos vi., vii., and viii. (for Hunt & Clarke), 8vo, 1823; cantos ix., x., and xi. (for John Hunt), 8vo, 1823; cantos xii.,

xiii., and xiv. (John Hunt), 8vo, 1823; cantos xv. and xvi. (John & H. L. Hunt), 8vo, 1824), all anonymous. A 17th canto (1829) is not by Byron; and 'twenty suppressed stanzas' (1838) are also spurious.

Murray published from 1815 to 1817 a collective edition of works up to those dates in eight volumes 12mo; other collective editions in five volumes 16mo, 1817; and an edition in eight volumes 16mo, 1818-20. In 1824 was published an 8vo volume by Knight & Lacy, called vol. v. of Lord Byron's works, including 'Hours of Idleness,' 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' the 'Waltz,' and various minor poems, several of the spurious poems mentioned under Hone's domestic pieces, and 'To Jessy,' a copy of which is in Egerton MS. 2332, as sent to 'Literary Recreations.' In 1824 and 1825 the Hunts also published two volumes uniform with the above and called vols. vi. and vii. of Lord Byron's works, including the poems (except 'Don Juan') published by them separately as above, and in 'The Liberal.' In 1828 Murray published an edition of the works in four volumes 12mo. Uniform with this were published two volumes by J. F. Dove, including 'Don Juan' (the whole) and the various pieces in Knight & Lacy's volume, with 'Lines to Lady Caroline Lamb,' 'On my Thirty-sixth Birthday,' and the lines 'And wilt thou weep?'

There are various French collections: in 1825 Baudry & Amyot published an 8vo edition in seven volumes at Paris, with a life by J. W. Lake, including all the recognised poems, the letter to Bowles, and the parliamentary speeches (separately printed in London in 1824). Galignani published one-volume 8vo editions in 1828 (with life by Lake), in 1831 (same life abridged), and 1835 (with life by Henry Lytton Bulwer, M.P.) To the edition of 1828 were appended twenty-one 'attributed poems,' including 'Remember thee, remember thee,' the 'Triumph of the Whale' (by Charles Lamb, CRABB ROBINSON, *Diary* (1872), i. 175), and 'Remind me not, remind me not.' Most of these were omitted in the edition of 1831, which included (now first printed) the 'Hints from Horace,' of which fragments are given in Moore's 'Life' (1830).

The collected 'Life and Works' published by Murray (1832-5), 8vo, includes all the recognised poems, and adds to the foregoing works a few 'published for the first time' (including the second letter to Bowles, and the 'Observations on Observations'), and several poems which had appeared in other works: 'River that rollest,' &c., from Medwin (1824); 'Verses on his Thirty-sixth Birthday,'

from Gamba (1824); 'And thou wert sad' and 'Could love for ever,' from Lady Blessington; 'I speak not, I wail not;' 'In the valley of waters;' 'They say that hope is happiness,' from Nathan's 'Fugitive Pieces,' &c. (1829); 'To my son,' 'Epistle to a friend,' 'My sister, my sweet sister,' 'Could I lament,' the 'Devil's Drive,' and many trifles from Moore's 'Life' (1830). This edition, which has been reprinted in the same form and in one volume royal 8vo, is the most convenient.

[Moore had sold the Memoirs given to him by Byron to Murray (in November 1821) for 2,000*l.* (or guineas), with the agreement that they were to be edited by Moore if Byron died before him. Byron (1 Jan. 1820) offered to allow his wife to see the Memoirs, in order that she might point out any unfair statements. She declined to see them, and protested against such a publication. Byron afterwards became doubtful as to publishing, and a deed was executed in May 1822, by which Murray undertook to restore the manuscript on the repayment of the 2,000*l.* during Byron's life. On Byron's death, the power of redemption not having been acted upon, the right of publication belonged to Murray. Byron's friends, however—Hobhouse and Mrs. Leigh—were anxious for the destruction. Lady Byron carefully avoided any direct action in the matter which would imply a desire to suppress her husband's statement of his case. Moore hesitated; but at a meeting held in Murray's house (17 May 1824) he repaid the money to Murray, having obtained an advance from the Longmans (Moore's *Diary*, iv. 189), and the manuscript was returned to him and immediately destroyed. It was proposed at the time that Lady Byron and Mrs. Leigh should repay the 2,000*l.*; but the arrangement failed for some unexplained reason, and Murray ultimately paid off Moore's debt in 1828, amounting with interest to 3,020*l.*, besides paying him 1,600*l.* for the *Life*. Many charges arose out of this precipitate destruction of the Memoirs; but there is no reason to regret their loss. Moore showed them to so many people that he had them copied out (*Diary*, 7 May 1820), for fear that the original might be worn out. Lady Burghersh destroyed, in Moore's presence, some extracts which she had made (*Diary*, v. 111). Giffard, Lord and Lady Holland, and Lord John (afterwards Earl) Russell read them. Lord John gives his impressions in his edition of Moore's *Diary* (iv. 192), and seems to express the general opinion. There were some indelicate passages. There were also some interesting descriptions of early impressions; but for the most part they were disappointing, and contained the story of the marriage, which Moore (who was familiar with them) gives substantially in the Memoir (see Jeaffreson's *Real Lord Byron*, ii. 292–330, Moore's *Diary*, *Quarterly Review* (on Moore) for June 1853 and for July 1883, Jeaffreson in *Athenæum* for 18 Aug. 1883). The

first authoritative life was that by Moore, first published in 2 vols. quarto, London, 1830. It forms six volumes of the edition of the *Life and Works*, 17 vols. 12mo, 1837, and in one volume, 8vo. Other authorities are: Lady Blessington's *Journals of the Conversations of Lord B. with Lady Blessington* (1834 and 1850); Correspondence of Lord Byron with a Friend, and Recollections by the late R. C. Dallas, by Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, Paris, 1825, Galignani; *Life of Byron*, by John Galt, 2nd edit. 1830; *Life, Writings, Opinions, &c.*, by an English Gentleman in the Greek Service, 1825, published by Iley; *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece*, by Edward Blaquière, London, 1825; *Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece*, by Count Peter Gamba, 1825; *Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron at Cephalonia*, by the late Jas. Kennedy, M.D., 1830; *Lady Morgan's Memoirs*, 1862 (for Lady C. Lamb); *Conversations of Lord Byron at Pisa*, by Thomas Medwin, 1824; Guiccioli, *Comtesse de*, *Lord Byron jugé par les témoins de sa vie*, 1868, and in English as Guiccioli's *My Recollections of Lord Byron*, 2 vols. 1869; *Records of Shelley, Byron, and the Author*, by E. J. Trelawny, 1858, 2nd edit. 1878; *Life of Rev. W. Harness*, by A. G. L'Estrange, 1871; *Memoirs of Rev. Francis Hodgson*, by Rev. James T. Hodgson, 2 vols. 1878; Parry, William, *Last Days of Lord Byron*, 1825; Hobhouse's *Travels in Albania* (1856, 3rd edit.), and 'Byron's Statue;' *Greece in 1823 and 1824*, by Colonel Leicester Stanhope (1825), new edition, contains reminiscences by George Finlay and Stanhope, reprinted in the English translation of Elze; Elze, Karl, *Lord Byron* (English translation), 1872 (first German edition 1870); *The Real Lord Byron*, by John Cordy Jeaffreson, 2 vols. 1883; also articles in *Athenæum*, 4 and 18 Aug. 1883; *Lady Byron Vindicated*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, London, 1870; *Lord Byron and his Contemporaries*, by Leigh Hunt, 2 vols. 1826, and Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography*, 1850 and 1860. See also articles in the *London Mag.* for 24 Oct.; *Blackwood's Mag.*, June 1824; *Westminster*, July 1824 and January 1825 (Hobhouse); *Quarterly*, October 1869, January 1870, July 1883 (Hayward); *New Monthly*, January 1830 (T. Campbell); *New Monthly* for 1835, pt. iii. 193–203, 291–302, *Conversations with an American*; MSS. in British Museum and in possession of Mr. A. Morrison, who has kindly permitted their inspection. Two small collections called 'Byroniana' are worthless. The *Byroniana* referred to in the one-volume edition of Moore was a collection projected by John Wright, but never carried out.]

L. S.

**BYRON, HENRY JAMES** (1834–1884), dramatist and actor, was born in Manchester in January 1834. His father, Henry Byron, was for many years British consul at Port-au-Prince. Placed first with Mr. Miles Morley, a surgeon in Cork Street, W., and afterwards with his maternal grandfather,

Dr. Bradley of Buxton, Byron conceived a dislike for the medical profession, and joined a 'provincial' company of actors. A monologue of his entitled 'A Bottle of Champagne uncorked by Horace Plastic,' produced at the Marionette Theatre, London, into which the old Adelaide Gallery had been turned, was his earliest literary venture. He entered on 14 Jan. 1858 the Middle Temple. His taste for the stage interfered with his pursuit of law. He had produced unsuccessfully at the Strand Theatre in 1857 a burlesque entitled 'Richard Cœur de Lion.' Better fortune attended his next burlesque, 'Fra Diavolo,' given the next year at the same theatre, which had then passed from the hands of Payne into those of Miss Swanborough. A series of pieces, chiefly of the same class, followed at the Strand, Adelphi, Olympic, and other west-end theatres. Byron wrote for 'Temple Bar' a novel entitled 'Paid in Full,' afterwards reprinted in 3 vols. London, 1865, into which he introduced some of his experiences as a medical student. He was the first editor of 'Fun,' and originated a short-lived paper, the 'Comic Times.' On 15 April 1865 he joined Miss Marie Wilton in the management of the Prince of Wales's Theatre, formerly the Queen's, in Tottenham Street, contributing to the opening programme a burlesque on the subject of *La Sonnambula*. 'War to the Knife,' a comic drama in three acts, was given at the same house, 10 June 1865, and 'A Hundred Thousand Pounds,' also in three acts, 5 May 1866. His terms of partnership included an engagement to write for no other house. In 1867 he resigned his connection with this theatre, and began the management of the Alexandra Theatre, Liverpool, to which soon afterwards he added also the management of the Theatre Royal and the Amphitheatre. At one or other of these houses he produced some of his best works. The result was, however, disaster. These painful experiences did not prevent him from undertaking seven years later the management of the Criterion Theatre, which opened on 21 May 1874 with his three-act comedy, 'An American Lady.' On 16 Jan. 1875 he gave to the Vaudeville Theatre 'Our Boys,' a three-act domestic drama, which is noticeable as having had the longest run on record, not having been withdrawn till 18 April 1879.

Byron's first appearance in London as an actor took place at the Globe, 23 Oct. 1869, as Sir Simon Simple in his own comedy, 'Not such a Fool as he looks,' a part originally designed for Mr. Sothorn. He had previously played in the country as Isaac of York in his own burlesque of 'Ivanhoe.' Subsequently in his own comedies he appeared as FitzAl-

tamont in 'The Prompter's Box,' Adelphi, 1870; Captain Craven in 'Daisy Farm,' Olympic, 1871; Lionel Levert in 'Old Soldiers,' Strand, 1873; Harold Trivass in 'An American Lady,' Criterion, 1874; Gibson Greene in 'Married in Haste,' Haymarket, 1875; and Dick Simpson in 'Conscience Money,' Haymarket, 1878. In 1881 he played, at the Court Theatre, Cheviot Hill in Mr. Gilbert's comedy of 'Engaged.' This was his last engagement, and, so far as is known, the only one in which he played in a piece by another author. Shortly after this period, in consequence of ill-health, he retired from the stage. The same cause drove him into comparative seclusion. He died at his house in Clapham Park on 11 April 1884, and was buried at Brompton.

Byron's serious dramatic work is original in the sense that the plot is rarely taken from a foreign source. It displays ingenuity rather than invention, and abounds in the kind of artifice to be expected under arrangements by which no more than one scene is allowed to an act. The distinguishing characteristics of Byron's plays are homeliness and healthiness. He revelled in pun and verbal pleasantry, and in a certain cockney smartness of repartee. Character and probability were continually sacrificed to the strain after a laugh. In his dramatic works he met with many rebuffs, but few failures. 'Cyril's Success' is generally, and correctly, held to be his best play. As an actor Byron attempted little. A quiet unconsciousness in the delivery of jokes was his chief recommendation to the public. Byron had, before his retirement, an enviable social reputation. Many spoken witticisms, more indeed than he is entitled to claim, are associated with his name.

A complete list of Byron's plays can scarcely be attempted. The following list, in which *e* stands, perhaps too comprehensively, for extravaganza, burlesque, or pantomime, *f* for farce, *c* for comedy, and *d* for drama, omits little of importance: 'Bride of Abydos,' *e*, no date; 'Latest Edition of Lady of Lyons,' *e*, 1858; 'Fra Diavolo,' *e*, 1858; 'Maid and Magpie,' *e*, 1858; 'Mazzeppa,' *e*, 1858; 'Very Latest Edition of Lady of Lyons,' *e*, 1859; 'Babes in the Wood,' *e*, 1859; 'Nymph of Lurleyburg,' *e*, 1859; 'Jack the Giant-Killer,' *e*, 1860; 'The Miller and his Men,' *e* (written with F. Talfourd), 1860; 'Pilgrim of Love,' *e*, 1860; 'Robinson Crusoe,' *e*, 1860; 'Blue Beard,' *e*, 1860; 'Garibaldi's Excursionists,' *f*, 1860; 'Cinderella,' *e*, 1861; 'Aladdin,' *e*, 1861; 'Esmeralda,' *e*, 1861; 'Miss Eily O'Connor,' *e*, 1861; 'Old Story,' *c*, 1861; 'Puss in a New

Pair of Boots,' *e*, 1862; 'Rosebud of Stinging-nettle Farm,' *e*, 1862; 'George de Barnwell,' *e*, 1862; 'Ivanhoe,' *e*, 1862; 'Beautiful Haidée,' *e*, 1863; 'Ali Baba,' *e*, 1863; 'Ill-treated Il Trovatore,' *e*, 1863; 'The Motto,' *e*, 1863; 'Lady Belle-belle,' *e*, 1863; 'Orpheus and Eurydice,' *e*, 1863; 'Mazourka,' *e*, 1864; 'Princess Springtime,' *e*, 1864; 'Grin Bushes,' *e*, 1864; 'Timothy to the Rescue,' *f*, 1864; 'Pan,' *e*, 1865; 'La Sonnambula,' *e*, 1865; 'Lucia di Lammermoor,' *e*, 1865; 'Little Don Giovanni,' *e*, 1865; 'War to the Knife,' *c*, 1865; 'Der Freischütz,' *e*, 1866; 'Pandora's Box,' *e*, 1866; 'A Hundred Thousand Pounds,' *e*, 1866; 'William Tell,' *e*, 1867; 'Dearer than Life,' *d*, 1867; 'Blow for Blow,' *d*, 1868; 'Lucrezia Borgia, M.D.,' *e*, 1868; 'Cyril's Success,' *c*, 1868; 'Not such a Fool as he looks,' *d*, 1868; 'Robinson Crusoe,' *e*, 1868; 'Minnie, or Leonard's Love,' *d*, 1869; 'Corsican Brothers,' *e*, 1869; 'Lost at Sea' (with Dion Boucicault), *d*, 1869; 'Uncle Dick's Darling,' *d*, 1869; 'Yellow Dwarf,' *e*, 1869; 'Lord Bateman,' *e*, 1869; 'Whittington,' *e*, 1869; 'Prompter's Box,' *d*, 1870; 'Robert Macaire,' *e*, 1870; 'Enchanted Wood,' *e*, 1870; 'English Gentleman,' *d*, 1870; 'Wait and Hope,' *d*, 1871; 'Daisy Farm,' *d*, 1871; 'Orange Tree and the Humble Bee,' *e*, 1871; 'Not if I know it,' *e*, 1871; 'Giselle,' *e*, 1871; 'Partners for Life,' *c*, 1871; 'Camalzaman,' *e*, 1871; 'Blue Beard,' *e*, 1871; 'Haunted Houses,' *d*, 1872; 'Two Stars,' *d* (altered from the 'Prompter's Box'), 1872; 'Spur of the Moment,' *f*, 1872; 'Good News,' *d*, 1872; 'Lady of the Lake,' *e*, 1872; 'Mabel's Life,' *d*, 1872; 'Time's Triumph,' *d*, 1872; 'Fine Feathers,' *d*, 1873; 'Sour Grapes,' *e*, 1873; 'Fille de Madame Angot,' *op. bouffe*, 1873; 'Old Soldiers,' *c*, 1873; 'Chained to the Oar,' *d*, 1873; 'Don Juan,' *e*, 1873; 'Pretty Perfumeress,' *op. bouffe*, 1874; 'Demon's Bride,' *op. bouffe*, 1874; 'American Lady,' *c*, 1874; 'Normandy Pippins,' *e*, 1874; 'Robinson Crusoe,' *e*, 1874; 'Oil and Vinegar,' *c*, 1874; 'Thumb-screw,' *d*, 1874; 'Old Sailors,' *c*, 1874; 'Our Boys,' *c*, 1875; 'Married in Haste,' *e*, 1875; 'Weak Woman,' *c*, 1875; 'Twenty Pounds a Year,' *f*, 1876; 'Tottles,' *c*, 1876; 'Bull by the Horns,' *c*, 1876; 'Little Don Caesar de Bazan,' *e*, 1876; 'Wrinkles,' *d*, 1876; 'Widow and Wife,' *d*, 1876; 'Pampered Menials,' *f*, 1876; 'Little Doctor Faust,' *e*, 1877; 'Old Chums,' *c*, 1877; 'Bohemian Gyrul' (second version), *e*, 1877; 'Guinea Gold,' *d*, 1877; 'Forty Thieves,' *e* (written in conjunction with F. C. Burnand, W. S. Gilbert, and R. Reece), 1878; 'La Sonnambula' (second version), *e*, 1878; 'Young Fra Diavolo,' *e*,

1878; 'A Fool and his Money,' *c*, 1878; 'Crushed Tragedian,' *c*, 1878; 'Hornet's Nest,' *c*, 1878; 'Conscience Money,' *d*, 1878; 'Uncle,' 1878; 'Courtship,' *c*, 1879; 'Jack the Giant-Killer,' *e*, 1879; 'Pretty Esmealda,' *e*, 1879; 'Handsome Hernani,' *e*, 1879; 'The Girls,' *c*, 1879; 'Upper Crust,' *c*, 1880; 'Light Fantastic,' *f*, 1880; 'Gulliver's Travels,' *e*, 1880; 'Trovatore,' *e*, 1880; 'Bow Bells,' *d*, 1880; 'Without a Home,' *c*, 1880; 'Michael Strogoff,' *d* (translated from the French), 1881; 'Punch,' *c*, 1881; 'New broom,' *c*, 1881; 'Fourteen Days,' *c* (translated from the French), 1882; 'Pluto,' *e*, 1882; 'Frolique,' *c* (with H. B. Farnie), 1882; 'Auntie,' *c*, 1882; 'Villainous Squire,' 1882. The following pieces may be added: 'Dundreary,' 'Married and Done for,' 'Sensation Fork,' 'Our Seaside Lodging,' 'Rival Othellos,' and 'My Wife and I,' farces. The exact date of production of which it is difficult to fix. Under the head *c* are ranked various slight productions put forth as farcical comedies, farcical dramas, &c.

[Private information; Era Almanack; Era Newspaper, 19 April 1881; Athenæum; Dutton Book's Nights at the Play; Men of the Time, 10th ed.; Pascoe's Dramatic List.] J. K.

**BYRON, JOHN**, first LORD BYRON (*d.* 652), was descended from Sir John Byron of Clayton, Lancashire, who obtained the abbey of Newstead, Nottinghamshire, at the dissolution of the monasteries. He was the eldest son of Sir John Byron, K.B., by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton, Lancashire. He sat in the last parliament of James I and in the first of Charles I for the borough, and in the parliament of 1627-8 for the county of Nottingham. He had been knighted in the interval. He was high sheriff of Nottinghamshire in 1634. His name is not in the list of either the Short or the Long parliament of 1640. In that year he brought his military experience and reputation, acquired in the Low Country wars, to the expedition against the Scots. On its failure, he looked eagerly to the projected great council of the peers at York (August 1640). Writing on the very day of meeting, he expresses his confident hope that 'the vipers we have been too ready to entertain will be driven out,' and that the Scotch general Leslie's exaction of 350*l.* a day from Durham 'will prove a fruitful precedent for the king's service, that hereafter ship-money may be thought a toy' (*State Papers, Dom.*, 24 Sept. 1640).

Byron was appointed to the lieutenancy of the Tower after Lunsford's dismissal (26 Dec. 1641). He was sent for as a delinquent by the lords (12 Jan. 1641-2),

and examined as to the stores lately conveyed into the fortress. 'He gave so full answers to all the questions asked of him, that they could not but dismiss him' (*Clarendon Rebellion*, 154 a), but he refused to leave the Tower without the king's order. The peers refused to concur in the address for his removal, and it was therefore presented by the commons alone (27 Jan.) The king at first declined to comply, but Byron himself begged to be set free 'from the vexation and agony of that place.' On 11 Feb. 1641-2 Charles sent a message to the House of Lords consenting to the appointment of Sir John Conyers in Byron's place.

When the war broke out, Byron was among the first to join the king at York, and marched with him to summon Coventry (20 Aug. 1642, DUGDALE, *Diary*, p. 17). Thence he was despatched by Charles to protect Oxford. At Brackley (28 Aug.), while refreshing his troop after a long march, he was surprised, and forced to make a speedy retreat to the heath. In the confusion a box containing money, apparel, and other things of value was left in a field of standing corn. He wrote to a Mr. Clarke of Croughton for its restitution, which he said he would represent to the king as an acceptable service; if not, he continued, 'assure yourself I will find a time to repay myself with advantage out of your estate.' The houses took notice of this letter, in a joint declaration, retorting on Byron 'the odious crime and title of traitor' (Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 11 Sept. 1642). In a contemporary tract (*Brit. M. E.* 117, 11) the value of the spoil taken is estimated at not less than 6,000*l.* or 8,000*l.*, and the prisoners taken by the parliamentarians are said to have been searched, despoiled, and thrown into the Tower, where they might have starved but for charity (cf. BAILEY, *Nottinghamshire*, ii. 669, 672).

Byron reached Oxford 28 Aug., and remained there till 10 Sept. After leaving Oxford he arrived at Worcester about 17 Sept. He had been pursued by Lord Say, and had to fight on the road. He gained a victory over the parliamentarians at Powick Bridge (22 Sept.), but found it necessary to evacuate Worcester, which he had not fortified, on the following day.

At Edgehill (23 Oct. 1642), when Rupert's charge had scattered the enemy, Byron joined in the chase with the reserve of the right wing—his own regiment of horse. When Rupert returned he 'found a great alteration in the field, and the hope of so glorious a day quite vanished' (*Clarendon*, 309 a). For

Byron had left the foot, whom he had been posted to protect, to be taken in rear by the enemy.

After Edgehill, Byron's regiment quartered a while at Fawley Court. His orders against plunder were disregarded, and the owner, Bulstrode Whitelocke, laments the wanton destruction of property, the writings of his estates, and many excellent manuscripts (*Memorials*, p. 65). Byron's regiment of horse was quartered at Reading in December 1642 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Rep. pt. ii. 433 b), and he probably commanded the horse of the garrison there. Reading not long after (26 April 1643) capitulated to Essex, but Byron was in Oxfordshire during the spring of this year. On 6 May he defeated a party of roundheads at Bicester, and on 12 July was sent west with Prince Maurice to relieve Devizes. The great victory of Roundway Down, near Devizes, on 13 July, was chiefly the work of Byron, whose charge turned to flight the 'impenetrable regiment' of Haslerig's cuirassiers. But his men were always ready to desert or to mutiny for plunder's sake, and on the day of the surrender of Bristol to Rupert, Byron writes in haste to beg the prince to give them assurance that they shall have their share—'some benefit from your highness's great victory.' On 20 Sept. Byron commanded the horse of the right wing at the first battle of Newbury, and Lord Falkland fell fighting in the front rank of Byron's regiment. Byron wrote a full account of this battle for Lord Clarendon's use, and long extracts from his original manuscript are given by Mr. Money in his 'Battles of Newbury' (pp. 44, 51, 56). He himself received what reward the king had to bestow, being created Baron Byron of Rochdale (24 Oct. 1643), with limitation of the title, after his own issue, to his six loyal brothers, Richard, William, Thomas, Robert, Gilbert, and Philip. He willingly accepted Rupert's offer of the sole command in Lancashire, if the county would agree thereto (7 Nov.), but wished first to make sure of the appointment of governor to the Prince of Wales, 'an employment likely to continue to my advantage when this war is ended' (*Add. MS.* 18980, f. 147; WARBURTON, *Prince Rupert*, ii. 329).

By the cessation of arms granted by Ormonde, the troops raised for the king's service against the Irish rebels were set free for other employment, and detachments came over at intervals to join the force under the command of Byron, whose whole army is described as 'rolling like a flood' up to the walls of Nantwich, the only parliament garrison left in Cheshire. Byron defeated Brereton at Middlewich, and captured Crewe House.



But the tide soon turned. Byron failed in an assault on Nantwich 18 Jan. 1643-4; the besiegers confidently awaited the approach of Fairfax with his Yorkshire horse and Manchester foot, soon to be joined by the Staffordshire and Derbyshire levies of Sir William Brereton. A sudden thaw, swelling a little river that ran between the divisions of the royal army, gave the signal of disaster. The part under Byron's command had to march four or five miles before it could join the other, which had meanwhile been broken by Fairfax (28 Jan.) The chief officers, 1,500 soldiers, and all their artillery were taken, and Byron sadly retired to Chester. Prince Rupert now took separate command of the royal forces in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, with Byron as his lieutenant. Sir Abraham Shipman was made governor of Chester. Lands belonging to roundhead 'delinquents' were to be sold, and the administration of this fund was vested in Byron, who not long after was made governor by special commission from Rupert (*Harl. MS.* 2135, f. 30). It was a slippery and thankless post. There had been talk of appointing one Alderman Gamul, and Byron had successfully fought off the proposal on the ground that 'if he be admitted the like will be attempted by all the corporations in England' (*Add. MS.* 18981, f. 51). In October 1644 he complains that he has not as heretofore the sole command in Rupert's absence, 'but there are independent commissions granted without any relation to me' (*ib.* 287). He disclaims any envy at the power Rupert had given William Legge, who appears to have superseded him for a while as governor of the city, but demurs to command being also given him over the counties of Cheshire, Flint, and Denbigh. 'Though Legge has 'ever been his good friend,' Byron feels the slight so keenly that he begs to be recalled 'if I be not worthy of the command I formerly had.'

Chester was in a sad condition. The merchants had been impoverished. 'To improve the fortifications the suburbs had been burnt, and their inhabitants were forced into the already crowded city. The soldiers lived at free quarters, and their hosts often fled from their houses, for the men (against orders) wore their weapons at all times. They plundered the houses of citizens when the owners were at church, and pawned the goods. They robbed in the highway, killed cattle in the fields, and wantonly ripped open the corn sacks on their way to market' (*Harl. MS.* 2135). The troops sent by Ormonde had an evil reputation. Impressment was another grievance. Notwithstanding the claim (allowed by Rupert) of exemption from

all service outside the city by special privilege granted by Henry VIII, 'the garrison was divers times drawn forth, and threatened to be hanged if they did not go, though most of them were sworn citizens.'

In July 1644 Byron repeated his error of Edgehill at Marston Moor. He was in the front rank of Prince Rupert's division on the right wing. Stationed by a ditch, he charged across it, instead of waiting for the enemy to reach his own position (SANFORD, *Studies*, 599; MARKHAM, *Fairfax*, 163-7). 'By the improper charge of Lord Byron much harm was done' is the comment in Prince Rupert's diary.

In August Byron had his share in the defeat of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's northern horse, near Ormskirk, on their march southward. He had come from Liverpool 'on a pacing nag, and thinking of nothing less than fighting that day.' He had narrowly escaped capture as he tried to rally the flying rout. He lays the blame on the brigade of Lord Molyneux, which fled at the first charge, and fell foul with such fury on his regiment that they utterly routed it. Legge, however, writes (22 Aug. 1644) that 'my Lord Byron engaged the enemy when he needed not,' and gives Langdale credit for saving Byron, bringing off his own men, and retreating without the least disturbance' (WARBURTON, *Prince Rupert*, iii. 21). Both agree that the fatal selfishness of the Lancashire men in resolutely diverting the war from themselves had lost the north. After the surrender (in September 1644) of Montgomery Castle by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Byron tried to help Sir Michael Ernly to regain it. But Sir William Brereton came to its relief, and the governor of Chester returned thither. Byron was defeated by Brereton at Montgomery 18 Sept. 1644 (RUSHWORTH, v. 747). Byron now found that many who heretofore were thought loyal upon this success of the rebels had either turned neuter or had wholly revolted to them. Liverpool was threatened. The officers were ready to endure all extremities rather than yield, but the soldiers, for want of pay, 'are grown extreme mutinous, and run away daily'—the old story.

In May 1645 the king marched to the relief of Chester; Byron met him at Stone, Staffordshire, with the news that the rebels had retired, and Charles turned back and took Leicester, his last success. That summer came Naseby, and the autumn brought Rupert's loss of Bristol (10 Sept.) and Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh (23 Sept.) The king again made his way into Chester with some provision and ammunition, but from the Phoenix tower of the city wall he beheld



the rout of his forces by Poyntz (24 Sept. 1645). He wandered back to Oxford, bidding Byron keep Chester for eight days longer (WALKER, *Hist. Discourses*, p. 140). It was actually kept for some twenty weeks. The enemy was closing round. Byron's appeal to Rupert for help (6 Oct.) was published with virulent comments on the writer's supposed leanings to popery and the Irish rebels. Booth, fresh from the capture of Lathom, had joined the besiegers. Byron's brother was taken while marching to his rescue. A relief party from Oxford had been forced to return. The citizens urged surrender. Byron invited the chief malcontents to dine with him, and gave them his own fare of boiled wheat and spring water. Brereton repeatedly urged Byron to surrender, but the cavalier insisted on terms 'granted by greater commanders than yourself—no disparagement to you.'

Chester at last surrendered (6 Feb. 1646). The citizens were not to be plundered, the sick and wounded were cared for, and Byron, with his whole army, were to march under safe-conduct to Conway (PHILLIPS, *Civil War in Wales*, p. 354). He fared better in Cheshire than in London, where the commons resolved to exclude him from pardon—a vote in which the lords refused to concur.

He had meanwhile taken the command of Carnarvon Castle, which he held till May 1646, when the king ordered all his fortresses to be given up. It was surrendered upon articles dated 4 June (WHITELOCKE, p. 208).

Byron joined the queen's court at Paris, and was appointed superintendent-general of the house and family of the Duke of York (30 April 1651). In 1648 he lent his assistance to the royalist invasion of England by Hamilton and the Scotch (cf. two letters from Byron to the Earl of Lanerick in the *Hamilton Papers*, Camd. Soc.; Byron's own relation of his actions in the summer of 1648 appears in *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii. 418). His main task was to seize Anglesea and to raise North Wales for the king. [For his failure and its causes see BULKELEY, RICHARD.] In January 1648–9 Ormonde sent Byron to Charles II with a copy of the treaty he had made with the Irish confederates in behalf of the royalists, and a pressing invitation to the prince to come to Ireland (CARTE, *Ormonde*, bk. v. § 98; CARTE, *Orig. Letters*, i. *passim*). He was now included by the houses among the seven persons who were to expect no pardon.

Byron's after life was passed in exile. He returned to Paris to find himself supplanted in the confidence of his pupil, who arranged a visit to Brussels without his knowledge or

the permission of the queen. At her request, nevertheless, Byron attended on the duke during that journey, and another to the Hague to see the Princess of Orange, as well as in James's first campaign under Turenne.

Byron differed from Hyde, the king's oldest adviser, on such critical matters as the acceptance by Charles of the invitation of the Scotch (1650). Byron wished the prince to accept it (CARTE, *Orig. Letters*, i. 338). Hyde wrote, 'If Lord Byron has become a presbyterian, he will be sorry for it.' But Hyde did full justice to his opponent's fidelity, writing to Nicholas of Byron's death as 'an irreparable loss' (23 Aug. 1652).

Byron died childless, though twice married: (1) to Cecilia, daughter of the Earl of Delaware, and widow of Sir Francis Bindloss, knt.; and (2) to Eleanor, daughter of Robert Needham, viscount Kilmurrey, Ireland, and widow of Peter Warburton of Arley, Cheshire. Byron's second wife was, according to Pepys (*Diary*, 26 April 1676), 'the king's seventeenth mistress abroad.' A portrait of Byron by Cornelius Jansen was in the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866 (No. 688).

Byron's title was inherited by his brother Richard (1605–1679), whose exploits as governor of Newark are recorded in Hutchinson's 'Memoirs.' He held the office from the spring of 1643 till about January 1645. In September 1643 he surprised the town of Nottingham and held it for five days; and on 27 Nov. 1643 surprised the committee of Leicestershire at Melton Mowbray (*Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 690). He resided in England during the protectorate, and in 1659 rose to support Sir George Booth. He died on 4 Oct. 1679, aged 74, having married (1) Elizabeth, daughter of George Rossel; and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Booth. Four other brothers served in the civil wars on the royalist side. William was drowned at sea. Robert commanded a regiment at Naseby, served in Ireland, and was for a time imprisoned for sharing in a royalist plot in Dublin (GILBERT, *Contemporary History*, ii. 158–60); he was alive in 1664 (HUTCHINSON, *Memoirs*, ii. 310). Gilbert was commander of Rhuddlan Castle, North Wales, in 1645 (SYMONDS, *Diary*, p. 247); he was taken prisoner at Willoughby Field on 5 July 1648, and died on 16 March 1656. Philip was killed in defending York on 16 June 1644; a curious character of him is in Lloyd's 'Memoirs of Excellent Personages' (p. 489).

Much of Byron's correspondence remains. It has no literary charm; but it exhibits persistent cheerfulness in the face of gathering disaster, unwearied effort to conquer un-

toward circumstance with patience and contrivance, and dogged pathetic loyalty.

[Information kindly supplied by Mr. C. H. Firth of Oxford; authorities as above; Warburton's Prince Rupert; Clarendon State Papers; Carte's Collection of Original Letters and Papers.]  
R. C. B.

**BYRON, JOHN** (1723-1786), vice-admiral, second son of William, fourth lord Byron, was born on 8 Nov. 1723. The date of his entry into the navy has not been traced. In 1740 he was appointed as a midshipman to the *Wager* storeship, one of the squadron under Commodore Anson, and sailed from England in her. After rounding Cape Horn the *Wager* was lost, 14 May 1741, on the southern coast of Chili, a desolate and inclement country. The survivors from the wreck separated, Byron and some few others remaining with the captain. After undergoing the most dreadful hardships, they succeeded in reaching Valparaiso, whence, in December 1744, they were permitted to return to Europe by a French ship, which carried them to Brest. They arrived in England in February 1745-6. Many years after, in 1768, Byron published a 'Narrative, containing an account of the great distresses suffered by himself and his companions on the coast of Patagonia.' It has often been republished, and supplied some hints for the shipwreck scene in 'Don Juan,' whose author compares the sufferings of his hero 'to those related in my grand-dad's "Narrative,"' though, indeed, the fictitious sufferings of Juan were trifling in comparison with those actually recorded by John Byron.

During his absence he had been promoted to be lieutenant; immediately on his arrival he was made commander, and on 30 Dec. of the same year was made captain and appointed to the *Syren* frigate. After the peace he commanded the *St. Albans*, one of the squadron on the coast of Guinea; in 1753 he commanded the *Augusta*, guardship at Plymouth; and in 1755 the *Vanguard*. In 1757 he commanded the *America* of 60 guns in the futile expedition against Rochefort; he afterwards cruised with some success on the coast of France, and in the following year, still in the *America*, served in the fleet off Brest under Anson. In 1760 he was sent in command of the *Fame* and a small squadron to superintend the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg, and while the work was in progress had the opportunity of destroying a quantity of French shipping and stores in the bay of Chaleur, including three small men-of-war. He returned to England in November, but continued in command of the

*Fame* until the peace, being for the most part attached to the squadron before Brest.

Early in 1764 he was appointed to the *Dolphin*, a small frigate which, with the *Tamar*, was ordered to be fitted for a voyage to the East Indies. The *Dolphin* was sheathed with copper, and her rudder had copper braces and pintles; she was the first vessel in the English navy so fitted. Byron did not go on board her till 17 June. The *Dolphin*, with the *Tamar* in company, sailed from Plymouth on 2 July, when Byron hoisted a broad pennant, being appointed commander-in-chief of all his majesty's ships in the East Indies. At Rio they met Lord Clive, on his way out in the *Kent*, East Indiaman. Clive was anxious to take a passage in the *Dolphin*, as likely to get to India long before the Indiaman, but Byron managed to refuse him, possibly by secretly telling him the true state of the case; for in fact his commission for the East Indies and the orders which had been publicly sent were all a blind, and the real destination of the two ships was for a voyage of discovery in the South seas. The jealousy of the Spaniards seemed to render this elaborate secrecy a necessary condition of success. No one on board the ships had a suspicion of what was before them till after they had stood much further to the south than a passage to the Cape seemed to require. The true object of the voyage was then divulged; it was at the same time announced that the men were to have double pay, with such good effect that when shortly afterwards an opportunity occurred by a returning storeship, only one man accepted the commodore's permission for any one that liked to go home. In passing through the Straits of Magellan they had frequent intercourse with the natives of Patagonia, and they have recorded, as simple matter of fact, that these people were of very remarkable size and stature. Modern travellers, having been unable to find these giants, have assumed that the former accounts were false, either by intention or by misconception, and have spoken, on the one hand, of Munchausen-like stories, and, on the other, of the deceptive appearance of long robes and of the mistakes that may arise from seeing men at a distance on horseback. In the case of the officers of the *Dolphin*—with which alone we are now concerned—this last explanation is impossible; the statements are so explicit that they must be either true or wilfully false. The commodore, himself six feet high, either stood alongside of men who towered so far above him that he judged they could not be much less than seven feet, or he deliberately wrote a falsehood in his official journal, and his

officers with one consent lied to the same effect (Byron's 'Journal' in HAWKESWORTH'S *Voyages*, i. 28; *A Voyage round the World in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin* . . . by an Officer on board the said ship, pp. 45, 51 n).

From the Straits of Magellan the Dolphin and Tamar proceeded westward across the Pacific, skirting the northern side of the Low Archipelago and discovering some few of the northernmost islands. It now seems almost wonderful how these ships could have sailed through this part of the ocean without making grander discoveries; but they appear to have held a straight course westward, intent only on getting the voyage over. Not only the Low Archipelago but the Society Islands must have been discovered had the ships, on making the Islands of Disappointment, zig-zagged, or quartered over the ground, as exploring ships ought to have done. And the necessary inference is that Byron was wanting in the instinct and the hound-like perseverance which go to make up the great discoverer. Having passed these islands, the ships fell in with nothing new; they seem indeed to have gone out of the way to avoid the possibility of doing so, and to have crossed the line solely to get into the track which Anson had described. Many of the seamen were down with scurvy, and Byron knew that the Centurion's men had found refreshment at Tinian; so to Tinian he went, and, after staying there for a couple of months, pursued his way to Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and so home. The Tamar was sent to Antigua, her rudder having given way; but the Dolphin arrived in the Downs on 9 May 1766, after a voyage of little more than twenty-two months. 'No navigator ever before encompassed the world in so short a time,' is Beaton's questionable commendation of what was primarily meant as a voyage of exploration (*Nav. and Mil. Mem.* vi. 458).

In January 1769 Byron was appointed governor of Newfoundland, an office he held for the next three years. On 31 March 1775 he was advanced to be rear-admiral, and on 29 Jan. 1778 to be vice-admiral. A few months later he was appointed to the command of a squadron fitting out at Plymouth for the North American station, or nominally to intercept the Count d'Estaing, who, with twelve ships of the line, had sailed from Toulon on 13 April. The delays consequent on maladministration prevented Byron sailing till 9 June, and even then his ships were wretchedly equipped and badly manned. The rigging was of second-hand or even twice-laid rope, and the ships' companies were largely made up of draughts

from the gaols. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the first bad weather should have scattered the ships and dismasted several, that gaol fever and scurvy should have raged among the crews, and that the components of the squadron should have singly reached the American coast in such a state that they must have fallen an easy prey to any enterprising enemy. Fortunately D'Estaing retired from before Sandy Hook just in time to leave the passage open to the first of Byron's ships, on 30 July. Others arrived later. Byron himself, in the Princess Royal, made Halifax with difficulty, so did two others; one got to Newfoundland, one was driven back to England, all were more or less shattered, and all more or less disabled by the sickness of their men. It was 26 Sept. before the squadron was collected at Sandy Hook, and it was not till 18 Oct. that it could put to sea to look for the enemy. It was immediately overtaken by a tremendous storm, which reduced the ships to their former condition of helplessness. One was wrecked, one was driven off the coast and had to make for England, the others got to Rhode Island and there refitted; but it was 13 Dec. before they were again ready for sea. The delay had permitted D'Estaing to appear in the West Indies with a strong force, and with the first news of Byron's approach he sheltered himself and his squadron under the guns of Fort Royal of Martinique. For several months the English, being in superior strength, kept the French shut up in Martinique. In June Byron went to St. Christopher's to see the trade safely off for England, and D'Estaing, taking advantage of his absence, and having been reinforced by ten ships of the line, went south, and without difficulty, almost without opposition, made himself master of Grenada, brutally handing over the town to be pillaged (BARROW, *Life of Lord Macartney*, i. 62). Byron had meanwhile returned to St. Lucia, and having learned that D'Estaing had gone to Grenada, at once followed to protect the town, which he had believed able to hold out for some time. He had no intelligence of D'Estaing having received a considerable reinforcement, and took for granted that in point of numbers his fleet was the stronger. At daybreak on 6 July 1779 he was off Grenada with twenty-one sail of the line and a large number of transports carrying the soldiers designed to co-operate with Lord Macartney. As he advanced the French got under way and stood out, and Byron, under the idea that there were not more than sixteen of them, made the signal for a general chase, and to engage as they came up with the enemy; nor did he make any alteration.

in his orders when the French, having extended in line of battle, could be seen to number twenty-five sail of the line instead of sixteen. The attack was thus made in a scrambling, disorderly manner, in which several of the leading ships, being comparatively unsupported, were very roughly handled. The English afterwards succeeded in forming their line of battle parallel to the French, and for a short time the action became general; but D'Estaing had no wish to fight it out. He had got Grenada, and the result of the first shock of the battle, by disabling several of the English ships, seemed sufficient to prevent any serious attempt at its recapture. So the French wore and stood back into the bay. That they had had the best of the fighting, so far as it went, was certain; but their neglecting to push their advantage and their hasty withdrawal left them with no claim to victory. The solid gain, however, remained with them, for Byron found himself too weak to attempt to regain the island, and with the greater part of his shattered fleet went back to St. Christopher's. He was lying there, in Basseterre Roads, on 22 July, when D'Estaing made his appearance. The French fleet was more numerous by one-fourth than the English; but D'Estaing having stood in within random gunshot, wore, stood out again, and disappeared. After this there seemed no immediate prospect of any further operations, and Byron, being in a weakly state of health, and suffering from 'a nervous fever,' availed himself of a provisional permission to return home, turning the command over to Rear-admiral Parker. He arrived in England on 10 Oct. 1779.

Byron was beyond question a brave man, a good seaman, and an esteemed officer; but nature had not given him the qualifications necessary for a great discoverer, and the peculiar service in which so much of his time was passed gave him no experience in the conduct of fleets. It is very doubtful whether he ever saw a fleet extended in line of battle before he saw the French fleet on the morning of 6 July 1779. Any knowledge which he may have had of naval tactics was purely theoretical, and when wanted in practice lost itself, giving place to the untrained combative instinct. That he was not thoroughly beaten at Grenada was due to the incapacity of his antagonist, and not to any skill on his part. It is said that, after the peace, he was offered the command in the Mediterranean, but declined it. He had thus no further employment, and died vice-admiral of the white on 10 April 1786. A fine portrait by Reynolds, painted in 1759, the property of William Byron, was exhibited at the

Grosvenor Gallery in the loan collection of Reynolds's works, 1883-4.

He married in August 1748 Sophia, daughter of John Trevannion of Carhays in Cornwall, by whom he had two sons and seven daughters, three of whom died in infancy. Of the sons, the eldest, John, was father of Lord Byron the poet; the second, George Anson, captain in the navy, while in command of the *Andromache* frigate, had the honour of bringing to Sir George Rodney intelligence of the sailing of the French fleet from Martinique on 8 April 1782, and of thus contributing to the decisive victory off Dominica four days later.

[Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* v. 423; *Ralfe's Nav. Biog.* i. 60; *Beaton's Nav. and Mil. Memoirs*; *Chevalier's Hist. de la Marine Française pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine.*]

J. K. L.

**BYRON, SIR THOMAS** (*d.* 1644), commander of the Prince of Wales's regiment during the civil war, was fifth son of Sir John Byron of Newstead, Nottinghamshire, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton, Lancashire, and brother of John, first Lord Byron [q. v.] Clarendon, who characterises him as a 'very valuable and experienced officer,' states that the Prince of Wales's regiment, 'the titular command whereof was under the Earl of Cumberland,' was 'conducted and governed' by him (*History* (1849), App. 2, n. 5). Wood mentions that a degree was conferred on him at Oxford in 1642, but 'of what faculty' he 'knows not.' While in command of his regiment at the battle of Hopton Heath, near Stafford, 19 March 1642-3, he was so severely wounded by a shot in the thigh as to be compelled to leave the field (CLARENDON, *History*, vi. 281). 'Sir Thomas Byron, at the head of the prince's regiment, charging their foot, broke in among them, but they having some troops of horse near their foot fell upon him, and then he received his hurt, bleeding so that he was not able to stay on the field' ('The Battaille on Hopton Heath'). On 7 Dec. 1643 he was attacked in the street at Oxford by Captain Hurst of his own regiment, owing to a dispute about pay (DUGDALE, *Diary*; CARTE, *Letters*, i. 27, Trevor tells the story to Ormonde). Hurst was shot on 14 Dec. Byron died of the wound on 5 Feb. 1643-4 (DUGDALE, *Diary*). He was buried on 9 Feb. 1643-4 in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, 'on the left side of the grave of Wm. Lord Grandison in a little isle joyning on the south side of the choir' (Wood, *Fasts*, ii. 42). By his wife Catherine, daughter of Henry Braine, he had two sons, who predeceased him. His wife was buried in Westminster Abbey on 11 Feb. 1675-6.

[Thoroton's Nottinghamshire (1797), ii. 284; Collins's Peerage, ed. 1779, vii. 128-9; Wood's Fasti (Bliss), ii. 42; Foster's Peerage of the British Empire (1882), p. 106; information kindly supplied by Mr. C. H. Firth.] T. F. H.

in the present Wallasey Church is filled with stained glass in memory of Byrth.

[Memoir by Rev. G. R. Moncreiff; Gent. Mag. (March 1850), p. 324; Ormerod's Cheshire (new ed.), ii. 478.] W. P. C.

**BYRTH, THOMAS, D.D.** (1793-1849), scholar and divine, was the son of John Byrth, of Irish descent, who married Mary Hobling, a member of an old Cornish family. He was born at Plymouth Dock (now called Devonport) on 11 Sept. 1793, and received his early education in that town and at Launceston, under Richard Cope, LL.D. For five years (1809-14) he served his apprenticeship to the Cookworthys, well-known chemists and druggists in the west of England, and during that period started, with other young men, the 'Plymouth Magazine,' which expired with its sixth number on 19 Nov. 1814. After this he passed some years as a schoolmaster, but in 1818 he matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Hitherto he had been in sympathy with the Society of Friends, but on 21 Oct. 1819 he was baptised into the church of England at St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth. He took his degrees of B.A. and M.A. in the spring of 1826, and was ordained to the curacy of Diptford, near Totnes, in April 1823, remaining there until 1825. After that he was at Oxford as a tutor, but this occupation ceased in 1827, when he became the incumbent of St. James, Latchford, near Warrington. In 1834 he was appointed to the more important and more lucrative rectory of Wallasey in Cheshire, where he died on Sunday night, 28 Oct. 1849, having preached two sermons that day. Dr. Byrth—he became B.D. on 17 Oct. 1839 and took his degree of D.D. two days later—was an evangelical in religion and a whig in politics. His scholarship was thorough, and he was possessed of poetic taste and antiquarian enthusiasm. He published many sermons and addresses, and was engaged in controversy with the Rev. J. H. Thom on the unitarian interpretation of the New Testament. In 1848 he edited the sermons of the Rev. Thomas Tattershall, D.D., incumbent of St. Augustine's Church, Liverpool, and prefixed to them a memoir of the author. His own 'Remains,' with a memoir by the Rev. G. R. Moncreiff, were published in 1851, and a sermon on his death, preached by the Rev. John Tobin in St. John's Church, Liscard, on 4 Nov. 1849, was published in the same year. He married on 19 June 1827 Mary Kingdom, eldest daughter of Dr. Stewart, and after Byrth's death a sum of 4,000*l.* was collected for the widow and their seven children. She died 20 Feb. 1879, aged 80. The west window

**BYSSHE, SIR EDWARD** (1615?-1679), Garter king of arms, the eldest son of Edward Bysshe of Burstow, Surrey, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, by Mary, daughter of John Turnor of Ham, in the parish of Bletchingley in the same county, was born at Smallfield, in the parish of Burstow, in or about 1615. His ancestors were lords of the manors of Burstow and Horne, and some of them owners also of the manor of Bysshe, or Bysshe Court, in Surrey. In 1633 he became a commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, but before he took a degree he entered Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar. He was elected M.P. for Bletchingley to the parliament which met at Westminster on 3 Nov. 1640, and afterwards taking the covenant, he was about 1643 made Garter king of arms in the place of Sir John Borough, who had followed the king to Oxford. On 20 Oct. 1646 votes were passed in the House of Commons that Bysshe should be Garter king of arms, and likewise Clarenceux king of arms, that William Ryley should be Norroy king of arms, and that a committee should be appointed to regulate their fees (WHITELOCKE, *Memorials*, 229). In 1654 he was chosen burgess for Reigate, Surrey, to serve in 'the little parliament' which met at Westminster on 3 Sept. 1654, and he was returned as member for Gatton in the same county to the parliament which assembled on 27 Jan. 1658-9.

After the Restoration he was obliged to quit the office of Garter in favour of Sir Edward Walker, but with difficulty he obtained a patent dated 10 March 1660-1 for the office of Clarenceux king of arms. The latter office was void by the lunacy of Sir William Le Neve, and was given to Bysshe in consideration of his having during the usurpation preserved the library of the College of Arms. The appointment was made in spite of the remonstrances of Sir Edward Walker, who alleged that Bysshe had not only usurped, but maladministered the office of Garter, and that if he were created Clarenceux it would be in his power to confirm the grants of arms previously made by him (*Addit. MS.* 22883).

He received the honour of knighthood on 20 April 1661 (P. LE NEVE, *Pedigrees of the Knights*, 135), and he was elected M.P. for Bletchingley to the parliament which met at Westminster on the 8th of the fol-

lowing month. During that parliament, which lasted seventeen years, he is said to have become a pensioner, and to have received 100*l.* every session. Wood, who speaks very harshly of Bysshe, says that after obtaining his knighthood 'he did nothing but deturpate, and so continued worse and worse till his death,' which occurred in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, on 15 Dec. 1679. He was obscurely buried late at night in the church of St. Olave, Jewry. He married Margaret, daughter of John Green of Boyshall, Essex, serjeant-at-law. She survived him. He edited: 1. 'Nicolai Vptoni de Studio Militari Libri Quatuor. Iohan. de Bado Aureo Tractatus de Armis. Henrici Spelmani Aspilogia. Edoardus Bissæus e Codicibus MSS. primus publici juris fecit, notisque illustravit,' Lond. 1654, fol. Dedicated to John Selden. The notes, originally written in English by Bysshe, were translated into Latin by David Whitford, an ejected student of Christ Church, Oxford. 2. 'Palladius, de Gentibus Indiæ et Bragmanibus. S. Ambrosius, de Moribus Brachmanorum. Anonymus, de Bragmanibus,' Lond. 1665, 4to. In Greek and Latin. Dedicated to Lord-chancellor Clarendon. At one time he contemplated writing the 'Survey or Antiquities of the Countv of Surrey,' but the work never appeared. Even Wood is constrained to admit that Bysshe was during the Commonwealth period a 'great encourager of learning and learned men,' and that he understood arms and armoury very well, though he 'could never endure to take pains in genealogies.' A modern and less prejudiced writer remarks that the praise of being a profound critic in the science of heraldry cannot justly be denied him. He is more learned and more perspicuous than his predecessors, and was the first who treated the subject as an antiquary and historian, endeavouring to divest it of extraneous matter (DALLAWAY, *Science of Heraldry in England*, 342).

[Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, 199; Brayley's *Surrey*, iv. 295, 296; Publications of the Harleian Soc viii. 135; Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, i. 292, ii. 285, 318, 319; Harl. MS. 813, art. 40; Addit. MSS. 22883, 26669, 26758. f. 13 b; Lansd. MS. 255, ff. 55, 58; Moule's *Bibl. Heraldica*; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* iii. 612; Noble's *College of Arms*, 236, 239, 248, 260, 261, 264, 280; Lists of Members of Parliament (official return), i. 502, 510, 529; *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iii. 381; Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, iii. 236, 250, 266, 293; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 1218.] T. C.

**BYSSHE, EDWARD** (*d.* 1712), miscellaneous writer, describes himself as 'gent.

on the title-pages of his books. He probably belonged to the Surrey family of the name [see **BYSSHE, SIR EDWARD**], but all that is positively known about him is that he sought a livelihood as a literary hack in London. In 1702 appeared the book by which he is remembered. Its title runs: 'The Art of English Poetry: containing I. Rules for Making Verses. II. A Dictionary of Rhymes. III. A collection of the most Natural, Agreeable, and Noble Thoughts, viz. Allusions, Similes, Descriptions, and Characters of Persons and Things: that are to be found in the best English Poets.' Bysshe addresses his dedication to 'Edmund Dunch, Esq., of Little Wittertham in Berkshire.' The first part of the volume is a business-like treatise on the laws of English prosody, with illustrations which prove Bysshe to have been an enthusiastic admirer of Dryden. The work was extraordinarily popular; a fifth edition was issued in 1714; a seventh, 'corrected and enlarged,' in 1724; an eighth is dated 1737. In 1714 the second and third parts were published separately under the title of 'The British Parnassus; or a compleat Common Place-book of English Poetry' (2 vols.), and this was reissued in 1718 with a new title-page ('The Art of English Poetry, vols. the iii<sup>d</sup> and iv<sup>th</sup>'). Thomas Hood the younger reprinted Bysshe's 'Rules' as an appendix to his 'Practical Guide to English Versification' in 1877. Bysshe also edited in 1712 Sir Richard Bulstrode's 'Letters,' with a biographical introduction and a dedication addressed to George, lord Cardigan. In the same year there appeared a translation by Bysshe of Xenophon's 'Memorabilia,' which was dedicated to Lord Ashburnham from 'London, 24 Nov. 1711,' and was reissued in 1758.

[Bysshe's Works.]

S. L. L.

**BYTHNER, VICTORINUS** (1605?-1670?), Hebrew grammarian, was a native of Poland. He became a member of the university of Oxford about 1635, and lectured on the Hebrew language in the great refectory at Christ Church until the outbreak of the civil war. When Charles I fixed the headquarters of his army at Oxford in 1643, Bythner removed to Cambridge. He afterwards lived in London, but in 1651 we find him again professor of Hebrew at Oxford. About 1664 he retired into Cornwall, and there practised medicine. The date of his death is unknown. Bythner's grammatical works, though written in curiously faulty Latin, are models of lucid and compact arrangement, and continued long in use. His Hebrew grammar, published in

1638 under the title '*Lingua Eruditorum*,' was several times reprinted. An edition of this work was published by Dr. Hessey in 1853, accompanied by the author's '*Institutio Chaldaica*' (first printed in 1650). Of Bythner's other writings, the most important is his '*Lyra Prophetica Davidis Regis*' (Lon-

don, 1650), which is a grammatical analysis of every word in the Hebrew psalter. An English translation of this book, by T. Dee, was published in 1836, and a second edition of this translation appeared in 1847.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, iii. 675; MS. Egerton 1324, f. 106.] H. B.

## C

**CABANEL, RUDOLPH** (1762-1839), architect, was born at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1762. He came to England early in life, and settled in London, where he was employed in the construction of several theatres. He designed the arrangements of the stage of old Drury Lane Theatre, the Royal Circus, afterwards called the Surrey Theatre, 1805 (burnt down 30-1 Jan. 1865), and the Cobourg Theatre, 1818. He was the inventor of the roof known by his name, besides a number of machines, &c. He died in Mount Gardens, Lambeth, on 5 Feb. 1839.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*; *Gent. Mag.* (1839), i. 329.] C. M.

**CABELL, BENJAMIN BOND** (1781-1874), patron of art, fourth son of George Cabell, apothecary, of 17 Wigmore Street, London, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Bliss, astronomer royal, was born in Vere Street, London, in 1781, educated at Westminster School, and matriculated from Oriel College, Oxford, 19 June 1800, 'aged 17;' thence he migrated to Exeter College on 25 Feb. 1801, but left the university in 1803 without a degree. He was called to the bar, at the Middle Temple, 9 Feb. 1816, when he went the Western and Somerset circuits. In 1850 he became a bencher of his inn. On 11 Aug. 1846 he entered parliament, in the conservative interest, as member for St. Albans, and in the following year, on 11 July, was returned for Boston, which he represented till 21 March 1857. He was a staunch supporter of protestant principles, and was in favour of very great alterations in the then existing poor laws; he opposed the grant to Maynooth, and, according to Dod's '*Parliamentary Companion*,' 'was anxious to promote the improvement of the social, moral, and mental condition of the industrious classes.'

Cabell was elected a fellow of the Royal Society 19 Jan. 1837, was a magistrate for Norfolk, Middlesex, and Westminster, and served as high sheriff for the first-named county in 1854. He was president of the City of London General Pension Society, a vice-president

of the Royal Literary Fund, treasurer to the Lock Hospital, and sub-treasurer to the Infant Orphan Asylum. He was also a zealous and influential mason, being a trustee of the Royal Masonic Institution, and provincial grand master of the freemasons of Norfolk. His country residence was at Cromer Hall, Norfolk, and to Cromer and its neighbourhood he was a munificent benefactor, having defrayed the cost of building a lifeboat for the town, besides presenting a considerable piece of land for the purposes of a cemetery.

He was widely known as an art patron. He became a member of the Artists' Benevolent Fund, 1824, aided in obtaining a charter of incorporation for the society in 1827, and contributed 20*l.* towards the preliminary expenses. He died at 39 Chapel Street, Marylebone Road, London, 9 Dec. 1874, in his 94th year.

[*Solicitor's Journal*, 19 Dec. 1874, p. 128; *Law Times*, 19 Dec. 1874, p. 124; *Pye's Patronage of British Art*, 1845, pp. 358, 365, with portrait; *Times*, 11 Dec. 1874, p. 10.] G. C. B.

**CABOT, SEBASTIAN** (1474-1557), cosmographer and cartographer, was the second son of John Cabot, a Venetian pilot, who afterwards settled in Bristol as a merchant, probably as early as 1472, and who, after having made discoveries on the east coast of North America, assisted by his sons Sebastian, Lewes, and Sancto, is supposed to have died in Bristol about 1498.

Sebastian Cabot has recently been described as the 'Sphinx of North American history for over three hundred years' (WINSON, iii. 32). A confusion between himself and his father on the part of many of his recent biographers has been the main cause of their perplexity. This error can be avoided by a cautious use of the materials found in the pages of Peter Martyr (Anglerius), Ramusio, Eden, and Hakluyt, checked by comparisons with the letters patent granted by Henry VII to the elder Cabot and his sons, 1496-8.

Recent writers have injudiciously rejected the old tradition that referred Sebastian Cabot's birthplace to Bristol in favour of a



comparatively new but suspicious story which removes it to Venice. One of the dreams of Sebastian's life, inherited from his father, was the finding of 'a new passage' to Cathay or Tanais, perhaps Tainsu, by the north or north-east (WEISE, p. 193). At the age of forty-eight years or thereabout, having received no encouragement in Spain, Sebastian endeavoured to secure the attention of Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, whom he met at Valladolid in 1522, in order that the scheme should be brought before the council of ten in Venice. If we are to believe the ambassador, Cabot at a secret interview by night endeavoured to gain his ear by saying, 'Signor ambassator, per dirve il tuto io naqui a Venetia, ma sum nutrito in Ingelterra' (HARRISSE, p. 348). Assuming Contarini's report to be correct, Cabot's motive for ingratiating himself is so obvious that the interview must be regarded as a mere display of diplomatic finesse. Although negotiations were reopened as late as 12 Sept. 1551, Cabot never ventured to Venice in the interval of twenty-nine years to substantiate his claims as a citizen or his statements. In short, it is now shown and admitted by his latest biographer 'that all the alleged facts were used as a pretext and a blind was on both sides avowed' (WINSOR, iii. 31). The old tradition is in favour of Bristol, which Cabot had no motive for claiming falsely. Eden, the old friend of Cabot, while translating fol. 404 of vol. i. of G. B. Ramusio's 'Il Navigazione' of 1550 for his own 'Decades' in 1555, two years before Cabot's death, went out of his way to refute a similar story to Contarini's which he found in his text. In a marginal note Eden writes: 'Sebastian Cabot told me that he was borne in Brystowe, and that at iiiij. yeare owld he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne into England with his father after certayne yeares, wherby he was thought to have bin born in Venice' (fol. 255).

There are two interesting accounts of Sebastian Cabot's early years which read as follows: 1. 'Sebastian Cabote, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infante, his parentes caryed with them into England, having occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandies, as is the maner of the Venetians too leave no parte of the worlde vnsearched to obteyne riches' (PETER MARTYR (ANGLERIUS), 3 Dec. bk. vi. Eden's trans. fol. 118). 2. 'When my father departed from Venice many yeares since to dwell in Englande to follow the trade of marchaundies, he took me with him to the citie of London whyle I was very yong, yet having neverthelesse sum knowledge of letters of humanitie and of the

sphere' (RAMUSIO, Eden's trans. fol. 255). A glance at the movements of John Cabot in Spain and Italy after 1476 serves to show that these two accounts refer to the last journey of his parents (about 1493) from Venice to Bristol via London while Sebastian was a minor in his eighteenth year (cf. FOX BOURNE, i. 28).

Early in 1496 we find the name of Sebastian Cabot associated with those of his father and two brothers in the following petition to Henry VII: 'Please it your highness of your moste noble and haboundant Grace to grant unto John Cabotto, citezen of Venes, Lewes, Sebastyan, and Sancto, his sonneys, your gracious letteres patentes . . . according to the tenour hereafter ensuyng,' which was to commission them to sail for the discovery of islands, countries, &c., which were then unknown to all christians. These letters patent were granted on 5 March 1496. With this commission John Cabot and his sons set sail from Bristol in the spring of the following year with two ships, one of which was named the Matthew, which resulted in the discovery of the new-found lands of Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia on St. John's day 1497. On 3 Feb. 1498 letters patent were granted, in the name of John Cabot only, for a second expedition to the field of his first discoveries; the fleet of five ships set sail early in the summer and was expected to return towards September. According to Raimondo di Soncino, who wrote on 18 Dec. 1497, these discoveries were recorded by John Cabot on a map, and also on a globe, which are now lost (WEISE, p. 192). Nothing is known of the termination of this second voyage, and from this period the history of John Cabot ceases.

It is much to be feared, from the ambiguous and often contradictory accounts of the voyages of 1497 to 1499 in contemporary chronicles, that nearly if not all the discoveries that are usually assigned to Sebastian Cabot are really those of his father. According to Stow (p. 862) Sebastian (?) Cabot 'made a voyage with two ships in the 14th yeare of Henry VII,' or 1499. If this is the voyage referred to by Peter Martyr (EDEN, p. 119), Lopez de Gomara (*ib.* 318), and Galvano, he, or more probably his father, must have sailed along the coast of Labrador almost up to latitude 60° north and have returned along the coast of Baccalos, or Newfoundland, thence almost out of sight of land down to latitude 30°, whence he steered for England. The descriptions of the regions explored apply to no portion of the United States, but only to the coasts of Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia, as laid down upon



the famous map of 1544 noticed below (cf. WEISE, p. 202). Of the nature of these discoveries nothing is known. There were other expeditions to Newfoundland set forth by the Bristol merchants Nicholas Thorne the elder and Eliot, assisted by Portuguese, from 1501 to 1505, but there is no evidence that Sebastian Cabot was in any way connected with them; on the contrary, according to a contemporary manuscript hitherto unnoticed by Cabot's biographers, 'Sebastyan . . . was never in that land [i.e. Newfoundland] himself, and made report of many things only ; he heard his father and other men speke in times past' (HERBERT, i. 411). We hear nothing more of him for the next dozen years, during which period he was doubtless well employed in the study of the accounts of the discoveries of Columbus and his followers. His fame as a cartographer had already attracted the notice of Henry VIII, for we read in the king's exchequer accounts in May 1512: 'Paid Sebastian Tabot (*sic* Cabot), making of a carde of Gascoigne and Guyon (Guienne), 20s.' (*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 21481). Feeling, however, dissatisfied at the want of encouragement from the king, at the instance of Lord Willoughby he went to Spain in the following autumn, and entered the service of King Ferdinand the Catholic as cartographer, and a member of the council of the New Indies, with the rank of captain, at a yearly salary of 50,000 maravedis. He was ordered to remain in Seville in readiness for any work that might be assigned to him. Before the close of the year he married Catalina Medrano, evidently a Spaniard (NAVARRETE, ii. 698). On 18 Nov. 1515 Cabot figures as one of the cosmographers who met to define the rights of the Spanish crown to the Moluccas (*ib.* iii. 319). About this period he was directed to prepare for a voyage of discovery towards the northwest. According to Peter Martyr, 'this voyage' was 'appointed to bee begunne in March in the yeare next followynge, being the yeare of Chryst, 1516' (EDEN, p. 119). But this and other projects were frustrated by the death of Ferdinand on 23 Jan. previous, and by the jealous conduct of Cardinal Ximenes as regent, which led to Cabot's return to England towards the end of the year (FOX BOURNE, i. 42).

This brings us to the well-known story of the disputed voyage of Cabot with Sir Thomas Perte about the year 1517. The sole authority for this voyage is Eden, in his 'Treatyse of Newe India.' In the dedication he writes: 'Kyng Henry the VIII about the same yere of his raygne, furnished and sent forth certain shippes under the gouernance

of Sebastian Cabot, yet living (1553), and one Syr Thomas Perte, whose mynt heart was the cause that that viage took none effect.' Hakluyt in 1589, in his eagerness to confirm Eden's story, had the misfortune, through a printer's error in 'Ramusio' (iii. 204), to associate it with an incident in a voyage now known to be that of John Rut (Rotz?), correctly recorded in Oviedo's earlier work of 1535 (cap. xiii. fol. 161) under its true date of 1527. Hence the confusion, which has led not only to the rejection of Eden's story, but also of Cabot's own statement that he was in England in 1517 or thereabouts. In Contarini's despatch quoted above, Cabot, on the Christmas eve of 1522, is reported to have said, 'Now it so happened that when in England some three years ago, unless I err, Cardinal Wolsey offered me high terms if I would sail with an armada of his on a voyage of discovery; the vessels were almost ready, and they had got together 30,000 ducats for their outfit.' Observing that he could not do so without the emperor's leave, he adds: 'I wrote to the emperor by no means to give me leave to serve the King of England . . . and that on the contrary he should recall me forthwith' (*Miscell. Philobiblon Soc.* ii. 15). Although Cabot may have exaggerated the purport of a chance conversation with Wolsey, there can be no reasonable doubt that he was in England probably till the close of 1519. That he knew Perte is also probable, as the latter was of an old Bristol family (cf. *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 29866). A careful review of all the known facts relating to this much-disputed voyage serves to show that it is highly probable that Henry VIII, through Wolsey, took advantage of Cabot's temporary stay in England at this period to request him to organise a small expedition, which 'tooke none effect,' or perhaps did not even leave our shores, either through the timidity or jealousy of Perte, who at this period was a yeoman of the crown and overseer of ballasting ships in the Thames (BREWER, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 110, and NORDEN, p. 39). A second visit by Cabot, and a second failure of a voyage in 1519, as suggested by Harrisse (p. 116), evidently refer to the same story. On 6 May 1519 Cabot was appointed pilot-major to Charles V when he returned to Spain. From this period up to the time of his interview with Contarini in 1522 he appears to have been employed in making researches in reference to the variation of the needle first observed by Columbus. In the spring of 1524 he attended the conference of Badajoz as an expert on behalf of the emperor, which terminated in assigning the Moluccas to Spain,

and Brazil to Portugal. In April 1526 he was appointed to the command of an expedition to Brazil. He visited the river and adjoining district of La Plata, and founded a fort at San Salvador, spending nearly four years in attempting to lay the foundations of the Spanish conquest of South America. The attempt was such a failure, that on his return to Spain in August 1530 he was imprisoned for nearly a year, and afterwards condemned by the council of the Indies to two years' banishment to Oran in Africa for mismanagement and excesses committed during the course of the expedition. He, however, returned to Seville in June 1533, and was soon reinstated in his former position. As remarked by Oviedo, Cabot was 'a good person, and skilful in his office of cosmography, and making a map of the whole world in plane or in a spherical form, but it is not the same thing to command and govern people as to point a quadrant or an astrolabe' (ii. 169). For the next eleven years his duties as examiner of pilots in the Contractation House at Seville were varied by several voyages too unimportant to dwell upon (EDEN, p. 256), and in compiling materials for his famous mappemonde. The original of this famous map was drawn on parchment, and illuminated with gold and colours. The last that was heard of the manuscript was the sale of it at the decease of Juan de Ovando, president of the Council of the Indies, in September 1575. Another draft of it was afterwards engraved, apparently in three different states; the first in 1544; the second edition, dated 1549, and seen by Nicholas Chytraeus (Kochhoff) in 1566; a third one, 'cut by Clement Adams [q. v.], which in his day was to be seen in the privie gallery at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants' houses.' Of these the only one preserved to us is the unique example which was discovered in Germany in 1844, and which is now so distinguished an exhibit in the Galerie de Géographie of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is projected in plano on an ellipse with a longitudinal axis of 39 inches, and a parallel axis of 44 inches, engraved and coloured. It bears the following inscription: 'Sebastian Caboto capitan, y piloto mayor de la S.c.c.m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno de J.C. 1544.' There are legends on the map both in Latin and Spanish, the latter being corrupted at the hands of a Fleming. It was probably printed at Antwerp, the great centre of the production of geographical works at this period. It embodies not only Cabot's discoveries in South America,

and those of his father in North America, but also those of the Portuguese and Spaniards down to his day. It served as the model for all the general maps of the world afterwards published in Italy, and also for the well-known 'Typus orbis terrarum' by Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp, so often reproduced by Hakluyt and others down to the end of the sixteenth century. Cabot's last official act as pilot-major to Charles V was the exercise of his censorship upon Pedro Medina's 'Arte de Nauegar,' Valladolid, 1544, fol.

Shortly after the death of Henry VIII (28 Jan. 1547), Cabot received tempting offers from friends in England to transfer his services to the country of his birth. That no time was lost in accepting them is proved by the following minute of the privy council of Edward VI under date of 9 Oct. 1547: 'Mr. Peckham had warrant for 100 li for the transporting of one Shabot (*sic*), a pilot, to come out of Hispania to serve and inhabit in England.' According to Strype (II. i. 296), he once more settled in his native town, Bristol. In the following January he was awarded a pension of 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year during his life (RYMER, xv. 181). No sooner had this news reached the ears of the Emperor Charles at Brussels, than he somewhat imperiously, through the English ambassador there, conveyed to the privy council in England his desire that 'Sebastian, grand pilot of the emperor's Indies, then in England, be sent over to Spain as a very necessary man for the emperor, whose servant he was, and had a pension of him' (STRYPE, *loc. cit.*) On 21 April 1550 the privy council in England replied, 'that as for Sebastian Cabot, he of himself refused to go either into Spain or to the emperor, and that he being of that mind, and the King of England's subject, no reason or equity would that he should be forced or compelled to go against his will' (*Harl. MS.* 523, fol. 6). This application was renewed in the reign of Queen Mary on 9 Sept. 1553, but without result. Hakluyt records (iii. pref.) that King Edward, in addition to his pension, advanced him to be grand pilot of England. This, however, is an error, as no mention is made of it in either of the three patents relating to his pension. This honorary office was first created for Stephen Borough [q. v.] in 1563. Important work was soon found for Cabot, in addition to a general supervision of the maritime affairs of the country. He was called upon to settle the long growing disputes that had almost reached their height between the merchants of the steelyard, a colony of German traders of the Hanseatic League, and the mer-

chants of London, who for a long period had suffered from the monopolies exercised by the former. For his good offices on this occasion Cabot was awarded by the crown in March 1551 a further gratuity of 200*l*. (STRYPE, II. ii. 76).

This brings us to the crowning work of Cabot's career. He was not the discoverer of North America—an honour never claimed for him by his contemporaries or the chronicles of the sixteenth century—but he was the first governor of the Merchant Adventurers, and founder of a new era in the history of commerce and British merchant shipping. Having brought to so successful an issue the steelyard grievances, Cabot's further advice was sought by 'certain grave citizens of London' for the removal of the great stagnation in trade resulting from the disturbed and warlike state of the continent. 'After much speech and conference together,' the merchants were induced by him to make an effort 'for the searche and discoverie of the northern part of the world by sea to open a way and passage to Cathay by the North-East.' Cabot's advice was adopted, and the Company of Merchant Adventurers was formed and incorporated on 18 Dec. 1551, with Cabot as governor for life. In May 1553 a fleet of three vessels was prepared, and set forth under the supervision of Cabot, with Sir H. Willoughby for admiral, and R. Chancellor for chief pilot. The first results of this expedition were the accidental discovery of Russia by the latter in the following August, and the opening up five years later by Ant. Jenkinson of the first English trade across the Caspian Sea to Central Asia. Although Cabot's pension had been renewed to him by Queen Mary on 27 Nov. 1555, the tide in Cabot's affairs appears to have reached its height in the latest sketch of him afforded us in the account of the setting forth of the Searchthrift in the adventurers' third voyage to Russia in May 1556. Stephen Borough writes: 'The good old gentleman, Master Cabot, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen,' went to Gravesend to inspect the ship previous to its departure. 'Master Cabot,' adds Borough, 'gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the Searchthrift; and then, at the sign of the Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheer; and, for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God'

(HAKLUYT, i. 274). Within a week of King Philip's entry into London on 27 May 1557, Cabot was called upon to resign his pension, only to be allowed to share it two days later with William Worthington, perhaps out of royal spite for withdrawing himself from the service of Spain. Concerning the date and place of Cabot's death we have no information, but there is evidence of a negative character from which it may safely be inferred that he was already dead soon after the middle of 1557. The only account of Cabot's death on record is by his friend Eden, who writes: 'Sebastian Cabot, on his death-bed, told me that he had the knowledge [of the art of finding longitude] by divine revelation, yet so that he myght not teach any man. But I think that the goode olde man, in that extreme age, somewhat doted, and had not yet, even in the article of death, vtterly shaken of (*sic*) all worldly vayne glorie' (J. TAISNIEUS, *Book concerning Navigation*. Translated by R. Eden, London, n. d.—*circa* 1574).

With the exception of the engraved map of 1544 and its facsimile, natural size, executed by M. Jomard, no literary relics of Cabot are extant. All that Bristol has to show as a relic is what is known as the Dun Cow, the rib of a cow whale preserved in the western entrance of St. Mary Redcliffe Church, supposed to have been placed there in 1497 as a trophy of Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland (ARROWSMITH, pp. 100, 255). A street near the church is still known as Cathay. There was formerly a portrait of Cabot in the time of James I in the king's private gallery at Whitehall. This, or another copy of it, was discovered in Scotland in 1792 by Mr. C. J. Harford of Bristol, who purchased it some years later. It was afterwards purchased by Mr. R. Biddle, the author of the memoir of Cabot, but was destroyed by fire with his mansion at Pittsburg in 1845. It bore the following inscription: 'Effigies Sebastiani Caboti filii Johannis Caboti Veneti, militis aurati primi invētoris Terræ Novæ sub Henrico VII, Angliæ Rege.' An engraving of it was made for Seyers's 'Memoirs' (ii. 208). Cabot is here represented with a pair of compasses and a globe, dressed in his fur robe and gold chain, believed to be his official dress as governor of the Merchant Adventurers. To this day, in the Saba della Scudo in the ducal palace (Venice), there is a full-length portrait of Sebastian Cabot, copied (in the year 1763) apparently from a picture attributed to Holbein. It bears an additional inscription as follows: 'Henricus VII Angliæ Rex Joannem Cabotam et Sebastianum Filium . . . Hac spe amissa eo tamen navigatore Terra nova

detecta et Florida promontorium' (*Philobiblon Soc. Miscell.* ii. 25).

[Arber's First Three English Books on America, 1885; Arrowsmith and Spear's Dictionary of Bristol, 1884; Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, 1831; Bourne's English Seamen under the Tudors, 1868; Brewer's Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, 1870; Eden's Treatise of Newe India, 1553; Eden's Decades of the Newe Worlde, 1555 (see also Taisnier infra); Hakluyt's Voyages and Navigations, 1599-1600; Harris's Jean et Sébastien Cabot, Paris, 1882; Herbert's Twelve Livery Companies of London, 1837; Jomard's Les Monuments de la Géographie, Paris, 1842, No. xx.; Navarrete's Biblioteca Maritima Española, Madrid, 1851; Nicholls's Remarkable Life of Sebastian Cabot, 1869; Norden's Speculum Britanniae, Middlesex, 1593; Oviedo's Historia General de Indias, Seville, 1535; Ramusio's Navigazioni, vol. i. Venice, 1550; Rymor's Fæderna, 1741, vol. xv.; Seyers's Memoires of Bristol, 1821-3; Stevens's Sebastian Cabot—John Cabot = O! Boston, 1870; Strype's Eccles. Mem. Oxford, 1822; Taisnier's Book concerning Navigation, trans. by Eden, n.d. (circa 1574); Weise's Discoveries of America to 1525, New York, 1884; Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, vols. ii. iii. iv. Boston, 1885; Major, in Archæologia, vol. xliii. 1870; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. v. 1, 154, 193, 263, 285, 3rd ser. i. 48, 125, 366, 5th ser. iii. 468, iv. 54, v. 405; Penny Cyclopædia; Twiss, in Nautical Mag. vol. xiv. 1876; Cheney, in Philobiblon Soc. Miscellanies, vol. ii. 1856; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 21481, 29866. Harl. 525. For a few additional French and Italian authorities cf. Harris's, pp. 369, 376.] C. H. C.

**CADDICK, RICHARD, D.D.** (1740-1819), Hebraist, was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and took the degree of B.A. on 5 June 1776, and that of M.A. on 20 June 1799. In the latter year he published a small Hebrew grammar, which is very inaccurate and inconveniently arranged. From an advertisement prefixed to this volume, it appears that he had previously issued an edition of the gospels in Hebrew. In 1799-1800 he published an edition of the Hebrew New Testament, in 3 vols. This was a corrected reprint of the translation published by G. Robertson in 1641, which is substantially identical with Hutter's version of 1599. Caddick's edition was issued simultaneously in two forms, viz. separately, and interleaved with the authorised English translation. In 1805 it was reprinted, interleaved with the Greek and the Latin Vulgate texts as well as the English. In 1802 Caddick published three sermons, the titles of which are 'True Christianity,' 'Peace the Christian's Happiness,' and 'Counsel for Christians.' In 1805 he issued proposals for

printing by subscription a Hebrew and English edition of the Book of Common Prayer, an annotated edition of the Old and New Testaments in Hebrew and English, and 'A Volume of Sermons preached in the Parish Churches in and about the Cities of London and Westminster from 1780 to 1804.' It does not appear, however, that any of these works were actually published. During the last forty years of his life he resided in or near London—in Whitehall, at Islington, and at Fulham, where he died on 30 May 1819. The obituary in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' gives him the title of D.D., but he did not obtain this degree either from his own university or from that of Cambridge.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxix. pt. i. 587, 655; List of Graduates of Oxford University.] H. B.

**CADE, JOHN** (d. 1450), rebel, commonly called Jack Cade, was an Irishman by birth, and is spoken of as a young man at the time of his rebellion; but nothing is known of his personal history till a year before that date. He was then living in the household of Sir Thomas Dacre in Sussex, but was obliged suddenly to leave it and abjure the realm for the murder of a woman who was with child. He fled to France and served for a short time in the war against England, but within a few months ventured to return, and apparently settled in Kent, taking the name of Aylmer to conceal his identity, and giving himself out as a physician. In this character he gained so much credit as to marry a squire's daughter, 'of Taundede,' which may perhaps be Tandridge, in Surrey; and the next thing we know of him is that in 1450, 'gaily beseen in scarlet,' he became leader of the commons in Kent when they rose in rebellion against the extortions practised by the king's officers.

Recent researches have shown that this rebellion was a much more formidable thing than older historians lead us to suppose. It was by no means an outbreak of 'the filth and scum of Kent.' No nobleman, indeed, appears openly to have taken part in it, and only one knight; but apparently the greater part of the gentry, with the mayors of towns and the constables of the different hundreds, rose along with the rebels. The men were summoned as if by lawful authority, and in many districts it is clear that all who were capable of bearing arms joined in the movement. It was not a democratic rising. According to Fabyan the people chose a captain to whom they gave the name of Mortimer, and professed to consider him as the cousin of the Duke of York; 'but of most,' says the chronicler, 'he was named Jack Cade.'

Gascoigne, another writer of that age, says he was descended from Roger Mortimer, a bastard (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 190). It is, however, by no means certain that Cade was the captain originally chosen; for one contemporary authority recently brought to light distinctly says that he was not (GREGORY, *Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 191, Camden Soc.) In any case it is clear that the ringleaders desired to give the movement the appearance of being supported by men of distinguished birth, and to suggest that their captain was connected with the family of the Duke of York. It is, moreover, admitted by the chroniclers that the captain chosen performed his part so far well that he established good discipline, and, as it is said, 'kept the people wondrously together.' This we should scarcely expect of an audacious adventurer such as we have described, and as a matter of fact Cade certainly did not do so after he entered London. So that we are the more inclined to believe that the original leader disappeared before the insurgents reached the capital, and that the cool audacity of Cade served the purpose of the other leaders well in concealing his defection or loss.

The rebellion first broke out about Whitsuntide in the latter part of May. The rebels encamped upon Blackheath on 1 June, where they 'made a field diked and staked well about, as it had been in the land of war.' The king (Henry VI) suddenly dissolved parliament, which had been holding its sittings before him at Leicester, and came to London on the 6th. He sent a deputation of lords, spiritual and temporal, to know the demands of the rebels, who replied by their captain that they desired the removal of certain traitors who had too much influence in his council. On this orders were sent that every loyal man should avoid the field, and the king prepared to march against them in person. The host obeyed the proclamation so far that they retreated to Sevenoaks in the night. Next morning the king and his lords rode through London in their best array, and set out against the retreating host with a following of 10,000 men. They encamped on the ground vacated by the insurgents, against whom they sent on a detachment under Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother William. But the result was disastrous; for after a severe conflict these forces were defeated, and both the Staffords slain. The news spread consternation in the royal camp at Blackheath. Many of the king's council had previously urged that a favourable answer should be given to the insurgents, and they now protested that they would openly take

part with them unless Lord Say were placed in custody. The king was obliged to yield. Lord Say was committed to the Tower, and the royal army returned to London. A few days later the king thought it prudent to remove to Kenilworth, and all resistance to the rebels was abandoned. They accordingly prepared to enter the city. And this was the time, according to Gregory, that another captain took the place of the first, pretending to be the same. If so, the first may have been slain at Sevenoaks, and the fact of his death concealed. Indeed, the first action recorded of the leader which seems really characteristic of an adventurer occurred on the field of Sevenoaks itself; where, as we learn from Fabyan, the captain arrayed himself in the apparel of the vanquished knight, Sir Humphrey Stafford, 'and did on him his brygganders set with gilt nails, and his salet and gilt spurs.' Under him the host again occupied Blackheath from St. Peter's day, 29 June, to 1 July, when they entered Southwark. At Blackheath he kept up the reputation for discipline which the captain had already established by beheading a petty captain named Parys for disregard of his orders. Meanwhile a party within the common council had opened negotiations with him, and he had given a passport under his sign-manual to Thomas Cooke, draper, to come and go between them. He also made use of Cooke as his agent in the city, and gave him written instructions to compel the Lombards and other foreign merchants to furnish him with armour and weapons, six horses fully equipped, and 1,000 marks of ready money. 'And if this our demand be not observed and done,' so ran the instructions, 'we shall have the heads of as many as we can get of them.'

Cade was doubtless encouraged by the knowledge that the citizens were mostly in his favour. The common council had just ventured to depose an alderman by name Philip Malpas, whom they had been compelled to elect two years before at the recommendation of the court. On 2 July they were convoked by the mayor to take measures for resisting the rebels; but a large majority voted that they should be received into the city, and an alderman named Robert Horne, fishmonger, who strongly opposed the proposal, was committed to prison. Cade had taken up his quarters at the White Hart in Southwark; but that same afternoon he and his followers entered the city. After they had passed the drawbridge on London Bridge he hewed the ropes asunder. He rode in procession through the streets and struck his sword on London stone, saying, 'Now is Mortimer lord of this city;' but still keep-

ing up his character for good discipline he issued proclamations in the king's name against robbery and extortion, 'showed his mind to the mayor for the ordering of his people,' and returned to Southwark for the night. Next day (Friday, 3 July) he again entered the city, caused Lord Say to be sent for from the Tower, and had him arraigned before the mayor and other justices at the Guildhall. The unfortunate nobleman claimed to be tried by his peers; but a body of men sent by the captain took him from the officers and hurried him to the standard in Cheap, where they beheaded him before he was fully shriven. About the same time William Crowmer, sheriff of Kent, Say's son-in-law, who was execrated as the instrument of extortionate taxation, was seized and brought to Mile End, where he was beheaded in Cade's presence. The heads of Say and Crowmer were then carried through the streets upon poles and made to kiss each other. Another victim, named Bailey, who was also beheaded that day on a charge of necromancy, was believed to have been put to death by Cade's orders simply because he was an old acquaintance, who might have proclaimed his imposture.

It was but a trifling addition to these excesses that Cade also robbed the house of the unpopular Philip Malpas. That night he returned again to Southwark, and next morning came back as before, dined in a house in the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, and robbed his host. The better class of citizens were now seriously alarmed for the security of property: and the mayor and aldermen took counsel with Lord Scales and Matthew Gough, to whom the king, when he retired to Kenilworth, had entrusted the keeping of the Tower. As Cade withdrew once more into Southwark for the night, it was determined not to let him enter the city again. Next day, 5 July, was a Sunday, and he apparently made no effort to do so, though there was no open show of opposition. He seems to have had some difficulties with his own men, and caused one, William Hawarden, a common thief, who had been his chief councillor, to be beheaded in Southwark (William Worcester says in Smithfield, but evidently by mistake. Compare Fabyan). In the evening the mayor and citizens, with a force under Matthew Gough, occupied London Bridge to prevent the Kentish men re-entering the city. Cade at once called his men to arms, and set upon the citizens so furiously that he drove them from the Southwark end of the bridge to the drawbridge in the centre. After midnight the drawbridge was set on fire by the insurgents, and many of the

citizens were slain or drowned. The veteran Matthew Gough himself perished in the conflict. Before this Cade had broken open the King's Bench and Marshalsea prisons, and the released prisoners came gladly to his aid. All night the battle raged between the drawbridge and the bulwark at the bridge foot in Southwark, till about nine in the morning the Kentish men gave way, and both sides being exhausted a truce was agreed on for some hours.

The opportunity was seized by the leading members of the council to terminate disorders by an amnesty. Cardinal Kemp, archbishop of York, the chancellor, with Archbishop Stafford of Canterbury, who had only recently resigned the chancellorship, and Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, held a conference with Cade in St. Margaret's Church, Southwark, at which terms were arranged, and two general pardons were afterwards sent by the chancellor, one for Cade himself and the other for his followers. The men eagerly availed themselves of the general pardon; but unfortunately the other, being made out in the name of Mortimer, was invalid. It was not, however, till about a week later that the captain's real name appears to have been discovered; and meanwhile, trusting to the security of his pardon, he seems to have remained in Southwark till the 8th. He had, however, taken care to secure a quantity of booty in a barge, and have it conveyed by water to Rochester, whither he himself repaired on the 9th, passing on his way through Dartford, and raising new commotions as he went. He continued at Rochester for two days, and went on to Queenborough, where he and his followers attempted to capture the castle, but were resisted by Sir Roger Chamberlain. On the 12th a proclamation was issued against him, in which he was for the first time named John Cade, and a reward of 1,000 marks was offered to any one who would bring him to the king alive or dead. He now perceived that the game was desperate, and escaped in disguise towards the woody country about Lewes. But one Alexander Iden, 'a squire of Kent,' who had either already been, or more probably was soon after, appointed sheriff of Kent in the place of the murdered Crowmer, pursued him to the neighbourhood of Heathfield in Sussex, where he found him on 12 July in a garden, and took him prisoner, but not without a struggle, in which Cade received a mortal wound. He was put into a cart by his captor and conveyed up to London, but died by the way. On the following morning, Monday the 13th, his naked body was identified by the hostess of the White Hart in Southwark.

It was taken to the King's Bench prison, where it lay from that day till the evening of Thursday the 16th. Then it was beheaded and quartered, and the remains were conveyed upon a hurdle through the streets, the head resting between the breasts. First from the king's bench they made the round of Southwark, then passed over London Bridge to Newgate. Finally the head was taken and set upon London Bridge, and of the four quarters one was delivered to the constable of the hundred of Blackheath. The other three were sent to the cities of Norwich, Salisbury, and Gloucester for public exhibition.

Many questions have arisen in connection with Cade's rebellion, and especially with regard to his personality, which it is not easy to answer with confidence. One recent writer questions the fact of his supposed low birth, on the ground that an act of attainder was passed against him after the rebellion. But his marriage with the daughter of an English squire might have given him some landed property, or at least some reversionary interest, which would fully account for the passing of such an act. It is remarked also that the name of Cade was not uncommon in Sussex, in the neighbourhood of Heathfield, where he was taken. There is no certainty, however, that the name of Cade descended to him from his father any more than that of Mortimer. In official records as well as chronicles he is declared to have been an Irishman, and his real origin was probably obscure. A point of more importance as regards the political significance of the rising is whether there was any understanding, as commonly supposed, between Cade and the Duke of York. If there was, it must be owned that Cade was a most unfaithful ally, for among the booty which he seized during the rebellion were jewels belonging to the duke, for which the king afterwards ordered the latter to be recompensed to the value of 114*l*. (DEVON, *Issue Rolls*, 467-8).

[Fabyan's Chronicle; Wyrester's Annales, 470-2 (at end of Hearne's *Liber Niger*); English Chronicle, ed. J. S. Davies (Camd. Soc.), 64-7; Collections of a London Citizen (Camd. Soc.), 190-194; Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles (Camd. Soc.), 66-8, 94; Paston Letters (Gairdner's ed.), i. 132-5; Rolls of Parliament, v. 224; Devon's Issue Rolls, 466-72, 471; Hall's Chronicle (ed. 1809), 220-2; Holinshed (ed. 1587), iii. 632; Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, i. 113; Orridge's Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion.] J. G.

CADE, JOHN (1734-1806), antiquary, was born in January 1734, at Darlington, where he was educated at the free grammar school. Entering the house of a wholesale

linendraper in London, he in a few years was promoted to the first position in the counting-house, and subsequently became a partner in a branch of the concern at Dublin. Having obtained a sufficient competency, he retired from business, and occupied himself with antiquarian studies. He collected illustrations for a copy of Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's 'Britannia,' and also supplied Gough with many corrections for his edition. He sent to Nichols 'Some Conjectures on the Formation of Peat-mosses in the mountainous parts of the Counties of Durham, Northumberland, &c.,' printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' lix. 967. Though not a member of the Society of Antiquaries, he contributed several papers to their 'Archæologia,' including 'Conjectures concerning some undescribed Roman Roads and other Antiquities in the County of Durham,' vii. 74; 'A Letter from Rev. Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, to Mr. Cade,' *ib.* 82; 'Conjectures on the name of the Roman Station Vinovium or Birchester,' *ib.* ix. 276; and 'Some Observations on the Roman Station of Cataractonium, with an account of the Antiquities in the neighbourhood of Piersbridge and Gainford; in a letter to Richard Gough, Esq.,' *ib.* x. 54. He died at Gainford 10 Dec. 1806, and was buried at Darlington.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. viii. 313-28; Gent. Mag. vol. lxxvi. pt. ii. p. 1252.] T. F. H.

CADE or CADDY, LAURENCE (*n*. 1583), a catholic seminarist, was a gentleman of a good family, and received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, but does not appear to have graduated. On becoming a Roman catholic he went abroad, and was admitted into the English College of Douay on 11 June 1578. Soon after his return to England he was apprehended, and being unwilling to answer such questions as were put to him, he was committed to the Tower. His relatives and friends brought him back to the church of England, and in 1581 he recanted at St. Paul's Cross and regained his liberty, but before long he returned to the catholic religion, and in April 1583 he was preparing himself for admission among the Carmelites at Paris. The 'Palinodia' which he published at this period is printed in Bridgewater's 'Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Angliā.' Dodd states that he 'was very instrumental in moderating the fury of John Nicols, who, having also been a student at Rome, had prevaricated, and not only published several scandalous libels against the catholics abroad, but was contriving to do that party all the mischief he could by turning priest-catcher.'



[Bridgewater's Concertatio (1589-94), iii. 223, 234-8; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 157; Report of the Apprehension and Imprisonment of John Nicols, 18, 24; Addit. MS. 5865, f. 104; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 451; Diaries of the English College, Douay, pp. 142, 323-5, 358; Letters and Memorials of Card. Allen, 177, 182, 186, 188.] T. C.

**CADE, SALUSBURY, M.D.** (1660?-1720), physician, was born in Kent about 1660. He was of Trinity College, Oxford, and graduated M.D. in 1691, having been admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians three years previously. He was elected a fellow in 1694, and was twice censor. He was appointed physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital on 14 Oct. 1708, and held the office till his death, on 22 Dec. 1720. He lived at Greenwich till he obtained this appointment, and thenceforward in the Old Bailey. A Latin letter of Cade's, dated 8 Sept. 1716, on the treatment of small-pox, is printed in Robert Freind's folio edition of Dr. John Freind's 'Works' (London, 1733). It shows him to have had a large experience of the disease. He makes the interesting observation that he had never known a case of hæmaturia in small-pox survive the sixteenth day from the eruption, and his remarks on treatment are enlightened. His name is met with as giving official sanction to books published during his censorship, and in the 'Pharmacopœia Pauperum' of 1718 a prescription of his for a powder to be taken internally for skin diseases is preserved. It was called Pulvis Æthiopicus, and consisted of one part of æthiopic mineral to two of crude antimony.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 510; Manuscript Journals St. Bartholomew's Hospital; original printed lists of fellows at College of Physicians; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, xx. 287.] N. M.

**CADELL** (d. 909), king of Ceredigion and afterwards of Powys, was one of the six warlike sons of Rhodri Mawr, the most powerful of the early Welsh kings. If we can trust a late authority, he was Rhodri's eldest son, and received as his patrimony Ceredigion, with the palace at Dinevwr, and an overlordship over his other brothers. In 877 Rhodri was slain by the Saxons, and Cadell entered upon his turbulent reign. In conjunction with his brothers he ravaged and devastated the neighbouring states of Dyfed and Brecheiniog to such purpose that the latter gladly accepted the help of King Alfred against a nearer and more terrible foe (ASSER, *M. H. B.* 488 B.C.) Not long after the sons of Rhodri were compelled themselves to become Alfred's men (p. 885. Mr. J. R. Green's 'Conquest of

England,' p. 183, dates the submission of the house of Rhodri in 897). The harmony between the brothers did not long survive their defeat. In 894 Anarawd, the king of Gwynedd, joined the English in a devastating inroad into Cadell's territory, and burnt remorselessly all the houses and corn in Dyfed and Ystrad Towy (*Annales Cambriæ, Gwentian Brut*). Soon after Rhodri's death Cadell is said to have driven his brother Mervyn out of Powys and added it to his possessions (*Gwentian Brut*, 876); but as Mervyn continued alive until 903 (*An. Cambr.* MS. B), and was still styled king of Powys (*Gwentian Brut*, which puts his death in 892), it is very improbable that a lasting conquest was effected. Anyhow, as Anarawd continued to reign in Gwynedd, Cadell certainly was not, as the 'Gwentian Brut' asserts, thus made king over all Wales. Indeed, it is quite probable that Anarawd was the elder of the sons of Rhodri. Besides civil feuds and Saxon invasions the period of Cadell's reign was signalised by repeated invasions of the 'black pagans,' as the Welsh called the Irish Danes, which culminated in 906 in the destruction of St. David's. Three years afterwards Cadell died (909 *A. C. MS. A*, 907 *B. y T.*, 900 *Gwentian B.*) Three of his sons are mentioned by the chronicles, Howel, Clydog, and Meurug. Of these the eldest became Cadell's successor, and was celebrated as Howel Dha, the wisest and best of the Welsh kings.

[*Annales Cambriæ*; Brut y Tywysogion; Asser's Vita Ælfredi; and the later and less trustworthy *Gwentian Brut* (Cambrian Archaeological Association).] T. F. T.

**CADELL** (d. 943), a Welsh prince, was the son of Arthrael, the son of Hywel. He appears to have been lord of some portion of Morganwg, and perhaps, like Arthrael, of seven cantreds of Gwent as well. He died of poison in 943, according to the '*Annales Cambriæ*;' in 941 according to the '*Brut y Tywysogion*.' The less trustworthy '*Gwentian Brut*,' which speaks with some authority for the part of Wales governed by Cadell, gives several other particulars about him. It also asserts that two of his immediate predecessors attained the patriarchal age of 120. In 933 King Æthelstan subdued all the Welsh princes, and on his death in 940 Cadell joined Idwal Voel and his brother in their effort to throw off the English yoke. On this account Cadell was slain by the Saxons 'through treachery and ambush.' It is quite clear that South-east Wales was during this period closely subject to the West Saxon kings, and there is nothing improbable in the story. Cadell, son of Arthrael, king



of Gwent, is mentioned in the 'Liber Landavensis' (p. 481) as approving and consenting to the pardon of a certain Llywarch, son of Cadwgan, by Bishop Gulfrid of Llandaff.

[Authorities cited in the text.] T. F. T.

**CADELL** (d. 1175), a South Welsh prince, the son of Gruffudd, the son of Rhys, the son of Tewdwr, succeeded, though perhaps jointly with his younger brothers, Anarawd, Maredudd, and Rhys, to the limited and precarious rule of those parts of Ceredigion and the vale of Towy which his father had managed to save from the Norman marchers (1137). Favoured by the anarchy of Stephen's reign, which prevented the possibility of direct English intervention, and involved Robert of Gloucester, the lord of Glamorgan, in weightier business than the extension of his Welsh dominions, Cadell's rule commenced under fortunate auspices. The return of Gruffudd to the old palace of the kings of Deheubarth at Dinewr prepared the way for this, and his own assumption of the title of king after it had become unusual among the South Welsh reguli illustrates his importance. The silence of the chroniclers suggests that the first years of Cadell's government were peaceful. They were marked by an alliance with Owain Gwynedd. This alliance led in 1138 to a joint expedition of Cadell and his brother Anarawd, and of Owain and his brother Cadwaladr, with a fleet of Irish Dnnes against Aberteiv (Cardigan), a town in the possession of the Normans. Even the murder of Anarawd by Cadwaladr could not break the alliance, as Owain expelled his brother from Ceredigion to punish the crime (1143). In 1145 (*Annales Cambriæ*; 1147 *Brut y Tywysogion*) Cadell and his brothers ventured on a general attack on the French castles which dominated the vale of Towy. The capture of Dinweileir, Earl Gilbert of Clare's stronghold (Dinewr itself, according to the 'Gwentian Brut'), was followed by the conquest, after a severe struggle, of the important fortress of Carmarthen. While the young Maredudd repulsed an attempt of the colonists of South Pembrokeshire to regain that castle, the capture of Llanstephan, commanding the mouth of the Towy, and the seizure of Gwyddgrug by a night surprise, completed the conquest of the valley. Next year (1148 *A. C.*; 1146 *B. y T.*) the brothers marched against the castle of Gwys; but the intervention of Howel, son of Owain Gwynedd, in favour of the Normans, sufficiently accounted, as the native chronicler thought, for the failure of the assailants (*B. y T.*, MS. D). But the continued possession of Carmarthen, 'the ornament and strength of Cadell's kingdom,' in 1152 (1153 *A. C.*;

1149 *B. y T.*) shows that the 'French' were permanently checked by the Welsh king's exploits. In the same year Cadell's devastation of Kidwelly threatened the English settlements in Gower; but soon afterwards his arms were diverted to the reconquest of Ceredigion, the old patrimony of the lords of Dinewr, from Owain Gwynedd and his house. The first attack resulted in the capture of the country south of the Aeron, and next year the three brothers completed its entire conquest, save one castle. Llanrhystyd, Cadwaladr's lately built stronghold, was taken after a severe struggle, but soon after regained by Howel, son of Owain (1153), though the neighbouring castle of Ystradmourig was repaired and held for the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys. This was the last of Cadell's exploits. Not long after he fell, when out hunting, into an ambush prepared by the French or Flemings of Tenby, and was left by them 'half dead and cruelly bruised' (the 'Gwentian Brut' says the English of Gower laid the snare). This disaster apparently incapacitated him for the wild life of a Welsh chieftain. Henceforth Maredudd and Rhys alone carried on the war with French and North Welshmen. A few years later Cadell left his dominions to his brothers and went on pilgrimage to Rome (1152 *B. y T.*; 1157 *A. C.*) He returned in safety and continued a life remarkably long for his age and country until 1175 (*B. y T.*; 1177 *Gwentian B.*), when he died in the abbey of Strata Florida, where he had already assumed the monastic habit.

[*Annales Cambriæ* (Rolls Ser.); *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser.); *Gwentian Brut* (Camb. Arch. Soc.)] T. F. T.

**CADELL, FRANCIS** (1822-1879), Australian explorer, son of H. F. Cadell, was born at Cockenzie, near Prestonpans, February 1822, and, after a somewhat brief education in Edinburgh and Germany, became in his fourteenth year a midshipman in the service of the East India Company. The vessel in which he sailed being afterwards chartered by government as a transport, the lad took an active part in the first Chinese war, 1840-1841, being present at the siege of Canton, the capture of Amoy, Ningpo, &c., and winning honours as well as prize-money. When only twenty-two he obtained the command of a ship. He devoted the intervals between his voyages to obtaining a practical knowledge of shipbuilding and of the construction of the marine steam-engine in the shipbuilding yards of the Tyne and the workshops of the Clyde. On paying a visit to Australia in 1848, his attention being directed to the

navigation of the Murray, a subject then uppermost in the colonial mind, he carefully examined the mouth of that river and satisfied himself of the practicability of the scheme. Sir Henry Young, then governor of South Australia, offered a bonus of 4,000*l.* for the first two iron steamers, of not less than 40 horse-power and of not more than 2 ft. draught of water when loaded, that should successfully navigate the Murray from the town of Goolwa to the junction of the Darling river. Cadell, returning to Australia in 1850, and being encouraged by Sir Henry Young, set about determining the question of the opening up of the Murray. He started from Melbourne with a canvas boat carried on a packhorse, and, arriving at Swan Hill station, on the Upper Murray, launched his bark upon the waters of the great stream, and, with four gold-diggers as his companions, commenced a voyage of many hundred miles. His examination of the river convinced him that there would be little difficulty in navigating it with steamers, and his representations on this subject on his arrival in Adelaide led to the formation of the Murray Steam Navigation Company, chiefly promoted by himself and Mr. William Younghusband, for some years chief secretary of South Australia. The first steamship of the company's fleet was called the *Lady Augusta*, after the wife of the governor. On her voyage up the Murray, 25 Aug. 1853, accompanied by the *Eureka* barge, she was commanded by Cadell, and had as visitors Sir Henry and Lady Young. The *Lady Augusta* reached Swan Hill on 17 Sept., a distance of 1,300 miles from her starting-point, and returned thence with the first cargo of wool that had been floated on the Murray. At a banquet given to Sir Henry Young in Adelaide, a gold candelabrum of the value of 900 guineas, with a commemorative inscription, was handed to Cadell. At the same time three gold medals were struck by order of the legislature of South Australia, and one of them given to Cadell (*Illustrated London News*, 24 Feb. 1855, p. 173, and 11 Aug. 1855, p. 176). He continued for some time to run his vessel on the Murray, a higher point on the river being attained at each successive trip. His company then purchased two other steamers, the *Albury* and the *Gundagai*. In one of these, in October 1855, he reached the town of Albury, on the Upper Murray, a point 1,740 miles from the Goolwa. In 1856 he explored the Edward river, which, branching out of the Murray, rejoins it lower down after a course of 600 miles. During 1858 he succeeded, after a month's voyage, in reaching the town of

VOL. VIII.

*Gundagai*, on the Murrumbidgee river, a spot distant 2,000 miles from the sea and in the very heart of New South Wales. In the following year he proceeded up the Darling river as far as Mount Murchison. Largely as Cadell's labours contributed to the development of the resources of the colony of Australia, he himself derived very little substantial reward from them. The sums granted in aid of his explorations were utterly inadequate to cover the expenses incurred, and in his eagerness to serve the public his attention was distracted from commercial pursuits. The Murray Steam Navigation Company, never a commercial success, was dissolved, and its founder, having lost all his money, retired into the bush and began life again as a settler on a small station near Mount Murchison, on the Darling.

In November 1867, when exploring in South Australia, he discovered the mouth of the river Roper and a tract of fine pastoral country, in latitude 14° S. The concurrence of bad seasons and misfortunes induced him at last to undertake a trading voyage to the Spice Islands. In his schooner, the *Gem*, fitted with auxiliary steam-power, he was on a passage from Amboyna to the Kei Islands, when he was murdered by his crew, who afterwards sank the vessel. This tragic event, which put an end to the career of one of the most enterprising and honourable of men, took place in the month of June 1879.

[Anthony Forster's *South Australia* (1866), pp. 68-74; Heaton's *Australian Dictionary of Dates*, p. 30, and part ii. p. 96; *Once a Week* (1863), viii. 667-70; *Times*, 7 Nov. 1879, p. 5.]  
G. C. B.

**CADELL, JESSIE** (1844-1884), novelist and orientalist, was born in Scotland 23 Aug. 1844, and at an early age accompanied her husband, an officer in the army, to India. She resided chiefly at Peshawur, and embodied her observations of frontier life in a pleasing novel, '*Ida Craven*' (1876). One of the principal characters in this work, a loyal Mahomedan officer, is drawn from personal observation, and is an instructive as well as an interesting study. To while away the tedium of cantonment life, Mrs. Cadell made herself mistress of Persian, and upon her return to England after the death of her husband devoted herself especially to the study of Omar Khayyam, the astronomer-poet of Persia. Without seeking to compete with Mr. Fitzgerald's splendid paraphrase in its own line, Mrs. Cadell contemplated a complete edition and a more accurate translation. She visited numerous public libraries in quest of manuscripts, and embodied a portion

of her researches in an article in 'Fraser's Magazine' for May 1879, on which Bodenstedt, when publishing his own German translation, bestowed the highest praise, without any idea that he was criticising the production of a female writer. It is to be hoped that her collections may yet be made serviceable. She was prevented from carrying out her intention by the decline of her health, and she died at Florence on 17 June 1884. 'She was,' the 'Athenæum' truly said, 'a brave, frank, true woman, bright and animated in the midst of sickness and trouble, disinterestedly attached to whatever was good and excellent, a devoted mother, a staunch and sympathising friend.'

[Athenæum, 28 June 1884; private information.] R. G.

**CADELL, ROBERT** (1788-1849), publisher, was a cadet of the family of Cadell of Cockenzie, East Lothian, and born there on 16 Dec. 1788. About the age of nineteen he entered the publishing house of Archibald Constable & Co., of Edinburgh [see **CONSTABLE, ARCHIBALD**], becoming in 1811 a partner, and in 1812 the sole partner of Constable, whose daughter he married in 1817. She died a year afterwards (he married a second time in 1821), and with her death began frequent disagreements between the two partners, Cadell being cautious and frugal, Constable lavish and enterprising to rashness. They agreed, however, as to the value of the firm's connection with Walter Scott, to whom Cadell, in the absence of his partner, once offered 1,000*l.* for an unwritten drama—'Halidon Hill.' During the commercial crisis of 1825-6, which brought the house of Constable to the ground, each partner desired to separate from the other, and to retain for himself the connection with Scott, in whose 'Diary' for 24 Jan. 1825 occurs the remark, 'Constable without Cadell is like getting the clock without the pendulum, the one having the ingenuity, the other the caution of the business.' Cadell's advice led Scott to reject a proposal of Constable's for the relief of the firm from its difficulties, which would have involved him in heavy pecuniary liabilities without averting either the ruin of the firm or Scott's consequent bankruptcy. In his 'Diary,' 18 Dec. 1825, Scott speaks gratefully of Cadell, who had brought good news and shown deep feeling. After the failure of the firm, Constable and Cadell dissolved partnership. Scott adhered to Cadell, who was the sole publisher of his subsequent novels, and their relationship became one of confidential intimacy. They resolved to unite in purchasing the property in the novels, from

'Waverley' to 'Quentin Durward,' with a majority of the shares in the poetical works, and determined to issue a uniform edition of the 'Waverley Novels,' with new prefaces and notes by the author. The copyrights were purchased for 8,500*l.* The publication of the 'author's edition' began in 1827, and was most successful. Cadell persuaded Scott not to issue a fourth 'Malachi Malagrowther' letter against parliamentary reform, partly on the ground that it might endanger the success of that edition of the novels. Scott made his will in Cadell's house in Edinburgh, and entrusted it to Cadell's keeping. Lockhart speaks of Cadell's 'delicate and watchful attention' to Scott during his later years. He accompanied Scott in his final journey from London to Edinburgh and Abbotsford in July 1832.

After Scott's death, the balance of his debts, through his partnership with the Balcarynes, was 30,000*l.* In 1833 Cadell made ('very handsomely,' Lockhart says) the offer, which was accepted, to settle at once with Scott's creditors on receiving as his sole security the right to the profits accruing from Scott's copyrights and literary remains until this new liability to himself should be discharged. Restricting his operations almost exclusively to the publication of Scott's works, he issued, with great success, an edition of the 'Waverley Novels,' 48 vols. 1830-1834, and in 1842-7 (12 vols.) the Abbotsford edition, which was elaborately illustrated, and on the production of which he is said to have expended 40,000*l.* Of a cheap 'people's' edition 70,000 copies, it is said, were sold. In 1847 there remained due to Cadell a considerable sum, and to other creditors on Scott's estate the greater part of an old debt for money raised on the house and lands of Abbotsford. Cadell offered to relieve the guardians of Sir Walter Scott's granddaughter from all their liabilities to himself and to the mortgagees of Abbotsford, on the transfer to him of the family's remaining rights in Scott's works, together seemingly with the future profits of Lockhart's 'Life of Scott.' Another stipulation was that Lockhart should execute for him an abridgment of that biography, and only gratitude to Cadell for his conduct in the whole business induced Lockhart to perform the task. The possessor of a handsome estate in land, and of considerable personal property, Cadell died on 20 Jan. 1849 at Ratho House, Midlothian, from which he was driven to his place of business in St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, every morning at nine, with such punctuality, that the inhabitants of the district traversed knew the time by the appearance of 'the

Ratho coach.' Lockhart characterises him as 'a cool, inflexible specimen of the national character,' and (*Ballantyne Humberg handled*, 1837) as 'one of the most acute men of business in creation.'

[Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, ed. 1860, and the 1871 reprint of his abridgment of it, 1848; Thomas Constable's *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondence*, 1873; R. Chambers's *Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen*, 1868, art. 'Archibald Constable'; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, 1863; *Athenæum*, 27 Jan. 1849.] F. E.

**CADELL, THOMAS**, the elder (1742–1802), bookseller and publisher, was born of poor parents in Wine Street, Bristol, in 1742. In 1758 he was apprenticed to the great London bookseller and publisher, Andrew Millar, of the Strand. Cadell soon proved his capacity; in 1765 he became Millar's partner, and in 1767 took over the business altogether. He followed Millar's example of treating authors liberally, fully maintained the reputation of the publishing house, and brought out the best books of the day. Robertson, Gibbon, and Blackstone were among the writers whose works he published, and Cadell was intimate with Dr. Johnson, to whom he offered a large sum of money for a volume of 'Devotional Exercises,' which was declined 'from motives of the sincerest modesty' (NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecdotes*, ii. 552). Cadell was one of the original members of the famous dining club of booksellers which met monthly at the Shakespeare Tavern in Wych Street, Strand, and he was popular among his rivals in trade, whom he treated with unvarying fairness. For some years William Strahan (M.P. for Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire, from 1780 to 1784) was Cadell's partner in his business, and subsequently Strahan's son Andrew took his father's place. Cadell retired from business in 1793 with a fortune, and was succeeded by his only son, Thomas Cadell the younger [see below]. His generous temperament is attested by his kindness to his own and Millar's chief assistant, Robin Lawless. On his retirement Cadell had Lawless's portrait painted by Sir William Beechey, and 'always showed it to his friends as the chief ornament of his drawing-room.' On the death, in 1788, of Millar's widow, who had married Sir Archibald Grant, Cadell acted as one of her executors. Subsequently Cadell was elected (30 March 1798) alderman of Walbrook ward in the city of London, and served the office of sheriff, 1800–1. During his shrievalty he was master of the Stationers' Company, and presented a stained glass window to the Stationers' Hall. He died on 27 Dec. 1802 at his house in Bloomsbury

Place. He was treasurer of the Foundling Hospital and governor of many public charities. His portrait, by Sir William Beechey, still hangs in the court room of the Stationers' Company. His wife died in January 1786, but his son and a daughter survived him. The latter married Dr. Charles Lucas Edridge, rector of Shipdun, Norfolk, and chaplain to George III, and died on 20 Sept. 1829 (NICHOLS, *Lit. Illustrations*, viii. 552).

**THOMAS CADELL the younger** (1773–1836), one of the court of assistants of the Stationers' Company, conducted the publishing business with all his father's success from 1793 till his death on 23 Nov. 1836. His father chose William Davies as his son's partner, and the firm was styled Cadell & Davies until the latter's death in 1819. In the 'Percy Correspondence,' printed in Nichols's 'Illustrations,' vols. vii. and viii., are many references to the dealings of this firm with Bishop Percy and his friends. Cadell married in 1802 a daughter of Robert Smith and sister of the authors of the 'Rejected Addresses.' By her he had a large family, but the business was not continued after his death. Mrs. Cadell died on 11 May 1848 (*Gent. Mag.* 1837, pt. i. p. 110; NICHOLS, *Lit. Illustrations*, viii. 110).

[Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* is crowded with references to Cadell. A memoir is printed (vi. 441–3) from *Gent. Mag.* (1802), pt. ii. pp. 1173, 1222. A few additional facts are given in the last volume (viii.) of Nichols's *Lit. Illustrations*.]

S. L. L.

**CADELL, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD** (1775–1855), traveller and mathematician, was the eldest son of William Cadell, the original managing partner and one of the founders of the Carron ironworks, by his wife Katherine, daughter of Archibald Inglis of Auchendinny in Midlothian. He was born at his father's residence, Carron Park, near Falkirk, on 27 June 1775, and, after receiving his education at Edinburgh University, became, about 1798, a member of the Scottish bar. He did not practise, being possessed of private means and of the estate of Banton in Stirlingshire, but spent his time in scientific and antiquarian research at home and abroad. His acquirements won him the friendship of Sir Joseph Banks, at whose instance Cadell was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 28 June 1810. He was also a fellow of the Geological Society, a member of the now defunct Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh, and a fellow of the Royal Society of the same city. To the 'Transactions' of the latter he contributed a paper 'On the Lines that divide each Semidiurnal Arc into Six Equal

Parts' (viii. i. 61-81); in the 'Annals of Philosophy' (iii. 351-3) he wrote an 'Account of an Arithmetical Machine lately discovered in the College Library of Edinburgh.' While travelling on the continent during the war with France he was taken prisoner, and only escaped after a detention of several years by feigning to be a Frenchman, a feat which his very perfect knowledge of the language enabled him to accomplish successfully. On his return he gave some account of his wanderings in 'A Journey in Carniola, Italy, and France in the years 1817, 1818,' 2 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1820, which, although somewhat dry in treatment, is to be commended for its scrupulous accuracy. Cadell died unmarried at Edinburgh on 19 Feb. 1855.

[Information from Mr. H. Cadell.] G. G.

**CADEMAN, SIR THOMAS** (1590?-1651), physician, born in Norfolk about 1590, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and proceeded B.A. 1605-6, M.A. 1609. He then studied abroad, and took the degree of M.D. at Padua March 1620. In May and June 1623 he passed his examination before the censors of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and 'at the *comitia majora* of 25 June was ordered to get incorporated at one of our own universities' (MUNK, i. 200). This he does not appear to have done. In 1626 he is returned to the parliamentary commission by the college as a papist. He was then residing in Fetter Lane. Two years afterwards he is noted as a 'recusant' residing in Westminster. He afterwards is mentioned as living at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. It is supposed that his religion delayed his admission to the college. It was not till 3 Dec. 1630 that he became licentiate. On 22 Dec. he was admitted fellow. His religion probably helped him to another honour, for previously, it would seem, to 16 Dec. 1626 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1626, p. 24), he was appointed physician in ordinary to Queen Henrietta Maria. He signs himself *medicus regineus* after this. His name appears with some frequency in the State Papers for nearly twenty years. Thus on 24 May 1634 Thomas Reynolds, a secular priest, confined in Newgate for some years, petitions for release, and appends a certificate from Cademan and others. Cademan and Sir William Brouncker [q. v.] had a patent for stilling and brewing in a house at the back of St. James's Park, and this patent, they note in 1633, they had exercised for many years. On 4 Aug. 1638, on consideration of a petition to government presented in March previous, Sir Theodore de Mayerne [see **MAYERNE, SIR THEODORE DE**], Cademan, and others

'using the trade of distilling strong waters and making vinegar in London, were incorporated as distillers of London.' Cademan and Mayerne were directed to approve of a set of suitable rules 'for the right making of strong waters and vinegars according to art,' which the masters, warden, and assistants are to compose. The Company of Apothecaries, alarmed at this scheme, petitioned against it in September as infringing their monopoly. To this petition Mayerne, Brouncker, and Cademan replied, denying the statements made, and urging that the apothecaries should be admonished to confine their attention to their shops and their patients, and to speak in a more 'respective' fashion of the physicians. The undertaking was allowed to proceed, and in 1639 was published 'The Distiller of London, compiled and set forth by the speciall Licence and Command of the King's most Excellent Majesty for the sole use of the Company of Distillers of London, and by them to be duly observed and practiced.' This is explained in the preface (p. ii) 'to be a book of rules and directions concerning distillation of strong waters and making vinegars.' The name of Thomas Cademan as first master of the company is appended. Another edition of the 'Distiller,' with 'the Clavis to unlock the deepest secrets of that mysterious art,' was 'published for the publicke good' in 1652. Cademan was also physician to Francis Russell, fourth earl of Bedford, of whose death he wrote an account in a curious little pamphlet of six pages, 'The Earle of Bedford's passage to the Highest Court of Parliament, 9 May 1641, about tenne a clock in the morning' (1641). This was to prove that the earl 'died of too much of his bed, and not of the small-pox' (p. 5), as usually asserted.

In 1649 Cademan was chosen anatomy lecturer to the College of Physicians, but he performed the duties of this office in a most inefficient manner. He became an elect 25 June 1650, and died 2 May 1651. A manuscript work of his, entitled 'De signis Morborum Tractatus, cura Thomæ Clargicii,' of date 1640, dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, is in the library of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society (*Catalogue of Library*, i. 205). From the State Papers, 13 April 1641 (*Cal. Dom. Ser.*), it appears that Cademan had at that date a grown-up son. He was probably John Cademan, M.D., recommended on 22 June 1640 by the College of Physicians for appointment to the office of physician to the army (MUNK, i. 228).

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 199, with quotation from Baldwin Hamley's *Bustorum aliquot reliquiae*, 1676; Sloane MS. 2149; *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.

Ser.), Charles I; Brit. Mus. Cat. Cademan's name variously appears as Cademan, Caddiman, Cadiman, and Cadyman; identification is easy.] F. W.-T.

**CADOC**, called the WISE, in Welsh *CATTWG DDOETH* (d. 570?), a Welsh saint, the early lives of whom are so contradictory that it must be supposed that there was more than one person of the name, is said to have been the son of Gwynllw Filwr (Latinised into Gundlaeus), lord of Gwynllwg in Glamorganshire, by Gwladys, daughter of Brychan, a chieftain of Talgarth in Brecknockshire. This Brychan, it may be said, gave his name to Brecknock, in Welsh *Brycheiniog*. Another Cadoc is said to have been son of this same Brychan, and according to some accounts Cadoc the Wise was his great-grandson. Cadoc the Wise was cousin to St. David of Menevia, and nephew to St. Canoc of Gallen. He voluntarily devoted himself to a religious life from his earliest years, and miracles are ascribed to him while yet in his boyhood. He was educated by an Irish anchorite, Menthi; declined to succeed his father in his principality; went to Gwent or Caerwent, Monmouthshire, and studied under the Irish saint, Tathai. He made repeated visits to Rome and Jerusalem, and also to Ireland and Scotland, in search of the best instruction of his time. Of the numerous foundations ascribed to St. Cadoc the most famous was the abbey of Llanancarvan in Glamorganshire, of which he was the first abbot. This, like other monastic institutions of the age, was as much a place of secular and religious instruction as the home of a religious community. At Llanancarvan St. Cadoc enjoyed the friendship of Gildas, also surnamed the Wise, who taught in his school, and he had among his pupils Taliesin, the most famous of the early Welsh poets. Among the earliest monuments of the Welsh language figures the 'Doethineb Cattwg Ddoeth,' or 'Wisdom of Cadoc the Wise,' printed in vol. iii. of the 'Myvyrian Archæology' of Owen Jones; this consists of proverbs, maxims, and triads, prose and verse; and in the 'Iolo MSS.' of Edward Williams are printed 'Dammegion Cattwg Ddoeth,' or 'Fables of Cadoc the Wise.' The second of these fables is entitled 'Dammeg y gwr a laddwys ei filgi,' 'the story of the man who killed his greyhound.' This is in fact the well-known story of Beddgelert, told without names; it ends by saying that 'as sorry as the man who killed his greyhound' has passed into a proverb. The old life, printed in Rees's 'Lives of Cambro-British Saints,' after recording the many miraculous feats of St. Cadoc, goes on

to tell how, having been previously warned in a vision, he is carried off in a cloud to Beneventum, where he is immediately chosen abbot and named Sophias, and on the bishop's death is chosen to succeed him. Being asked in a dream what form of death he preferred, he chose martyrdom, and accordingly was killed by a soldier while saying mass on the following day. Cadoc was buried at Beneventum, and over his grave was built a church which no Briton was allowed to enter for fear of the saint's body being carried off. Colgan and Lanigan assign his death to 570; the former argues that he was martyred at Beneventum, but the latter represents him as dying at Llanancarvan. The following churches are said to be of St. Cadoc's foundation: Llangattock and Crickhowel in Brecknockshire; Porteinion, Gelligaer, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry and Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, Llanancarvan, Pendenlwyn, Penttyrch, and Llanmaes in Glamorganshire; Llangattock-upon-Usk, Llangattock Lenig, and Llangattock Lingoed in Monmouthshire. He is commemorated on 14 Jan. The extant manuscript lives of Cadoc are described in Hardy's 'Descriptive Catalogue,' i. 146-51.

[Bollandi Acta Sanctorum, Jan. ii. 602; W. J. Rees's Lives of Cambro-British Saints; Rice Rees's Essay on Welsh Saints; Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, 158-61; Iolo MSS. (1848); Lanigan's Eccles. Hist. Irl. i. 439; Dict. of Christian Biog.] A. M.

**CADOGAN.** [See also CADWGAN.]

**CADOGAN, HENRY** (1780-1813), colonel, was one of the children of Charles Sloane, third baron Cadogan and first earl (second creation, 1800), by his second wife, and was born on 26 Feb. 1780. His granduncle was William, earl Cadogan [q. v.]. He was educated at Eton, and on 9 Aug. 1797 became ensign, by purchase, in the 18th royal Irish foot, which corps he joined at Gibraltar after its return from Tuscany, and obtained his lieutenantancy therein in 1798. In 1799, having purchased a company in the 60th, he exchanged as lieutenant and captain to the Coldstream guards, and served therein until promoted to a majority in the 53rd foot in 1804. On 22 Aug. 1805 he became lieutenant-colonel in the 2nd battalion (afterwards disbanded) of his old corps, the 18th royal Irish, having purchased every step. After serving with the battalion in Scotland and the Channel Islands, he left it when it proceeded to the island of Curaçoa, and exchanged, in 1808, to the 71st Highlanders at home. During the early part of the Peninsular war, Cadogan served as aide-de-camp to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and after the passage of the

Douro was selected by him to proceed to the headquarters of the Spanish general, Cuesta, to make arrangements for the co-operation of the English and Spanish armies in the forthcoming campaign on the Tagus. He was afterwards present at the battle of Talavera. When the 71st Highlanders, then recently transformed into a light infantry corps, arrived out in Portugal in the summer of 1810, Cadogan joined it at Mafra and assumed command in succession to Colonel Peacocke. At its head he distinguished himself on various occasions during the subsequent campaigns, particularly at Fuentes de Onoro, 5 May 1811, when he succeeded to the command of a brigade consisting of the 24th, 71st, and 79th regiments (GURWOOD, iv. 797-8), at Arroyo dos Molinos 28 Oct. 1811 (*ib.* v. 13, 354-6), and at Vittoria, 21 June 1813, where he fell. On the latter occasion the 71st was ordered to storm the heights above the village of Puebla, whereon rested the French left. While advancing to the charge at the head of his men Cadogan was mortally wounded. At his request he was carried to a neighbouring eminence, whence he witnessed the success of the charge before he expired. The incident is represented on the public monument by Chantry, erected to the memory of Cadogan in St. Paul's, for which the House of Commons voted the sum of 1,575*l.* Monuments were also erected to him in Chelsea parish church and in Glasgow-cathedral. Cadogan, who was in his thirty-fourth year and unmarried, was much esteemed both in private life and professionally, and Lord Wellington, although an intimate personal friend, simply expressed the general feeling of the army when he wrote of his great merit and tried gallantry in his Vittoria despatch (*ib.* vi. 539, 545-6).

[Burke's Peerage; Army Lists and War Office Muster-Rolls; Hildyard's Hist. Rec. 71st High. Light Inf. (London. 1877); Gurwood's Wellington Despatches, iii. iv. v. vi.] H. M. C.

**CADOGAN, WILLIAM** (1601-1661), major of horse under the Commonwealth and governor of Trim, was eldest son of Henry Cadogan of Llanbetter, and great-grandson of Thomas Cadogan of Dunster, Somersetshire, who in his will, dated 12 June 1511, styles himself 'valetus corone,' and is credited by many genealogists with descent from the ancient princes of Wales [see CADWGAN]. William Cadogan was born at Dunster in 1601, and accompanied the Earl of Strafford to Ireland, where he was serving as a captain of horse in 1641. In 1649 he reappears as a major of horse in Cromwell's army in Ireland, and for his services in the revolted districts round

Dublin, and especially against the Irish chieftains Phelim O'Neill and Owen O'Rowe, was rewarded with the governorship of the castle and borough of Trim, co. Meath, which he held until his death, 14 March 1661. A monument to him, stated by some writers to be at Trim and by others in Christ Church, Dublin, bears or bore a lengthy Latin inscription, transcribed in Collins's 'Peerage,' vol. v., which sets forth these and other particulars of him. Cadogan had a son Henry, a barrister settled in Dublin, who married Bridget, daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, and by her had three children. The eldest of them, William, became a distinguished soldier, and was Marlborough's most trusted lieutenant [see CADOGAN, WILLIAM, first earl].

[Collins's Peerage (edit. 1812), vol. v.; Burke's Peerage; Foster's Peerage.] H. M. C.

**CADOGAN, WILLIAM**, first EARL CADOGAN (1675-1726), general, colonel 1st foot guards, was eldest son of Henry Cadogan, counsellor-at-law, of Dublin, and grandson of Major William Cadogan, governor of Trim [see CADOGAN, WILLIAM, major]. He was born in 1675 (see DOYLE, *Baronage*), and is said to have fought as a boy cornet in King William's army at the passage of the Boyne. He obtained a commission in one of the regiments of Inniskilling dragoons, afterwards known as the 5th royal Irish dragoons (revived in 1858 as the 5th royal Irish lancers), with which he served under King William in the Irish and Flanders campaigns, and attracted the notice of Marlborough, who was twenty-five years his senior. When troops were sent from Ireland to Holland in 1701, Cadogan, then a major in the royal Irish dragoons, accompanied them as quartermaster-general. He was employed on special duty at Hamburg and elsewhere later in the same year, in connection with the movement of the Danish and Wurtemberg troops into Holland (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Rep. 189-90). In April 1702, a month after King William's death, Marlborough was appointed generalissimo of the confederate armies, and fixed his headquarters at the Hague, taking as his quartermaster-general Cadogan, who became his most trusted subordinate. Cadogan's services in the ensuing campaign, ending with the fall of Liège and the retreat of the French behind the Meuse, were rewarded, on 2 March 1703, with the colonelcy of the regiment with which his name is chiefly identified, the 6th (later 2nd Irish) horse, (the present 5th dragoon guards), which became famous as 'Cadogan's Horse.' In the winter of 1703-4 Cadogan was in England organising reinforcements. He returned to



Holland in advance of Marlborough, and as quartermaster-general conducted the historic march into Bavaria, ending with the great victory at Blenheim, 13 Aug. 1704, and the no less admirably managed return movement of the army with its huge convoys of prisoners and wounded. During the campaign he was wounded and had his horse shot under him at the attack on Schellenburg, but was on the field at Blenheim in attendance on Marlborough. He was promoted brigadier-general on 25 Aug. 1704, and his name figures in the distribution-list of the queen's bounty for Blenheim, for the sums of 90*l.* as brigadier-general, 60*l.* as quartermaster-general, and 123*l.* as colonel of a regiment of horse and captain of a troop therein (*Treasury Papers*, xciii. 79). In the following year Cadogan's Horse won great distinction at the forcing of the enemy's lines between Helixem and Neerwinden. Big men mounted on big horses, they drove the famous Bavarian horse-grenadier guards off the field, capturing four of their standards (*CANNON, Hist. Rec. 5th Drag. Gds.* p. 28). Popular accounts relate that the charge was led by Cadogan in person. After fulfilling special missions at Vienna and in Hanover, Cadogan was present at the victory at Ramillies on 23 May 1706. A plan of the order of battle, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Maps*, <sup>31800</sup><sub>324</sub>), shows that he held no separate command on that day. But immediately afterwards he was sent with a body of horse and foot to occupy Ghent and to summon Antwerp, services speedily accomplished. The garrison of the latter city, consisting of six French and six Spanish regiments, was permitted to march out, and the keys of the city were handed to Cadogan, their first surrender since they were delivered up to the Duke of Parma, after a twelve-month's leaguer, two centuries before. Cadogan was promoted to major-general on 1 June 1706. The supply of the army was then included among the multifarious duties of Cadogan's department, and on 16 Aug. following, while making a forage near Tournay, in the combined capacities of a cavalry commander and quartermaster-general, he was captured by the enemy, but released on parole three days later and soon afterwards exchanged. Later in the year he was engaged in the delicate task of quartering the confederate troops of different nationalities for the winter (see *Marlb. Desp.* iii. 175). In February 1707 he was entrusted on his return from London with the task of explaining to the Dutch deputies the English view of the next campaign (*ib.* p. 369). Later in the year he was accredited envoy

extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the States of Holland in the absence of Mr. Stepney, whom he succeeded in the post, retaining his military appointments. He arrived at Brussels in that capacity on 29 Nov. 1707 (*London Gazette*, No. 4390). On 11 May 1708 he had been returned for the borough of New Woodstock, Oxfordshire—probably on Marlborough's nomination—in the parliament which (after the union with Scotland) was proclaimed on 29 April 1707, the first parliament of Great Britain (see *Lists of Members of Parliament*). He was re-chosen for the same place in four succeeding parliaments. In February 1708 Cadogan was at Ostend, superintending the embarkation of ten regiments for home, in view of the rumoured French descent on Scotland from Dunkirk (*Marlb. Desp.* iii. 680, 689). He commanded the van of the army in the operations which led up to the great battle at Oudenarde on 11 July 1708, on which occasion he commenced the action by crossing the Scheldt and vigorously attacking the village of Hayem, which was carried and four out of seven opposing battalions made prisoners. Afterwards he was employed in conveying supplies from Ostend to the army during the siege of Lille. He was promoted to lieutenant-general on 1 Jan. 1709. Early in that year Cadogan was sent by Marlborough to see that the troops in Flanders were ready for the forthcoming campaign. In a list of general officers of the confederate armies, forwarded by Marlborough to the French headquarters in July, Cadogan's name appears at the end of the lieutenant-generals of cavalry (*ib.* iv. 538). His services during the year included the siege of Menin, where an incident occurred which has been variously told. The version given by the historian of the Grenadier guards—who says that it is commemorated by a centrepiece of plate in possession of the present Earl Cadogan—is that Marlborough, attended by Cadogan and a numerous staff, was reconnoitring the enemy's position at close quarters, and having dropped his glove requested Cadogan to dismount and pick it up, which was instantly done. Returned to camp and the staff dismissed, he asked Cadogan if he remembered the incident, adding that he wished a battery to be erected on the spot, but did not like to speak of it openly. Cadogan replied that he had already given the order, and on Marlborough expressing surprise rejoined that he knew his chief to be too much a gentleman to make such a request without good hidden reason (*HAMILTON, Hist. Gren. Gds.* ii. 48). Cadogan was present at the battle of Malplaquet on 11 Sept. 1709, and was sent after



the battle to confer with the French commanders respecting provision for the wounded. Immediately afterwards he was detached with a corps of infantry, two hundred guns, and fifty mortars to commence the siege of Mons, where he was dangerously wounded in the neck and his aide-de-camp killed by his side while the troops were breaking ground. The lieutenancy of the Tower of London was conferred on him in December of the same year. In January 1710 he was present at a conference with the Dutch deputies at the Hague, after which he was again at Brussels. A volume of correspondence relating to affairs in 1709-10, chiefly autograph letters from Brussels in Cadogan's large, plain hand, is among the Foreign Office Records in the Public Record Office, London (*F. O. Rec. Flanders*, Nos. 132-5), in one of which he expresses his intention of 'following the fortunes, good or bad, of the great man to whom I am under such infinite obligations;' adding, 'I would be a monster if I did otherwise.' Marlborough's influence was at this time fast declining. Cadogan shared his leader's unpopularity, and by the end of the year was removed from his diplomatic post, to Marlborough's great displeasure. Swift, who appears to have known Cadogan's family, mentions in a 'Letter to Stella,' in December 1710, that there was a rumour of his being dispossessed of the lieutenancy of the Tower to make way for Jack Hill, brother of the queen's new favourite, Mrs. Masham (SWIFT, *Works*, ii. 477). Cadogan was lieutenant of the Tower from December 1709 to December 1715 (see DE ROS, *Memorials of the Tower of London*, App.) Returning to his staff duties Cadogan rendered important services at the siege of Douay. At the head of some squadrons of his cuirassiers—cuirasses, laid aside at the peace of Ryswick, had by this time been resumed by Cadogan's and other regiments of horse—he took a prominent part in manœuvring the enemy out of their lines at Arlieux, and so preparing the way for the important siege of Bouchain, the details of which were entrusted by Marlborough to Cadogan. The place capitulated in September 1711. Bouchain was Marlborough's last victory. When the Duke of Ormonde succeeded to the command of the army, Cadogan found his name omitted from the list of lieutenant-generals appointed to divisional commands; but, at his own request, he made the campaign of 1712 as quartermaster-general. When the troops reached Dunkirk on their homeward route, Cadogan retired to Holland. Marlborough followed him into exile in November 1712. For his share in the reception accorded to

his old chief on setting foot upon Dutch soil Cadogan was called upon to resign his offices and employments under the crown. He appears to have sold the colonelcy of his regiment to Major-general Kellum, a veteran who had served with the regiment since its first formation in 1685, for the sum of 3,000*l.* (CANNON, *Hist. Rec. 5th Drag. Gds.*) As the recognised medium of communication between the English whigs and the German states interested in the Hanoverian succession, Cadogan was busily engaged in the political intrigues and counter-intrigues at home and abroad which marked the next two years.

Before the death of Queen Anne, on 1 Aug. 1714, he had returned to London. With the customary issue of commissions under the new sign-manual Cadogan was reinstated in his former rank as lieutenant-general. The commission, with the date left blank, probably by design, is still extant (Home Office, *Mil. Commissions*, i.) He was appointed master of the king's robes, lieutenant of the ordnance, which post he retained until 1718, and colonel of the Coldstream guards, the latter appointment bearing date 11 Aug. 1714. He was re-chosen for the fifth time for the borough of Woodstock, and was accredited as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the States General of Holland. On 15 Nov. (new style) 1715 he signed at the Hague the (third) barrier treaty between England, Holland, and Germany, whereby the empire recognised the Hanoverian succession to the British crown. When the exceptionally severe winter of that year brought news of the rising in the north in favour of the Pretender, Cadogan obtained from the States a contingent of 6,000 Dutch troops, with which he embarked and pushed on to Scotland, to serve as second in command under the Duke of Argyll, whose forces had driven the rebels back, but whom Cadogan found unwilling to act vigorously. On the urgent representations of Marlborough Argyll was recalled, and Cadogan appointed to the chief command. The vigorous measures which followed speedily ended the rebellion, and early in May 1716 Cadogan handed over the command to Brigadier Sabine and proceeded to London, where, on 29 June, he was invested with the order of the Thistle at a chapter held at St. James's Palace. Next day, 30 June, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Cadogan of Reading. The preamble of the patent, setting forth Cadogan's many services, is given in Collins's 'Peerage' (2nd ed. v. 412). In September Cadogan was appointed governor of the Isle of Wight. The same year he became high

steward of Reading (COATES, *Hist. of Reading*, App.) Returning to his post at the Hague, he signed, on 15 Sept. (new style) 1716, the treaty of defensive alliance between Great Britain, France, and Holland. After attending George I on a visit to Hanover, the diplomatic duties at the Hague being meanwhile performed by Mr. Leathes, secretary at Brussels, Cadogan came to England with the king, and was sworn of the privy council on 17 March 1717, and on 12 July following was promoted to general 'of all and singular the foot forces employed or to be employed in our service' (Home Office, *Mil. Entry Books*, xi. 219). About the same time a vexatious indictment was brought against him in the lower house, in the shape of charges of fraud and embezzlement in connection with the transport of the Dutch troops to the Thames and Humber during the rising in the north. These were preferred by certain Jacobite members, to whom his success in Scotland had made him particularly obnoxious. The spiteful attack was urged with grotesque vehemence by Shippen, who was supported by Walpole and Pulteney, and opposed by Stanhope, Craggs, Lechmere, the new attorney-general, and others, and evidence in vindication of Cadogan was given at the bar of the house (see BOYER, *Political State*, i. 697-794). But the motion was only lost by a majority of ten. Cadogan resumed his diplomatic duties in Holland during the year, and on his return home, 8 May 1718, was elevated to an earldom, with the titles of Earl Cadogan, Viscount Caversham, and Baron Cadogan of Oakley, the last title with remainder, in default of male issue, to his brother Charles [see below]. After this he was again engaged at Brussels and the Hague in negotiations with the imperialist ministers and the Dutch representatives relative to the working of the (third) barrier treaty. Writing to Lord Stair, under date 10 March 1709, Lord Stanhope says: 'Good Lord Cadogan, though he has made the utmost professions of friendship and deference to other people's measures, has certainly blown the coals; he has a notion of being *premier ministre*, which I believe you will with me think a very Irish idea' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. 189). In February 1720 Cadogan was despatched to Vienna, where, in conjunction with the representatives of the contracting powers, he arranged the terms of the accession of Spain to what was thenceforward known as the quadruple alliance.

Upon the death of the Duke of Marlborough in June 1722, Cadogan succeeded to the posts of commander-in-chief of the army and master-general of the ordnance.

He became colonel of 1st foot guards from 18 June 1722; and was appointed a commissioner of Chelsea Hospital. His detractors accused him of appearing at Marlborough's funeral pageant indecorously dressed and betraying his want of sympathy by his looks and gestures. This was probably a malicious invention; but it gave the point to some savagely sarcastic lines by Bishop Atterbury, which are quoted by Horace Walpole (*Letters*, vii. 230). Atterbury having heard that at the time of his committal to the Tower Cadogan had declared that he ought to be flung to the lions, retorted in a letter to Pope with the lines describing Cadogan as 'ungrateful to th' ungrateful man he grew by, A big, bad, bold, blustering, bloody, blundering booby.' The year that witnessed the death of Marlborough saw likewise a revival of the Jacobite plots, including schemes for tampering with the Tower garrison and seizing on the Tower and Bank. Apprised of these projects, the government prevailed on the king to postpone an intended visit to Hanover, and to retire to Kensington Palace, an encampment of the whole of the guards being formed for his protection close by, in Hyde Park, under the personal command of Cadogan. In November 1722 the camp was broken up. When the king embarked for Hanover, Cadogan was appointed one of the lords justices. The military records of his rule as commander-in-chief and master-general of the ordnance present little of interest. The chief event of his remaining years was his litigation with the widowed Duchess of Marlborough respecting a sum of 50,000*l.*, which the duke at the time of his exile had entrusted to him to place in the Dutch funds. Cadogan, with the best intentions, had invested the money in Austrian securities, which at the time appeared more advantageous. These, however, had greatly depreciated, and the duchess, whose letters betray a querulous feeling towards Cadogan, having insisted on reimbursement, Cadogan, who had not applied the money to the specific purpose for which it was entrusted to him, was obliged to make good the deficiency at heavy loss.

In his early days at the Hague, Cadogan married Margaretta, daughter of William Munter, counsellor of the court of Holland, and niece of Adam Tripp of Amsterdam, by whom he had two daughters, the Lady Sarah, afterwards married to the second duke of Richmond, and the Lady Margaretta, who married Count Bentinck, second son of William, earl of Portland. The countess long survived her husband, and died at the Hague in October 1749, aged 75.

Cadogan died at his house at Kensington

Gravel Pits, then a rural village, on Sunday, 17 July 1726. In accordance with a wish expressed in his will he was buried privately at night in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, on the Thursday following his decease. A notice of his death appears in 'Lettres Historiques' for September 1726 (Hague), and some memoranda relating to his Dutch estates are among the Portland papers in the British Museum (*Egerton MS.* 1708, f. 43).

Personally Cadogan was a big, burly Irishman. A portrait, painted by Laguerre, representing him in a light-coloured wig and a suit of silver armour worn over his scarlet uniform, is in the National Portrait Gallery. Horatio, lord Walpole, who was associated with him in some of his diplomatic missions at the Hague, describes him as rash and impetuous as a diplomatist, lavish of promises when a present difficulty was to be removed, and prone to think that pen and sword were to be wielded with equal fierceness. He also says that Cadogan needlessly irritated the Dutch republic by his zeal in promoting the election of the Prince of Orange to the Stadtholdership of Groningen, and affronted the citizens of Antwerp by threatening in convivial moments to make them follow their neighbours' example (*Coxe, Life of Lord Walpole*, pp. 9-10). Upon occasions he seems to have displayed much magnificence. The papers of the period speak of the splendour of some of his entertainments when ambassador in Holland, and a news-letter of 1724 mentions his appearance at the drawing-room on the prince's birthday 'very rich in jewels.' As a soldier Cadogan must be ranked among the ablest staff officers the British army has produced. The confidence reposed in his judgment by Marlborough and the high opinions expressed of him by Prince Eugene and other foreign officers of note bespeak his high capacity; he brought energy and skill to bear upon the details of his great leader's plans, and showed eminent administrative ability in performing the multifarious duties of a quartermaster-general.

General CHARLES CADOGAN, who succeeded his brother as Baron Cadogan of Oakley, entered the army in 1706, in the Coldstream guards. He served in some of Marlborough's later campaigns and in Scotland in 1715. He sat in several parliaments for Reading, and afterwards for Newport, Isle of Wight. He purchased the colonelcy of the 4th 'king's own' foot in 1719, and in 1734 became colonel of the 6th Inniskilling dragoons. He married a daughter of Sir Hans Sloane, with which alliance commenced the connec-

tion of the Cadogan family with the borough of Chelsea. At his death, which occurred at his residence in Bruton Street, on 24 Sept. 1776, at the age of 85 (see FOSTER, *Peerage*), Charles, lord Cadogan, was a general, colonel of the 2nd troop of horse guards, governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort, a F.R.S., and a trustee of the British Museum. His only son, Charles Sloane, was created Viscount Chelsea and Earl Cadogan 27 Dec. 1800.

[Earl Cadogan's name has not been found in the early volumes of Irish Military Entry Books in the Dublin Record Office, odd volumes of which go back to 1697. His later commissions and appointments, subsequent to 1715, appear in the Home Office Military Entry Books and the Treasury and Ordnance Warrant Books, under date, in Public Record Office, London. Notices of his services occur incidentally in Lediard's *Life of Marlborough*; in *Coxe's Life of Marlborough*, the preface to which indicates various sources of information; in the *Marlborough Despatches*, edited by Sir George Murray; in the *London Gazette*s of the period; in *Lettres Historiques*, published at the Hague, of which there is a complete series in the British Museum; in the published records of various regiments of cavalry and infantry which served in Marlborough's campaigns and can be traced through the Army List; in *Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 1834; and in *Lord Mahon's History of England*, vol. i., where is a very impartial account of the campaign in Scotland in 1715. The statements in the Stuart and Hanover papers, in *Original Papers*, by Macpherson, must be received with much reservation. Clode's observations on the military expenditure of the period, in *Military Forces of the Crown*, i. 118-24, deserve attention, and many of the military entries in the printed *Calendars of Treasury Papers* for the period indirectly illustrate the impecunious condition of the service at home at the time. The *British Museum Cat. Printed Books*, which has over 120 entries under the name of the first Duke of Marlborough, has but one under that of the first Earl Cadogan—a printed copy of a diplomatic note respecting a British vessel pillaged by the Dutch at Curaçoa in 1715. Among the biographical notices of Cadogan which have appeared, mention may be made of those in *Collins's Peerage*, 2nd ed., v. 450, &c.; *Grainger's Biog. Hist.* vol. iii.; *Timbs's Georgian Era*, vol. ii.; *General Sir Frederick Hamilton's Origin and Hist.* 1st or Grenadier Gds. vol. ii.; *Cannon's Hist. Rec.* 5th Drag. Gds. A memoir which appeared in *Colburn's United Service Mag.* January-April 1872, headed 'Marlborough's Lieutenants,' is chiefly noticeable for its numberless errors and misstatements. Manuscript information is more abundant. Among the materials in the Public Records are: Foreign Office Records—Flanders, Nos. 132-5, correspondence from Brussels in 1709-10; ditto, Flanders, No. 146, similar correspondence in

1714-15; ditto, Holland, Nos. 368, 372, 375, 379, 381-2, 386-8, 391-4, 400-1; correspondence of various dates relating to Cadogan's services in Holland; ditto, Germany, Nos. 214-15, 216, the first two containing Cadogan's correspondence during his embassy at Vienna with M. St. Saporita, secretary of the Venetian Republic. Home Office Papers, besides the information in the Military Entry Books, contain in the Warrant and Letter Books sundry entries relative to Cadogan's diplomatic services. In British Museum manuscripts may be noted: Add. MSS. 21494, ff. 64, 68, 72, letters dated 1703; 22196, a large volume of correspondence, chiefly diplomatic, between Cadogan and Lord Raby, British representative at Berlin, covering the period 1703-10, where in one letter Raby incidentally recalls early days in Dublin, 'when you was really a poet,' and in another bespeaks Cadogan's intercession for a prisoner at Spandau, an artillery officer known to them both at the siege of Kingsale; 28329, correspondence with Lady Seaforth during the Scottish campaign in 1715 (see also Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. viii. 445); 20319, f. 39, letter on embassy to the Hague in 1718; 28155, f. 299, letter to Admiral Sir John Norris in 1719; 29315, f. 35, letter to the Duke of Grafton in 1721. Also Add. Ch. 16154, patent of barony of Oakley, and 6300, appointment as plenipotentiary at Vienna. Cadogan's correspondence and other papers preserved in private manuscript collections will be found indexed in Hist. MSS. Comm. Reps., vol. ii., under 'Cadogan,' vol. iii. under 'Cadogan' with various prefixes, and under 'the Hague,' in vols. vi. and vii. under 'Cadogan,' in vol. viii., where the Marlborough MSS., containing a mass of unpublished material, are reported upon, although Cadogan's name figures once only in the index, and in vol. ix.; correspondence and news-letters under heading 'Cadogan.'] H. M. C.

**CADOGAN, WILLIAM** (1711-1797), physician, was born in London in 1711 and graduated B.A. at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1731. He then studied at Leyden, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1737, and was soon after appointed a physician to the army. He began private practice in Bristol, and while resident there was elected in 1752 F.R.S., but a little later settled in London, was made physician to the Foundling Hospital in 1754, and soon attained success. He took the degrees of M.A., M.B., and M.D. at Oxford June 1755, became a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1758, was four times a censor, and twice delivered the Harveian oration. He lived in George Street, Hanover Square, died there 26 Feb. 1797, and was buried at Fulham, where he had a villa. Cadogan's works are his graduation thesis, 'De nutritione, incremento, et decremento corporis,' Leyden, 1737; his two Harveian orations, 1764 and 1792; 'An Essay on the Nursing

and Management of Children,' London, 1750; and 'A Dissertation on the Gout and on all Chronic Diseases,' London, 1771. His thesis is a statement of the current physiological opinions, and contains no original observation, and his Harveian orations are mere rhetorical exercises. His book on nursing is his best work, and went through nine editions in twenty years. He thinks children have, in general, too many clothes and too much food. Looser clothing and a simpler diet are recommended, with sensible directions on the management of children. Cadogan's book on the gout was widely read, and was attacked by several of his medical contemporaries, among others by Sir William Browne [q. v.] It reached a tenth edition within two years, but is not a work of any depth. Gout is, in his opinion, not hereditary, and, in common with most chronic diseases, arises from indolence, intemperance, and vexation. The writer assumes a tone of superiority towards his contemporaries, which was probably engendered by his pecuniary success, but is not justified by the knowledge displayed in the book. His treatment of gout is sound as far as it goes, for he advises spare diet and as much exercise as possible. Dr. Cadogan's portrait, by R. E. Pine, is at the College of Physicians.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, ii. 222; Cadogan's Works; Nichols's Anecd. iii. 329; Gent. Mag. 1797, p. 352.] N. M.

**CADROE, SAINT** (d. 976?), abbot of Wassor and St. Felix, near Metz, was born in Scotland about the beginning of the tenth century; and the history of his life has preserved almost the only materials we have for reconstructing the Scotch social life of this period. According to his contemporary biographer both his parents were of royal, or at least noble, descent. His father, Fochertach or Faiteach, had married a widow, Bania by name, and being without children, the aged couple set out for Ili (Iona), to obtain the intercession of St. Columba by prayers at the saint's tomb (the manuscript reads Columbanus by a natural mistake for Columba). Their petition was granted, and in due time a son was born, to whom his parents gave the name of Kaddroe, in token that he was to be 'bellator in castris domini invictus.' Immediately on the child's birth we are told that, 'in accordance with the custom of the country, a crowd of noble people of either sex and of every age came forward eager to undertake the boy's education.' In obedience to a second vision Cadroe was handed over to the care of a matron, who brought him up at her own home till he was

weaned, and perhaps later, when Fochertach, recognising his son's promise, began to train him up for a secular career. From this purpose, however, the father was dissuaded by the prayers of Beanus, the child's cousin ('patruelis'), who demanded that the boy should be instructed in letters, and who, finding the parents unwilling to lose the child of their old age, renewed his petition with success on the birth of the future saint's brother, Mattadanus. Accordingly, Cadroe was led by his weeping mother to St. Columba's tomb, and there formally handed over to his uncle's care (for St. Columba's tomb see SKENE, ii. 326, &c., who identifies Beanus with St. Bean, patron of the church of Kirkell, on the north bank of the Earn). In his new home Cadroe appears to have studied the scriptures chiefly, but there are not wanting tokens that, as he grew older, the bent of his mind was rather to the active than the contemplative life (*Vit. Cad.* c. i. 8, 9). A sudden change seems, however, to have come upon him while yet a youth, and his ardour for knowledge grew so keen that his uncle despatched him to prosecute his secular studies at Armagh, which at this time (888-927) was governed by Maelbrigda, who was also abbot of Iona (*Ann. Ult.* 927). Here Cadroe studied poetry, oratory, and philosophy, without neglecting the exacter sciences of number, measure, weight, motion (? tactu = tractu), hearing, and astronomy.

Having thus made himself master of all the Irish learning, Cadroe returned to Scotland, and seems to have spent the next few years in imparting the knowledge he had acquired abroad to his countrymen; 'for the Scots, though they have thousands of teachers, have not many fathers.' 'From the time of Cadroe's return,' continues his biographer, 'none of the wise men [had] crossed the sea; but they still dwelt in Ireland' (*Vit. Cad.* c. xii.) This obscure, and doubtless corrupt, passage Dr. Skene connects with the first establishment of the Culdees in Scotland (cf. *Chr. Scot.* sub an. 921). It perhaps marks the gradual severance of the two great Celtic churches of the West (SKENE, ii. 325). The effect produced by the labours of Cadroe is clearly shown by the grief of all ages and all classes of men when he announced his intention of leaving Scotland in obedience to a heavenly vision. A curious penance (*Vit. Cad.* c. xv.) performed in a wintry stream (? the Earn) strengthened his resolution, and he started on his journey disregarding all the efforts of King Constantine to retain him. Entering the church of St. Bridget he bade farewell to the assembled people, and then once more set out on his way under the king's guidance, with gifts of gold, vestments, and

steeds. The scene of this incident seems to have been Abernethy, and the king must be Constantine, the son of Adh, who reigned from c. 900 to c. 943 A.D. From Abernethy he passed on to his kinsman Dovenald or Donald, 'rex Cumborum.' This must be that Donald, king of Strathclyde, and brother to Constantine, who is called 'rex Britannorum' in the 'Pictish Chronicle' (*Chr. of Picts and Scots*, pp. xli, xlvi, and 9). Donald conducted Cadroe to Leeds (Loidam civitatem), whence the saint proceeded to King Eric, his kinsman by marriage, at York. This sovereign can only have been Eric, son of Harald Harfagr, whom Æthelstan had appointed king of Northumberland c. 938 A.D. (LAING, i. 315, &c.) Thence Cadroe passed on to Lugdina (London), a city which he is credited with having saved from destruction by fire, and so on to visit King 'Egmund' at Winchester (Edmund, 940-6). With this king he had several conversations, after which he was conducted to the port 'qui dicitur hymen' or 'limen' (? Limne, the Roman Portus Lemanis; see HASTED, *Kent*, iii. 435) by the archbishop Ottho (Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, 942-959). After dismissing his nephew and others of his companions Cadroe landed at Boulogne, whence he journeyed to Peronne to pray at St. Fursey's shrine. Here his fame reached the ears of Count Eilbert and his wife Hersindis, who, learning that the thirteen strangers desired a spot on which they could devote themselves to agriculture and prayer, offered them a clearing in the 'Sylva Theorascensis,' where a church seems to have been already dedicated to St. Michael. Once settled here the brethren elected Cadroe to be their head, an office however which he refused in favour of Macallanus. A desire soon seized upon the little community of bringing itself into closer conformity with the monastic institutions of the continent; and accordingly Macallanus went to be instructed by Abbot Agenoald at Gorzia (ob. c. 968), and Cadroe to Erchembald at Fleury (abbot 942-51). Here Cadroe became a monk on the day of St. Paul's conversion (25 Jan.) Meanwhile his patrons had been building a second monastery at Walcidorus (Wassor on the Meuse, near Dinant), and now sent for the two wanderers to return home; whereupon Macallanus finding himself unable to conduct both establishments, Cadroe was persuaded by royal compulsion to undertake the charge of Wassor. In 946 A.D. Otto I confirmed the new foundation as a 'monasterium peregrinorum' to be ruled by one of the 'Scotch' strangers so long as a single member of the original community should survive (20 Sept. see Diploma ap. A. Miræus, 278-9). Somewhat

later than this, but, according to Ste. Marthe (xiii. 846, 866), before 948, Adalbero, bishop of Metz, induced Cadroe to accept the ruined abbey of St. Clement or St. Felix, near Metz, which its new abbot restored and repopled from Wassor (cf., however, MABILLON, *Ann.* iii. 500). The latter abbey Cadroe seems henceforward to have ruled by the aid of a prior, paying it visits from time to time. In 948 Cadroe is said to have been made abbot of St. Symphorian at Metz (STE. MARTHE, xiii. 846). Among the list of Cadroe's friends we find many of the most distinguished men of the age, e.g. Adalbero and his brother Frederic, duke of Lorraine from 959 (FRODOARD and SIGEBERT, ap. PERTZ, ii. 402, 404, viii. 511); John, abbot of Gorzia (whose life Cadroe had saved from the effects of undue abstinence), Otto's ambassador to the Saracens at Cordova; Theodoric, cousin to Otto I and bishop of Metz (964-84), who 'venerated Cadroe as a father, knowing him to have the spirit of counsel'; Agenoald, the famous abbot of Gorzia (*ob. c.* 968); Anstey, abbot of St. Arnulf, at Ghent (946-60); and Helvidis, abbess of St. Peter's, near Metz, 'whose like,' to use Cadroe's own phrase, 'he had never found among the persons of her sex.'

Shortly before Cadroe's death Adelheid, the widow of Otto I, reached Neherstein on her way to Italy, and sent to Metz to invite Cadroe to visit her. This request the saint, who already felt that death was at hand, reluctantly obeyed, and stayed with the empress for some six days. As he was returning a fever seized him, and he died before he could reach his home at Metz, where he was buried in his own church of St. Felix. At this time, as his contemporary biographer tells us, he had already overpassed the seventieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his pilgrimage. Ste. Marthe (xiii. 866) says more precisely that he died in 978, after a rule of thirty-two years, at the age of seventy-eight or seventy-nine, but without giving any authority for his statement. The 'Wassor Chronicle,' a compilation of the twelfth or thirteenth century, makes him die in the year 998 (ap. D'ACHÉRY, *Spicilegium*, vii. 543-4). A careful comparison of all the data at our disposal will make it very evident that 940-2 were the years of his pilgrimage from Abernethy to Winchester. We know that Cadroe started in the reign of Constantine, i.e. probably before 943 A.D. (SKENE, i. 360); while the mention of Donald, king of Cumberland, helps to fix his visit in this country before 945 A.D. (*A.-S. C.*) Again, Eric Bloody Axe seems to have been settled in Yorkshire somewhere between the years 937 and 941 (LAING, i. 315, &c.; Rog.

WEND. i. 396; *A.-S. C.* sub 941); for Eric's second reign in Northumberland was not till some years later (SIMEON OF DURHAM, sub 949). Again, on reaching Winchester, Egmond (Edmund, from October 940-6) was reigning, while Otto (Odo) was already archbishop of Canterbury, to which office he was appointed 942 A.D. (STUBBS, *Register*). Hence it is evident that Cadroe can hardly have reached Peronne much before 943 A.D. This date will allow three years for his stay at St. Michael's and Fleury previous to his appointment to Wassor in 946. Reckoning thirty years from this we arrive at the year 976, which may be considered as the approximate date of his death. At all events it is certain from contemporary authority that he stood by the deathbed of John, abbot of Gorzia, who died 973 A.D. ('Vita Johannis,' ap. MABILLON, *A. SS. B.* vii. 365, 366, 379, *Ann. Bened.* iii. 621). On the other hand, it is evident that he did not survive Theodoric of Metz, who died 983 or 984 A.D. (SIGEBERT, ap. PERTZ, iv. 482). These considerations at once dispose of the Bollandist theory which would identify Adelheid's visit to Italy, alluded to above, with a journey mentioned by Dithmar, and by him assigned to the year 988 (DITHMAR, ap. PERTZ, iii. 767, where, however, we read 984, and not 988 A.D.)

[The chief authority for the life of Cadroe is a biography drawn up by a certain Reimann or Ousmann, who, in the preface, claims to have been one of the saint's disciples and friends. Other phrases in the body of the work indicate that the writer was dealing with almost contemporary events (cf. cc. 29 and 34). This life was undertaken at the request of a certain Immo, in whom we may perhaps recognise Immo, abbot of Wassor from c. 982, or Immo, abbot of Gorzia, c. 984. It was first printed by Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* (pp. 494-507), with copious notes, whose utility however is vitiated by the assumption that Cadroe was an Irishman. The Bollandist editors issued it, with certain omissions, in the *Acta Sanctorum* of 6 March (pp. 974-81), from which work Mabillon transcribed it for *Acta SS. Benedict.* vii. 487-501. See also Ste. Marthe's *Gallia Christiana*, vols. iii. vii. and xiii.; Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis Benedictini*, vol. iii.; D'ACHÉRY's *Spicilegium*, vii. (1666) 513-83, contains the *Chronicon Valciodorensis*; *Diplomata Belgica*, by Albert Le Mire (Miræus), 1627; *Notitia Ecclesiarum Belgii* (Le Mire), ed. 1630, pp. 99, 119; Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*; and *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii.; Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, 293-4; Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii. 396-402. The continental chroniclers are quoted from Pertz's *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; Simeon of Durham from Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*; Roger of Wendover has been edited by Coxe for the English Historical Society. Much

information as to the exact date of Cadroe's pilgrimage may be obtained by reference to Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 66, &c.; Calmet's *Histoire de Lorraine*, vol. i.; Laing's *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, vol. i.] T. A. A.

**CADVAN** (6th cent.), Welsh saint, was born in Brittany; his father's name is given as Eneas Lydewig. Cadvan arrived in Wales early in the sixth century, having fled before the Frankish invasion of Gaul. He was accompanied by a large number of persons, like himself of good birth, who proposed to devote themselves to a religious life on the loss of their possessions. Cadvan founded the churches of Llangadfan in Montgomeryshire and Towyn in Merionethshire, where there exists a rude pillar called St. Cadvan's stone to this day. The pillar bears an ancient Welsh inscription, almost the only one of the kind remaining, which is given in Haddan and Stubbs's 'Early Ecclesiastical Documents,' i. 165. In conjunction with Einion Vrenin, Cadvan founded a monastery on Bardsey Isle, off the promontory of Carnarvonshire, of which he was the first abbot. He is called the tutelary saint of warriors, and is commemorated on 1 Nov.

[Rees's *Essay on Welsh Saints*, 213-14; Iolo MSS.; article by Rev. Charles Hole in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i. 364; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, new ser. i. 90, 205, ii. 58; Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, p. 44.]

A. M.

**CADVAN** (d. 617? or 634?), was king of Gwynedd or North Wales. His existence may be regarded as satisfactorily established, but his exploits belong rather to legend or conjecture than history. The tenth-century pedigree of Owain, son of Howel Dha, makes him the son of Iago, a descendant of Cunedda, and the father of the famous Cadwalla (d. 634) [q. v.], the ally of Penda, and the foe of the Northumbrian Bretwaldas (*An. Cambriae*, Rolls Ser., p. x; cf. *Brut y Tywys*, Rolls Ser., p. 2; and Cyvoessi Myrddin in Skene's *Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 464, ii. 221). Bæda gives us clear accounts of the warfare which went on between Æthelfrith of Northumbria and the North Welsh, culminating in the battle of Chester in 613 (Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.* bk. ii. ch. ii.) With these wars Welsh tradition connects the name of Cadvan, and the probability of the fact may excuse the weakness of the evidence. It is impossible, however, to accept the fabulous stories in Geoffry of Monmouth (*Hist. Brit.* bk. xii. ch. i.; cf. *Myvyrian Archæology* (1801), ii. 17, triad 81) of Cadvan's election as overlord by the princes of the Britons, his agreement to divide Britain with Æthelfrith, and his acting as foster father to

the fugitive Eadwine. In 616 the death of Ceredig (*An. Camb.* MS. A. s. a.) may have given Cadvan a more commanding position. The legend that his son Cadwallawn began to reign in 617, the same year as Eadwine became king, has suggested that Cadvan himself died in that year, but Mr. Skene has conjectured with much ingenuity that Cadvan continued to reign in Gwynedd contemporaneously with his more energetic son, the leader of the combined British host against the Angles. In 634 Oswald won a great victory at Heavenfield, and the 'wicked general' slain there (unnamed by Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. i; called Catgublaun rex Gwenedote by Nennius, and Cathlan by Tighernac) Mr. Skene conjectures to have been Cadvan himself (Cadwallawn is called Cadwallaun by Nennius, and Chon by Tighernac; see *Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 71). But such hypotheses are hardly history. A very early inscription, apparently an epitaph, is still found on a stone like a coffin-lid above the southern door of the church of Llangadwaladr in Anglesea, called, as is conjectured, from Cadvan's grandson. 'The old letters,' says Professor Rhys, 'have quite the appearance of being of the seventh century' (*Celtic Britain*, p. 125). The words run: 'Catamanus rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium regum' (Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, p. 52, No. 149). Burial near Aberffraw is hardly, though possibly, compatible with death on the field of battle in Northumbria.

[Authorities cited in the text.] T. F. T.

**CADWALADER.** [See CÆDWALLA.]

**CADWALADR** (d. 1172), the son of Gruffudd, the son of Cynan, was the son and the brother of the two most famous north Welsh princes of their time. During his father's lifetime he accompanied his elder brother, Owain, on many predatory excursions against rival princes. In 1121 they ravaged Meirionydd, and apparently conquered it. In 1135 and 1136 they led three successful expeditions to Ceredigion, and managed to get possession of at least the northern portion of that district. In 1137 Owain succeeded, on Gruffudd ap Cynan's death, to the sovereignty of Gwynedd or North Wales. Cadwaladr appears to have found his portion in his former conquests of Meirionydd and northern Ceredigion. The intruder from Gwynedd soon became involved in feuds both with his south Welsh neighbours and with his family. In 1143 his men slew Anarawd, son of Gruffudd of South Wales, to whom Owain Gwynedd had promised his daughter in marriage. Repu-



diated by his brother, who sent his son Howell to ravage his share of Ceredigion and to attack his castle of Aberystwith, Cadwaladr fled to Ireland, whence he returned next year with a fleet of Irish Danes, to wreak vengeance on Owain. The fleet had already landed at the mouth of the Menai Straits when the intervention of the 'goodmen' of Gwynedd reconciled the brothers. Disgusted at what they probably regarded as treachery, the Irish pirates seized and blinded Cadwaladr, and only released him on the payment of a heavy ransom of 2,000 bondmen (some of the chroniclers say cattle). Their attempt to plunder the country was successfully resisted by Owain. In 1146, however, fresh hostilities broke out between Cadwaladr and his brother's sons Howell and Cynan. They invaded Meirionydd and captured his castle of Cynvael, despite the valiant resistance of his steward, Morvran, abbot of Whitland. This disaster lost Cadwaladr Meirionydd, and so hard was he pressed that, despite his building a castle at Llanrhystyd in Ceredigion (1148), he was compelled to surrender his possessions in that district to his son, apparently in hope of a compromise; but Howell next year captured his cousin and conquered his territory, while the brothers of the murdered Anarawd profited by the dissensions of the princes of Gwynedd to conquer Ceredigion as far north as the Aeron, and soon extended their conquests into Howell's recent acquisitions. Meanwhile Cadwaladr was expelled by Owain from his last refuge in Mona. Cadwaladr now seems to have taken refuge with the English, with whom, if we may believe a late authority, his marriage with a lady of the house of Clare had already connected him (POWELL, *History of Cambria*, p. 232, ed. 1584). The death of Stephen put an end to the long period of Welsh freedom under which Cadwaladr had grown up. In 1157 Henry II's first expedition to Wales, though by no means a brilliant success, was able to effect Cadwaladr's restoration to his old dominions. Despite his blindness, Cadwaladr had not lost his energy. In 1158 he joined the marcher lords and his nephews in an expedition against Rhys ap Gruffudd of South Wales. In 1165 Cadwaladr took part in the general resistance to Henry II's third expedition to Wales. In 1169 the death of Owain Gwynedd probably weakened his position. In March 1172 Cadwaladr himself died, and was buried in the same tomb as Owain, before the high altar of Bangor Cathedral (GIR. CAMBR. *It. Camb. in Op.* (Rolls ed.), iii. 133).

The Welsh chroniclers are very full of Cadwaladr's exploits, and celebrate him as

jointly with his brother upholding the unity of the British kingdom. Giraldus specially commends Cadwaladr's liberality (*Op.* iii. 145).

[*Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser.); *Annales Cambriæ* (Rolls Ser.); *Gwentian Brut*, Cambrian Archaeological Association.] T. F. T.

**CADWALADR CASAIL** (fl. 1590), a Welsh poet, flourished in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Some poems by him, consisting mainly of complimentary addresses and elegies, are preserved in the British Museum.

[*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 14888, 14891-2, 14979, 14994, 15010.] A. M.

**CADWALADR VENDIGAID**, i.e. the BLESSED (d. 664 ?), king of the Britons, had a famous but rather shadowy figure in early Welsh history. Tenth-century sources tell us that he was the son of Cadwallawn, the ally of Penda, and that he reigned over the Britons after that monarch's death. He must have taken part in the ineffectual struggles of the North and Strathclyde Welsh against the overlordship of Oswiu, have participated in their earlier successes, and have shared, and, if the same person as the Cadavael of Nennius, largely helped to occasion the fall of Penda at Winwaed. After this we know nothing of Cadwaladr except that he died of the 'yellow plague' that devastated Britain in 664 (NENNIVS in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 45 c. The date is fixed from Bada and Tighernac, cf. *Annales Cambriæ*, MS. A, s. a. 682).

The fame of his father and his own connection with the last efforts of the Britons against the Saxon invaders early gave Cadwaladr a high place in Welsh tradition and poetry. Allusions to him are frequent in the dark utterances of the 'Four Ancient Bards' (see SKENE, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, passim, and especially i. 238-241, and 436-46). The prophecy of Merlin became current that he would one day come again, like Barbarossa, into the world and expel the Saxons from the land. At last Geoffry of Monmouth issued his elaborate fiction which made Cadwaladr the last British king of the whole island. After he had reigned twelve years, the story goes on, Cadwaladr was driven from Britain by a plague that raged for seven years, from which he took refuge in Armorica. Here he abdicated his rights in favour of Ivor, son of Alan, king of that land, who, on the cessation of the plague, went to Britain and performed prodigies of valour against the Saxons; but Cadwaladr, despairing of the struggle and

warned by an angel in a dream, retired to Rome, where five years afterwards he died (12 May or 12 Kal. May 687-9). Thus was the prophecy of Merlin fulfilled. 'Thenceforth the Britons lost the crown of the kingdom and the Saxons gained it.' Ivor reigned only as a prince, and the death of Cadwaladr marks the end of the 'Chronicle of the Kings' and the beginning of the 'Chronicle of the Princes' (GEOR. OF MON., *Hist. Brit.*, bk. xii. ch. xiv-xix., or the Welsh *Brut y Brenhinoedd* in *Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii., there called the *Brut G. ap Arthur*; shorter versions are in the *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser.), p. 2, and *Gwentian Brut* (Cambrian Archæol. Soc.), p. 2).

This story is plainly unhistorical, and the account of the voyage to Rome is obviously taken from the true history of Cædwalla of Wessex, who really died in Rome in 688. This accounts for the date being pushed forward from that given by Nennius or by the MS. A of the 'Annales Cambriæ' (682). There is, however, no reason for not accepting the earlier and simpler accounts of Cadwaladr. Even the fabled transference of the kingdom to the Saxons may express in a mythical form the plain historical fact that under Cadwaladr the struggle of the Britons against the Northumbrians came to its disastrous end by their subjection to the alien power. This can be done without admitting into history the ingenious conjectures which connect with the fall of the last British kings who played a foremost part in the general history of the island the attribution of the title of Bretwalda to the Northumbrian conquerors. Cadwaladr, as is shown by his name of the Blessed, was early reputed a saint. Churches were dedicated to him in various parts of Wales. Of these most historical interest belongs to Llangadwaladr, near Aberffraw, in Anglesea, where his grandfather, Cadvan, king of North Wales [q. v.], was buried, and of which he was reputed the founder.

[Besides original authorities mentioned above, see modern accounts in Skene's Introduction to the Four Ancient Books of Wales, i. 68-75; Prof. Rhys's Celtic Britain, especially pp. 130-136; and for his religious position, Prof. Rice Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 299-301.] T. F. T.

**CADWALLADOR, ROGER** (1568-1610), divine, was a native of Stretton Sugwas, Herefordshire, and studied in the English colleges at Rheims and Valladolid. After being ordained he returned to England in 1594, and laboured on the mission, chiefly in his native county, for sixteen years. At length, on Easter day, 1610, he was apprehended and taken before Dr. Robert Bennet,

bishop of the diocese, who committed him to prison, where he was very cruelly treated. He was condemned to death on account of his priestly character, and suffered at Leominster, on 27 Aug. 1610. He translated from the Greek Theodoret's 'Philothæus; or, the Lives of the Fathers of the Syrian Deserts.'

[Pits. De Angliæ Scriptoribus, 806; Chaloner's Missionary Priests (1742), ii. 27; Panzani's Memoirs, 83; Foley's Records, vi. 207; Diaries of the English College, Douay, 241, 243, 247.] T. C.

**CADWALLON.** [See CÆDWALLA.]

**CADWGAN** (d. 1112), a Welsh prince, was a son of Bleddyn, who was the son of Cynvyn, and the near kinsman of the famous Gruffudd, son of Llewelyn, on whose death Harold appointed Bleddyn and his brother Rhiwallon kings of the Welsh. This settlement did not last very long, but Bleddyn retained to his death possession of a great part of Gwynedd, and handed his territories down to his sons, of whom, besides Cadwgan, four others, Madog, Rhirid, Maredudd, and Iorwerth, are mentioned in the chronicles. Cadwgan's name first appears in history in 1087, when, in conjunction with Madog and Rhirid, he led a North Welsh army against Rhys, son of Tewdwr, king of South Wales. The victory fell to the brothers, and Rhys retreated to Ireland, whence he soon returned with a Danish fleet, and turned the tables on his foes in the battle of Llechryd. Cadwgan escaped with his life, but his two brothers were slain. Six years later Rhys was slain by the Norman conquerors of Brecheiniog (1093), and Cadwgan availed himself of the confusion caused by the catastrophe of the only strong Welsh state in South Wales to renew his attacks on Deheubarth. His inroad on Dyved in May prepared the way for the French conquest of that region, which took place within two months, despite the unavailing struggles of Cadwgan and his family. But the Norman conquest of Ceredigion and Dyved excited the bitterest resistance of the Welsh, who profited by William Rufus's absence in Normandy in 1094 to make a great attack on their newly built castles. Cadwgan, now in close league with Gruffudd, son of Cynan, the chief king of Gwynedd, was foremost among the revolvers. Besides demolishing their castles in Gwynedd, the allied princes penetrated into Ceredigion and Dyved, and won a great victory in the wood of Yspwys, which was followed by a devastating foray which overran the shires of Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester (*Gwentian*

*Brut*, 1094, cf. *FLOR. WIG. s. a.*) But, as Mr. Freeman points out, Cadwgan fought in the interest of Gwynedd rather than of Wales. His capture of the castles of Ceredigion was followed by the wholesale transplantation of the inhabitants, their property, and cattle into North Wales. A little later Cadwgan's family joined in forays that penetrated to the walls of Pembroke, the only stronghold, except Rhyd y Gors, now left to the Frenchmen. Two invasions of Rufus himself were needed to repair the damage, but the great expedition of 1097 was a signal failure. Rufus 'mickle lost in men and horses,' and Cadwgan was distinguished as the worthiest of the chieftains of the victorious Cymry in the pages of the Peterborough chronicler, who in his distant fenland monastery commonly knew little of the names of Welsh kings (*A.-Sar. Chron. s. a.* 1097: 'Sum paera waes Caduugaun gelaten, þe heora weorðast wdes'). Such successes emboldened Cadwgan and his ally Gruffudd to attempt to save Anglesea when threatened in 1099 by the two earls Hugh of Chester and Shrewsbury. But the treachery of their own men—either the nobles of Mona or some of their Irish-Danish allies—drove both kings to seek safety in flight to Ireland. Next year they returned to Wales, and made peace with the border earls. Cadwgan became the man of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and received as a fief from him Ceredigion and part of Powys (*Brut y T.*, s. a. 1100; according to the *Gwentian Brut* Arwystli and Meirionydd were his possessions in Powys). In 1102 Robert of Bellême [q. v.] called upon Cadwgan and his brothers Iorwerth and Maredudd for help in his great war against Henry I. Great gifts of lands, horses, and arms persuaded Cadwgan and Maredudd to join Robert in Shropshire, but Iorwerth stayed behind, and his sudden defection is regarded by the Welsh chroniclers as a main cause of Robert's fall. Iorwerth now appears to have endeavoured to dispossess Cadwgan and Maredudd of their lands as supporters of the fallen Earl of Shrewsbury. But though he succeeded in putting Maredudd into a royal dungeon, he made peace with Cadwgan and restored him his old territories. Thus Cadwgan escaped sharing in the disgrace and imprisonment of Iorwerth by Bishop Richard of Belmeis, Henry's steward in Shropshire. It is probable that it was some other Cadwgan who became an accomplice in the murder of Howel, son of Goronwy, in 1103, and the Owain, son of Cadwgan, slain in the same year, was probably this unknown Cadwgan's son. Anyhow Cadwgan, son of Bleddyn, had a son Owain, who in 1105 began his turbulent

career by two murders, and in 1110 (*A. C.*, *B. y T.* 1105) was the hero of a more famous adventure. Cadwgan had given a great feast in his castle of Aberteiv, the modern Cardigan, which was largely attended by chieftains from all parts of Wales, for whose entertainment bards, singers, and musicians were attracted to the rejoicings by costly prizes (*Gwentian Brut*, s. a.) Among the guests was Gerald of Windsor, who after the fall of Arnulf of Montgomery was the most powerful man among the French in Dyfed, and his famous wife Nest, whose beauty so excited Owain's lust that not long after he took advantage of his father's absence in Powys to carry her off by violence from the neighbouring castle of Cenarth Bychan. The rape of the Welsh Helen excited great commotion, and Cadwgan, hurrying back in great anxiety to Ceredigion, found himself powerless to effect her restoration to Gerald. Ithel and Madog, sons of Rhirid, and Cadwgan's nephews, were incited by Richard of Belmeis to attack Owain, and even Cadwgan, who fled to an Irish merchant ship in the harbour of Aberdovey. After running all kinds of dangers, Owain escaped to Ireland, while Cadwgan privately retired to Powys. Thence he sent messengers to Bishop Richard. King Henry's lenient treatment of him showed that the king regarded Owain's crime as no fault of his father. For a while Cadwgan was only suffered to live on a manor of his new wife, a Norman lady, daughter of Pictet Sage, but a fine of 100*l.* and a promise to abandon Owain effected his restoration to Ceredigion, which in his absence had been seized by Madog and Ithel. But the fiat of the English king could effect little in Ceredigion. Owain continued his predatory attacks on the French and Flemings, in one of which a certain William of Brabant was slain. In anger Henry sent again for the weak or impotent Cadwgan, and angrily told him that as he was unable to protect his territory, he had determined to put Ceredigion into more competent hands. A pension of twenty-four pence a day was assigned to the deposed king on the condition that he should remain in honourable restraint—he was not to be a prisoner—at the king's court, and never seek to return to his native soil. These terms Cadwgan was compelled to accept, and Gilbert, son of Richard, was invested with Ceredigion. But next year the murder of Iorwerth by his nephew Madog put Powys, which Iorwerth had lately governed, into the king's hands. He then gave it to Cadwgan, who thus once more acquired lands of his own. But Madog, already deprived of Ceredigion, was determined not to yield

Powys as well to his uncle. Meanwhile Cadwgan, 'not imagining mischief,' returned to his dominions. Surrounded by Madog's retainers at Trallong Llewelyn, he as usual conducted himself weakly. All his own attendants fled. Unable to fight, unwilling to flee, he fell an easy victim to his enemies. 'Knowing the manners of the people of that country, that they would all be killing one another,' says the '*Brut y Tywysogion*,' Richard, the steward, gave Cadwgan's lands to Madog, his murderer. But Henry I reversed his act, and made Owain, the abductor of Nest, his father's successor.

[The *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser.) gives most of the above facts; the *Annales Cambrie* (Rolls Ser.) is shorter, but sometimes clearer; the *Gwentian Brut* (Cambrian Archaeological Society) adds a few, perhaps doubtful, details; Professor Freeman's *William Rufus* gives the only full modern account, and adjusts the often imperfect chronology of the *Brut*.] T. F. T.

**CADWGAN**, also called **MARTIN** (d. 1241), bishop of Bangor, is styled, probably from the place of his birth, Cadwgan of Llandyvai (*Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls Ser. s.a. 4215; MS. C calls him 'abbot of Llandevid,' and the *Annals of Tewkesbury* 'Abbas Llandefidensis'). There seems to be little doubt that Cadwgan and Martin are the same person, though no certain explanation can be given of the double name, which suggests connection with both the Welsh and English races. Some time between 1200 and 1214 Cadwgan seems to have succeeded his brother as abbot of Whitland in the modern Carmarthenshire. On 27 Dec. 1214 he, with his monks, was taken under the royal protection (*Rot. Lit. Pat.* i. 125 b). Wales was then in an exceptionally disturbed state, as, in addition to the chronic feuds of the Welsh and the marchers, the powerful Llewelyn ap Iorwerth had actively embraced the cause of the barons confederated against King John. These troubles probably had prevented the election of a bishop of Bangor in succession to Bishop Robert, who had died in 1213 (*Ann. Wigorn.* s. a.). In 1214 Bishop Geoffry of St. David's also died, and John failed to secure the election of his nominee, through the chapter of that see exercising fully the privilege of free election conferred by his charter of 15 Jan. 1215. Early in 1215 John seems to have fixed on Cadwgan for Bangor. At the end of February Cadwgan appeared at Oxford, and professed as bishop-elect canonical obedience to Canterbury. On 13 March John sent letters patent to the chapter of Bangor, which, in answer to their request for a *congé d'élire*, granted it as a special and unprecedented

favour, but desired them to elect the abbot of Whitland (*Rot. Pat.* 16 John, m. 5, i. 130 b). Immediately and unanimously the chapter elected Cadwgan (*ib.* i. 132 b). Their promptitude suggests that John had sought both to avoid a repetition of the slight he had experienced in South Wales, and to win ecclesiastical support in North Wales against Llewelyn by the nomination of an acceptable candidate who was at least a Welshman. On 13 April the royal assent confirmed Cadwgan's election (*ib.*), and on 21 June (*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* from MS. *Annals of Southwark*; *Ann. Wigorn.* say 16 June), a week after the great charter had been signed at Runnymede, Archbishop Langton consecrated Cadwgan at Staines, along with Iorwerth of Talley, the Welsh nominee of the chapter of St. David's (the bishop is called 'Martinus' in the '*Annals of Worcester*,' 'Cadwgan' in '*Brut y Tywysogion*,' 'Ca.' in his profession of obedience in the '*Reg. Prior. Cant.*' and 'O,' a probable mistake for 'C,' in the royal assent in '*Rot. Lit. Pat.*' i. 132 b).

Nothing of importance is known of Cadwgan's acts as bishop. At the end of 1215 he received an intimation through Master Henry of Cerney that Langton was under suspension, but the subjection of Wales to an interdict in 1216 for holding with the barons suggests that little attention was paid to such notices. He continued to rule over his see for more than twenty years, a fact which shows that he can hardly have been a strong partisan of the English. Probably he was a moderate man, of studious and ascetic, rather than of political tastes. In 1236 he obtained permission from Gregory IX to retire from what must always have been a very difficult position. He became a simple monk of the abbey of Dore in Herefordshire. His profession of obedience to the Abbot Stephen and his dedication of his property to the monastery are still extant (HADDAN and STUBBS, i. 464). His retirement to an English monastery may have some significance. He died on 11 April 1241 (*Ann. Theok.* s. a.; Leland's date, 1225, of his death is quite wrong), and was buried at Dore (*Brut y Tywysogion*, s. a.).

Cadwgan is said by Leland to have written some homilies, '*Speculum Christianorum*,' and some other works, to have been remarkable for his piety, and to have been descended from an ancient and noble British family. Dempster (*Hist. Eccles. Gentis Scotorum*) erroneously claims him as a Scot.

[The contemporary materials for Cadwgan's life are collected in Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils*, i. 454-5, and pp. 464-5; see also Browne

Willis's Survey of Bangor, Leland, Bale, Pits, and Tanner.] T. F. T.

CADYMAN, SIR THOMAS. [See CADEMAN.]

CÆDMON (sometimes corruptly written CEDMON), SAINT (*A.* 670), the most celebrated of the vernacular poets of Northumbria, and the reputed author of the Anglo-Saxon metrical paraphrases of the Old Testament, certainly lived in the seventh century, but the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown. The only chronological data we possess are the facts that he entered the monastery of Streaneshalh (Whithy) during the rule of the Abbess Hild, i.e. between 658 and 680, and that he was already somewhat advanced in life when he became a monk. Pits assigns his death to the year 676, and other writers to 670, but these dates appear to be quite arbitrarily fixed. It has been frequently stated, on the supposed authority of Florence of Worcester, that Cædmon died in 680. Florence, however, merely says that Hild died in that year, and it is probable that if Cædmon's death had taken place in the same year as that of his patroness Bæda would not have failed to make some remark on the coincidence.

Respecting Cædmon's personal history we have no other authoritative information than what is contained in a single chapter of Bæda's 'Ecclesiastical History' (iv. 24). Bæda describes him as an unlearned man of great piety and humility, who had received by divine grace such a gift of sacred poetry that he was enabled, after short meditation, to render into English whatever passages were translated in the text of the holy scriptures. Until quite late in life he was engaged in secular occupations, and was so far from showing any sign of poetical genius that whenever he happened to be in company where he perceived that he was about to be called upon in his turn to sing a song to the harp, he was accustomed to leave the table and return home. On one of these occasions, having quitted a party of friends and occupied himself with the care of the cattle to which on that night it was his duty to attend, he fell asleep and dreamed that he heard a voice saying to him, 'Cædmon, sing something to me.' He answered that he did not know how to sing, and that it was for that reason that he had come away from the supper-table. The command, however, was repeated, and Cædmon asked, 'What shall I sing?' 'Sing,' answered the voice, 'the beginning of created things.' Then Cædmon began to sing the praise of the Creator in words which he had never heard, and which,

Bæda says, were to the following effect: 'Now ought we to praise the founder of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator, and His wise design, the deeds of the Father of glory; how He, eternal God, was the author of all things wonderful, who first created for the sons of men the heaven for a roof, and afterwards the earth—He, the almighty guardian of mankind.' Bæda explains that his Latin rendering gives only the general sense, not the order of the words. On awaking Cædmon remembered the verses which he had sung, and added to them others of the same character. He related his dream to the steward (villicus) under whom he worked—probably the farm-bailiff of the abbey of Streaneshalh—who conducted him into the presence of the abbess, Hild, and her monks. When they had heard his story they at once perceived that the untaught herdsman had received a miraculous gift. In order to prove him further they translated to him some passage of Scripture, and requested him, if he were able, to turn it into verse. On the following day he returned, having accomplished his task, and was then received into the monastery, where he continued until his death. The abbess directed that he should be instructed in the history of the Old and New Testaments, and whatever he thus learned he reproduced from time to time in beautiful and touching verse, 'so that his teachers were glad to become his hearers.' We are told that 'he sang of the creation of the world, the origin of mankind, and all the history of Genesis; of the departure of Israel from Egypt and their entrance into the land of promise, and of many other parts of Scripture history; of the Lord's incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension; of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of the apostles. He also made many poems concerning the terror of future judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom.' Bæda says that many persons had attempted to imitate Cædmon's religious poetry, but none had succeeded in equalling him. On other than sacred themes he composed nothing. How long Cædmon lived after his entrance into the monastery we do not know. He died after an illness of fourteen days, which was apparently so slight that no one expected it to end fatally. On the night of his death he surprised his attendant by asking to be removed to the apartment reserved for those who were supposed to be near their end. His request was complied with, and he passed the night in pleasant and jesting conversation. After midnight he asked for the Eucharist. Those who were with him thought

it strange that such a wish should be expressed by one who seemed so full of cheerfulness, and who showed no indication of the approach of death; but he insisted, and his desire was granted. He then inquired of those present whether they were in peace and charity towards him. They replied that they were so, and in answer to their inquiry he said, 'My mind is in perfect peace towards all the servants of God.' Having partaken of the Eucharist, he asked how long it was till the hour at which the brethren were called to their nocturnal psalms. He was informed that the time was near. 'It is well,' he said; 'let us await that hour.' He then made the sign of the cross, and, laying back his head on the pillow, shortly afterwards passed away in sleep.

William of Malmesbury informs us in his 'Gesta Pontificum,' which was written about 1125, that the bones of Cædmon, together with those of other holy persons buried at Whitby, had recently been discovered, and had been removed to a place of honour, probably in the abbey church of Whitby. He adds that Cædmon's claims to be recognised as a saint had been attested by many miracles which had been wrought through his intercession. Like most of the other early English saints, Cædmon seems to have obtained his place in the calendar not by any formal act of canonisation, but by the general voice of his countrymen. The Bollandists place his festival on 11 Feb., on the authority of John Wilson's 'Martyrology,' and they remark that, owing to a misprint in the margin of Wilson's book, the date is frequently given as 10 Feb. Other writers have mentioned 12 Feb.

It is difficult to read the vivid and beautiful account given by Bæda without feeling that it bears in general the stamp of truth. The nearness of Bæda's place of residence to Streaneshalch would give him ample opportunities of obtaining information from persons to whom Cædmon had been intimately known, and the diligence which he bestowed on the collection of his materials must be evident to every student of his works. The story of the beginning of Cædmon's poetical career is no doubt more or less legendary, but the facts that he was an inmate of the abbey of Streaneshalch, and that he was of humble origin and unlearned, are too well attested to admit of any reasonable doubt. Sir Francis Palgrave, however (*Archæologia*, xxiv. 341), has attempted to show that the history of Cædmon is entirely fictitious. He refers to a Latin fragment entitled 'Prefatio in Librum antiquum Saxonice conscriptum,' which states (to quote Palgrave's account of

its contents) that 'Ludovicus Pius, being desirous to furnish his subjects with a version of the scriptures, applied to a Saxon bard of great talent and fame. The poet, peasant, or husbandman, when entirely ignorant of his art, had been instructed in a dream to render the precepts of the divine law into the verse and measure of his native language. His translation, now unfortunately lost, to which the fragment was prefixed, comprehended the whole of the Bible. The text of the original was interspersed with mystic allusions, and the beauty of the composition was so great, that in the opinion of the writer no reader perusing the verse could doubt the source of the poetic inspiration of the bard.' It thus appears that the metrical paraphrases of Scripture current in Germany were, like those current in Northumbria, ascribed to the authorship of an unlettered peasant who had received his poetical vocation in a dream. From this fact Palgrave infers that the history of Cædmon is 'one of those tales floating upon the breath of tradition, and localised from time to time in different countries and in different ages.' This argument, however, is entirely without weight. The document quoted by Palgrave is well known to scholars. It was first printed in 1562 by Flacius Illyricus from an unknown source, and has been prefixed by modern editors to the Old-Saxon poem of the 'Heliand,' which is a paraphrase of the gospel history written in the ninth century. There is sufficient reason for believing that the 'Heliand' is really a part of that metrical version of the Bible with which the fragment originally stood in connection. Now when we examine the 'Prefatio' and the older 'Versus de Poeta' printed along with it, it is obvious that the story which they contain is simply an inaccurate version of Bæda's own account of Cædmon. The testimony of these documents, indeed, practically amounts to ascribing the authorship of the 'Heliand' to the Northumbrian poet. Whether this testimony is entitled to belief is a question which we shall afterwards have to consider.

The incident of Cædmon's dream is on other grounds open to strong suspicion. The story is just such a legend as would be naturally suggested by the desire to account for the wonderful phenomenon of the display of great poetic genius on the part of an unlettered rustic, and closely similar traditions are found in the literature of many different nations and periods. Palgrave's argument against the authenticity of Cædmon's biography is supposed to derive support from another consideration. He points out

that the name of Cædmon has no obvious English etymology, while, on the other hand, it bears a curious resemblance to certain Hebrew and Chaldee words. *Kadmôn* in Hebrew has the two meanings of 'eastern' and 'ancient;' *Adām Kadmôn* (the ancient or primeval Adam) is a prominent figure in the philosophic mythology of the Rabbins; and *Be-Kadmin* (in the beginning) is the first word of the Chaldee Targum on Genesis. On these grounds Palgrave concluded that the real author of the body of sacred poetry spoken of by Bæda was a monk who had travelled in Palestine and was learned in Rabbinical literature, and that he assumed the Hebrew name of Cædmon, either in allusion to the subjects on which he wrote, or in order to describe himself as 'a visitor from the East.' He endeavours to show that there is no improbability in crediting an English monk of the seventh century with the possession of a considerable knowledge of Hebrew; but his arguments are not likely to be accepted by any one who is intimately acquainted with the state of scholarship in England at that period. It is surprising to find that Palgrave's etymological speculations are mentioned with approval by Mr. T. Arnold in the article 'Cædmon' in the ninth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' Mr. Arnold does not indeed deny the truth of Bæda's account of the monk of Streaneshalch, but he supposes that some learned pilgrim returned from the Holy Land had bestowed upon the Northumbrian poet a Hebrew nickname, in allusion to the themes of which he sang.

This fanciful hypothesis scarcely deserves serious refutation. Nevertheless, it is quite true that the name of Cædmon has no English etymology. Sandras and Bouterwek, indeed, have endeavoured to explain it as meaning 'boatman' or 'pirate,' from the word *ced*, a boat, which occurs in one of the Anglo-Saxon glossaries printed by Mone. Unfortunately this word is a mere error of transcription for the well-known *ceol*. The truth seems to be that Cædmon is an Anglicised form of the common British name *Catumanus* (in modern Welsh *Cadfan*). The first element of the compound (*catu*, battle) occurs in the name of a British king whom Bæda calls Cædwalla. If this view be correct, we may infer that the Northumbrian poet was probably of Celtic descent.

We have now to inquire what portion of the poetry which has been ascribed to Cædmon can claim to be regarded as his genuine work. It has been already stated that Bæda furnishes a Latin rendering of the verses which Cædmon composed in his dream, adding that he only gives the sense, and not the

order of the words. Now in King Ælfred's translation of Bæda this poem is quoted in Anglo-Saxon metre, and the translator alters Bæda's language so as to make him say that he does give the order of the words. The natural assumption would be that Ælfred was acquainted with the original English form of the poem, and had introduced it into his translation. This conclusion, however, has been impugned by many writers, who contend that the English verses are a mere retranslation from Bæda's Latin. A fact which strongly tends to prove their genuineness is that they are found, in Northumbrian orthography, in a manuscript of Bæda's 'History' now at Cambridge, the handwriting of which refers it to the middle of the eighth century. It is true that the page containing these Northumbrian verses is in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript, and may possibly have been written at a considerably later date, though Professor Zupitza, who has carefully inspected the codex, offers some strong arguments to the contrary. Some scholars, moreover, have tried to prove that the dialect and versification are not precisely those of Cædmon's time. But our knowledge of early Northumbrian is so limited that it is impossible to attach much importance to these objections. We must either admit that the Cambridge manuscript gives the actual words which Bæda had before him, or we must suppose that some one took the trouble to render Ælfred's verses into Northumbrian spelling in order to insert them in the manuscript. The latter hypothesis is so beset with difficulties that we are fairly entitled to conclude that the lines are really the original of Bæda's quotation. The words are as follows:—

Nu scylun hergan hefaenricaes uard,  
metudæs mæcni end his modgidanc,  
uere uuldurfadur; sue he uundra gihwas,  
eeci dryetin, or astelidæ.  
He ærist scop ælða barnum  
hoben til hrofe, haleg scepen;  
tha middungeard, moneynnæs uard,  
eeci dryetin; æfter tiadæ  
frum foldu, frea allmectig.

These verses have certainly no great poetic merit, and it has been made an argument against their genuineness that they possess no excellence sufficient to account for the high estimation in which Cædmon was held by Bæda. The objection does not appear formidable. We need not precisely assent to the whimsical remark of Ettmüller, that the 'soporiferous' character of the lines confirms the tradition that they were composed in a dream; but it should be remembered that, according to Bæda's testimony,



they are the work of a beginner in the poetic art. On the other hand, the fact that Bæda believed the poem to be Cædmon's does not absolutely prove its genuineness, as the composition may be merely part of the legend relating to the poet's divine call.

Another composition which has been ascribed to Cædmon is the really fine poem called 'The Dream of the Holy Rood.' A fragment of this poem, in the original Northumbrian dialect, is inscribed in runic letters on the sculptured stone cross set up at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire. The ornamentation of the Ruthwell cross is so strikingly identical in character with that of the similar monument at Bewcastle as to suggest the conclusion that the two are not far apart in date, if indeed they were not wrought by the same artist, and the historical allusions contained in the Bewcastle inscription assign it to the end of the seventh century—that is to say, to a time at which Cædmon may have been still living. After the inscription on the Ruthwell cross had been deciphered by J. M. Kemble in 1840, it was discovered that a West-Saxon version of the entire poem existed in a manuscript preserved at Vercelli, which also contained four other poems in the West-Saxon dialect. The suggestion that 'The Dream of the Holy Rood' was composed by Cædmon is due in the first instance to the late Dr. Haigh, and it was adopted by Professor George Stephens, of Copenhagen, who believed that he had found decisive proof of its correctness in the words 'Cædmon mæ fauœðo' (Cædmon made me), which he read on the top-stone of the Ruthwell cross. The reading of the word 'Cædmon' on the stone is perfectly certain, though that of the other two words is open to some doubt. Professor Stephens's conclusion was for a time accepted by all English and some German scholars. But the words on the top of the cross are an example of a formula which is of constant occurrence in runic texts, and which in every known instance indicates the person who carved the monument. That in this particular case it can have been employed to denote the author of the verses which form a part of the inscription is in the highest degree unlikely. We must therefore conclude that the sculptor of the Ruthwell cross was a namesake of the Northumbrian poet. This conclusion leaves untouched the question of the authorship of the 'Dream.' At first sight, indeed, it seems almost incredible that the carver of the monument should have borne the same name as the poet whose verses he inscribed upon it. But the improbability of the coincidence is diminished by the consideration that the name

is likely to have been a very common one in a district whose population must have been largely of Celtic descent; and it is worthy of note that the neighbourhood of Ruthwell is known to have been inhabited, till long after the seventh century, by a Welsh-speaking people. That the 'Dream' belongs to the age of Cædmon is certain; and when we consider that it is one of the noblest specimens of Old-English poetry we possess, there seems to be considerable plausibility in ascribing it to the man whom Bæda regarded as by far the greatest religious poet of his time. The strongest argument against this view is based upon the resemblance which the style of the poem, at least in its amplified West-Saxon form, bears to the undoubted work of Cynewulf; but it is by no means clear that the poetry of Cynewulf may not be largely an adaptation of older compositions. An engraving of the Ruthwell cross, with a transcript and a translation of the inscription, is given in Stephens's 'Old Northern Runic Monuments,' i. 405, iii. 189; and the West-Saxon version of the 'Dream' from the Vercelli manuscript will be found in Grein's 'Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie,' ii. 143.

The works to which the celebrity of Cædmon's name in modern times is chiefly due are the so-called sacred epics, or metrical versions of Scripture history, which have been preserved in a manuscript of tenth-century date now in the Bodleian Library. The first part of this manuscript is all in one handwriting, and contains paraphrases of portions of the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel. The second part seems to have been written by three different scribes, and consists of fragments of three poems, of which the first relates to the fall of the angels and the temptation of man; the second to the descent of Christ into hell, His resurrection and ascension, and the last judgment; and the third to the temptation of Christ in the wilderness. With the exception of a portion of the paraphrase of Daniel, of which a copy, materially differing from the Bodleian text, occurs in the Exeter book, none of these pieces has been found in any other manuscript. It will be at once perceived that the list of subjects just given corresponds precisely, so far as it goes, with Bæda's account of the poetry of Cædmon. No author's name appears in the manuscript, but Franciscus Junius (François Dujon), who edited the poems in 1655, conjectured that they were the work of Cædmon, by whose name they have subsequently been known. The fact that these compositions, as we now have them, are in West-

Saxon orthography would not of itself constitute a reason for rejecting Junius's conclusion, as we know that in other instances Northumbrian poetry was transcribed into the southern dialect. Modern criticism, however, has shown that the various portions of the so-called Cædmon poetry exhibit diversities of style inconsistent with the supposition of common authorship, and many passages indicate on the part of their authors an amount of learning which the monk of Streaneshalch cannot have possessed. The most probable conclusion seems to be that the rude Northumbrian verses of Cædmon were regarded by the writers of the Ælfrelian and later ages as raw material, which they elaborated with unequal degrees of poetic skill. On the assumption that the Anglo-Saxon 'sacred epics' are more or less based upon the songs of Cædmon, there is reason for believing that, with the marked exception of the 'Exodus,' they are in general greatly inferior to their originals. Their authors seem to have been men to whom religious edification was more important than poetry, and who often substituted a mere paraphrase of the scriptural text for the free and imaginative handling of the Northumbrian poet.

There is, however, among the poetry contained in the Bodleian manuscript one long passage which seems to be essentially the product of Cædmon's daring and original genius. This is the fragment describing the temptation and fall of man, which the scribe has abruptly interpolated in the middle of the dreary metrical prose of the 'Genesis.' This fragment, which includes the lines 235-370 and 421-851 of Grein's edition (the lines 371-420 are by another hand), bears a striking resemblance in style to the Old-Saxon poem of the 'Heliand,' previously referred to. This resemblance, indeed, is so close, extending to very minute points of diction, that the two works cannot possibly be regarded as unconnected. The only question is what is the precise nature of the relation between them. Professor Sievers, who was the first to call attention to the facts, has endeavoured to prove that this portion of the 'Genesis' is a translation of an Old-Saxon poem by the author of the 'Heliand.' His principal argument is that several words and idioms characteristic of this passage are good Old-Saxon, but are found nowhere else in Anglo-Saxon. It is needless to say that the judgment of this distinguished scholar is deserving of the highest respect; but his conclusion appears to be open to grave objection. We must remember that the continental Saxons were evangelised by English missionaries; and, as Professor Stephens has

forcibly urged, it is highly improbable that an ancient and cultured church like that of England should have adopted into its literature a poem written by a barbarian convert of its own missions. Moreover, Professor Sievers's linguistic arguments are not of overwhelming force. The Old-Saxon dialect is known to us almost exclusively from the 'Heliand' itself; and the extant remains of early Northumbrian are confined to a few insignificant fragments. It is therefore quite possible that the expressions which are common to the 'Heliand' and to the fragment under discussion, and peculiar to them, may have been derived from the old poetic vocabulary of Northumbria. Some of the phrases which distinguish the 'Story of the Fall' from the rest of the 'Genesis' occur also in Cædmon's 'Hymn to the Creator,' and the fervid and impassioned style which the former composition shares with the 'Heliand' reminds us strongly of that of 'The Dream of the Holy Rood.' It seems, therefore, a reasonable conclusion that the 'Heliand,' and its sister poem in Anglo-Saxon, are both of them translations (largely amplified, possibly, but retaining much of the original diction and spirit) from the verses of the Northumbrian poet. This result is confirmed by the testimony of the Latin preface to the 'Heliand,' which, as has been previously stated in this article, virtually ascribes the authorship of the poem to Cædmon himself.

Notwithstanding the astonishing general resemblance between the 'Heliand' and the Anglo-Saxon poem, there is one point of difference between the two works which is worthy of careful note. The 'Story of the Fall,' while following in the main the biblical narrative and the Latin poem of Avitus 'De Origine Mundi,' exhibits such deviations from these original sources as might be expected from a poet who, like Cædmon, had obtained his knowledge of them by hearsay and not by reading. It is surely the peasant Cædmon, and not any poet of literary and theological culture, who represents the transgression of Adam and Eve as an almost unavoidable error, deserving rather pity than blame, and who expresses his simple-hearted wonder that God should have permitted his children to be so terribly deceived. In the 'Heliand' touches of this kind are scarcely to be found. It would seem that the missionaries who adapted the work of Cædmon to the needs of their German converts were, as might naturally be expected, careful to bring its teaching into accord with the received standard of theological orthodoxy.

The 'Exodus,' though disfigured by a taste-

less interpolation about the history of the patriarch, is the work of a true poet; but there is nothing to show how far the writer may have been indebted to his Northumbrian predecessor. Nor can any clear traces of Cædmon's original authorship be discerned in the 'Daniel,' which is a pleasing and graceful rendering of the Bible narrative. The wide divergence between the two texts of the 'Azarias' portion of this poem is a significant illustration of the freedom with which the Anglo-Saxon poets permitted themselves to rewrite the compositions of earlier authors.

The three fragments at the end of the Bodleian manuscript, which form what is called 'The Second Book of Cædmon,' or 'Christ and Satan,' appear to be the work of a single author, but it is not likely that they originally formed part of a continuous poem. They have considerable poetic merit, and so far as their substance is concerned have a certain affinity with the 'Story of the Fall.' But their smooth and monotonous rhythm is very unlike the rugged and expressive versification of that poem; and their vocabulary and phraseology are in general those of later Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is probable that these fragments should be regarded as a free rendering of portions of Cædmon's poems in the manner of a later period.

It is right to state that the views here put forward are in conflict with those which are maintained by many scholars of high authority. Professor ten Brink, for example, considers that the less poetical portion of the 'Genesis' is substantially Cædmon's, and that no other specimen of his work has come down to us except the 'Hymn.' But, in the first place, the assumption that a tame and prosaic style is characteristic of the infancy of Old-English sacred poetry is refuted by the evidence of the Ruthwell cross. And, in the second place, a servile paraphrase of the biblical text can only have proceeded from a writer who was able to read his Latin bible; to a poet who, like Cædmon, had to depend on his recollection of extemporised oral translations, such a performance would have been absolutely impossible.

No discussion of the 'Cædmon' of the Bodleian manuscript would be complete without some reference to the interesting question of the influence which it is supposed to have exercised upon Milton in the composition of 'Paradise Lost.' The resemblances in matter and expression between some passages of Milton's poems and the Anglo-Saxon 'Genesis' are so remarkable that it is difficult to regard them as fortuitous. On the other hand, Milton became blind three years before the publication of Junius's edition of

'Cædmon' in 1655, so that he can have had no opportunity of studying the book in its printed form. The manuscript, however, was given by Archbishop Ussher to Junius in 1651, and had been for some time previous in the archbishop's library. It seems possible, although no evidence of the fact has been produced, that Milton may have been personally acquainted with Junius, or that he may have numbered among his friends some student of Anglo-Saxon who may have given him an account of the contents of the precious manuscript.

Junius's edition of 'Cædmon' was published at Amsterdam in 1655, and some copies of it were issued by James Fletcher at Oxford in 1752, with some notes from Junius's manuscripts added at the end. Fletcher also published in 1754 copies of the fifty pictures with which the Bodleian manuscript is adorned. In 1832 the Society of Antiquaries of London published Thorpe's edition of 'Cædmon,' based upon the original manuscript, with an English translation and notes; and in the following year the society issued a magnificent volume containing facsimiles of the illustrations, accompanied by an essay by Sir Henry Ellis. In 1849-54 K. W. Bouterwek published at Gutersloh an edition of 'Cædmon,' in two volumes, with introduction, notes, a prose translation, and glossary. Copious extracts from the poems were given in Ettmüller's 'Engla and Seaxna Scôpas and Bôceras,' Quedlinburg, 1850, the text being substantially that of the previous editors. The latest complete edition is that of C. W. Grein, in his 'Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie,' Göttingen, 1857. Grein also published a German translation, in alliterative metre, in his 'Dichtungen der Angelsachsen, stabreimend übersetzt,' Göttingen, 1863. A careful revision of the text may be expected in the new edition of Grein's 'Bibliothek,' by Professor Wülcker, which is now in course of publication.

[The only original authority for the life of Cædmon is Bæda, Hist. Eccl. iv. 24. For discussion respecting the credibility of Bæda's account, and the genuineness of the poems ascribed to Cædmon, see Acta Sanctorum, 11 Feb.; Palgrave in Archæologia, xxiv. 341; Sandras's De Carminibus Saxoniciis Cædmoni adjudicatis, Paris, 1859; Bouterwek's De Cædmone Dissertatio, Elberfeld, 1845, and the introduction to his edition of the poems; Ettmüller's Scôpas and Bôceras, pp. xii, xiii, 25, 26; Greverus's Cædmon's Schöpfung und Abfall der bösen Engel, Oldenburg, 1852; Wright's Biog. Brit. Anglo-Saxon period, pp. 23 and 193-200; Göttinger, Ueber die Dichtungen des Angelsachsen Cædmon's, Göttingen, 1860; Wülcker, Ueber den Hymnus Cædmon's, in Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen

Sprache und Litt. iii. 348-57; Zupitza in *Zeitschr. für deutsches Alterthum*, xxii. 210 ff.; Sievers's *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis*, Halle, 1875; Stephens in the *Academy*, 21 Oct. 1876; Groschopp, *Christ and Satan*, in *Anglia*, vi. 248 ff.; Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*, trans. Kennedy, London, 1883; Earle's *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, London, 1884. For the influence of Cædmon on Milton see Masson's *Life of Milton*, vi. 557, note; Wülfker in *Anglia*, iv. 401-5.] H. B.

**CÆDWALLA** (*d.* 634), whose name is also spelt CADWALADER, CADWALLON, CASWALLON, CATGUBLAUN (probably equivalent to the Latin Cassibellaunus), CATGUOLAUM, and with several other variations, son of Cadvan (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 32), king of North Wales [q. v.], was the British king of Guenedotia or Vendotia, commonly called Gwynedd, which was probably coextensive, roughly speaking, with North Wales; but the king seems to have exercised some authority over the western regions north of the Mersey, possibly even as far as Carlisle (LAPPENBERG, *Ang.-Sax. Hist.* i. 121, 122; *Journal of Archaeolog. Assoc.* xi. 54).

A deadly rivalry had long existed between the British kingdom of Gwynedd and the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria. Æthelfrith, the 'Fierce' or Destroyer, had inflicted a terrible blow upon the Britons in the battle of Chester in 613 (*BEDA*, ii. 2; REES, *Welsh Saints*, p. 293). It was probably to avenge this disaster that in 629 Cædwalla invaded Northumbria; but he was defeated by Eadwine, the successor of Æthelfrith, near Morpeth, driven thence into Wales, and besieged in the island of Glannauc, probably to be identified with Priestholm, near Anglesey (*Ann. Cambrie, M. H. B.* 832). He escaped to Ireland; but after a brief sojourn there returned to Britain, and, although himself a christian, entered into alliance with Penda, king of the Mercians, a merciless pagan. Their united forces invaded Northumbria, and overwhelmed Eadwine's army at Heathfield or Hatfield, probably Hatfield Chase, a few miles north-east of Doncaster, A.D. 633. Eadwine and his son Osfrid were slain. Northumbria was cruelly devastated. Cædwalla, who surpassed his pagan ally, Penda, in ferocity, vowed that he would extirpate the whole Anglian race from Britain, and spared neither age nor sex, putting women and children to death by torture (*BEDA*, ii. 20). It was the temporary overthrow of the whole kingdom and church of Northumbria. Paulinus, who had converted Eadwine and founded the see of York, retired to Kent, accompanied by the queen, her daughter, son, and grandson. Osric, a cousin of Eadwine,

and Eanfrith, a son of Æthelfrith, tried to recover the kingdom of Deira and Bernicia, and to secure the favour of the Mercians by basely renouncing their christianity, but received the just reward of their apostasy by being slain by Cædwalla in the following year, 634 (*ib.* iii. 1). The British king now boasted that his forces were irresistible; but his triumph was shortlived.

Oswald, a younger brother of Eanfrith and nephew of Eadwine, resolved to make an effort to shake off the yoke of the oppressor. Near the close of the year 634 he mustered an army, and met the enemy on a hill called Hevenfelth, north of the Roman wall, near Hexham. Here he set up a cross, which he helped to fix in the ground with his own hands, and bidding his soldiers kneel before it, prayed with them 'to the living and true God, who knew how just their cause was, to save them from their fierce and haughty foe' (*ib.* iii. 2). Thus encouraged, they fell upon the British host, which far outnumbered his own, and completely routed it. Cædwalla himself fled into the valley and was slain at the Deniseburn, perhaps the brook which flows northwards into the Tyne, and enters it near Dilston, east of Hexham (*ib.* iii. 1). The place of battle was afterwards called Oswald's Cross, and a small church was in time erected there, and was served by the clergy of the church at Hexham. Thus perished Cædwalla, who had fought, it was said, in fourteen battles and sixty skirmishes (LAPPENBERG, i. 156; NENNIUS), and with him ended the last serious struggle for supremacy between the old British and Anglian races in that part of the island.

[*Bæda*, *Ecel. Hist.* ii. 2, 20, iii. 1, 2; *Annales Cambrie*, ap. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 832; Nennius, ap. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 76; Rees's *Welsh Saints*, 293.]  
W. R. W. S.

**CÆDWALLA** (659?-689) (the variations in the form of whose name are as numerous as in the case of the Welsh Cædwalla), was the son of Cyneberht, and a great-grandson of the West-Saxon king Ceawlin [q. v.]; but his name indicates some British connection, and misled some Welsh writers so far as to confuse him with Cadwaladr, son of the Cædwalla who was killed at Hevenfelth (*Brut y Tywysogion, Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 841; REES, *Welsh Saints*, p. 300). The name of his brother 'Mul'—the mule or half-breed—points to the probability of their mother being Welsh. Bæda calls him a young man of great energy, and he was probably regarded as a dangerous aspirant to the West-Saxon throne. At any rate he was expelled from Wessex, and, according to William of Malmesbury,

by a faction of the leading men, which perhaps included the king himself, Centwine (*Gest. Pont.* p. 233), and he then led the wild life of an outlaw among the forests of Chiltern and Anderida. Here he was brought into contact, about 681, with Wilfrith, who was engaged in missionary labours among the South-Saxons. Cædwalla often applied to him for advice, and Wilfrith lent him also horses and money, and obtained great influence over him (*ib.*) In 685, when Cædwalla began to strive for the West-Saxon kingdom (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), he ravaged Sussex with a band of lawless followers, and, notwithstanding his friendship with Wilfrith, slew the South-Saxon king, Æthelwealh, who was an ally of Centwine. Two ealdormen, however, Berchtun and Andhun, who had been converted by Wilfrith, succeeded in driving him out, and governing the kingdom independently. On the death or resignation of Centwine, 686 (see FLOR. WIG.), who seems to have nominated Cædwalla as his successor (WILL. MALM., *Gest. Pont.* p. 352), the latter obtained possession of the West-Saxon throne, and, again invading Sussex, defeated and slew Berchtun, and subdued the whole kingdom. After making a raid on Kent, in which his brother Mul was burned to death, he turned his arms against the Isle of Wight, which had been conquered some years before by Wulfhere, king of Mercia, and bestowed upon his ally and godson, Æthelwealh, the South-Saxon king (BÆDA, iv. 13, 16). The inhabitants of Wight were still heathen, and Cædwalla, although not yet baptised, vowed that if he was victorious he would devote a fourth part of the island to God. This was probably due to the suggestion of Wilfrith, who had great influence over him, although the statements of Eddius and William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* p. 233) that Cædwalla made him a kind of president over his kingdom (ut dominum et magistrum), and did nothing without his approval, must be looked upon as exaggerations. Anyhow, having been successful in subjugating Wight, Cædwalla fulfilled his vow by bestowing a fourth part of the island, three hundred hides, on Wilfrith, who sent two priests (his nephew Bernuin, and another named Hiddila) to instruct and baptise the people in the christian faith (BÆDA, iv. 16). Cædwalla put to death two sons of Arvaldus, king of Wight, who had fled for refuge to the mainland, but, at the request of an abbot of a neighbouring monastery, permitted them first to be baptised. All this time he himself had not been baptised, and had not, so far as our records enable us to judge, exhibited much christian virtue in his

conduct. He had indeed bestowed many liberal gifts upon monastic houses, but William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* p. 352) implies that he did this to obtain favour when he was ambitious of the West-Saxon throne. Suddenly, however, in 688, the fierce warrior turned into a penitent devotee. He resigned his kingdom and took his journey to Rome, in order to be baptised by the pope. Cædwalla was baptised by Pope Sergius I, under the name of Peter, on Easter eve, 689, being then about thirty years of age. He had hoped to die, Bæda says (*E. H.* v. 7), ---- after his baptism, in order to pass at once to eternal joys; and his hope was fulfilled, for death came before he had put off the chrisom, or white fillet which converts wore for eight days after their baptism. He was buried in St. Peter's on 20 April. His epitaph, consisting of some turgid Latin elegiacs, followed by a few lines in prose, has been preserved by Bæda. A copy of the metrical inscription alone, taken from the original stone in old St. Peter's, exists in John Gruter's work, 'Inscrip. Antiq. Amstel.' 1707, ii. 1174, and also in Raffael Fabretti's 'Inscrip. Antiq.' 1702, Rome, p. 735, No. 463.

[Bæda, *Ecl. Hist.* iv. 13, 15, 16, v. 7; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series.] W. R. W. S.

#### CAERNARVON. [See CARNARVON.]

CÆSAR, SIR CHARLES (1590–1642), judge, the third son of Sir Julius Caesar [q. v.] by his first wife, born 27 Jan. 1589–90, was educated at All Souls College, Oxford, of which, on the recommendation of the king, he was elected a fellow in 1605, taking the degree of B.A. shortly afterwards. He proceeded M.A. in 1607, resigned his fellowship in 1611, and took the degree of doctor of both laws (civil and canon) on 7 Dec. 1612. On 9 Oct. of the following year he was knighted at the palace of Theobalds. In the brief parliament of 1614 he sat as senior member for Bletchingley, Surrey. On 9 May of the following year he was appointed a master of chancery. Having devoted himself to the practice of the ecclesiastical law, he was created by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbott) judge of the court of audience and master of the faculties, both of which offices he was permitted to retain on the suspension of the archbishop in 1627 (COBBETT, *State Trials*, ii. 1452), and the latter of which, as probably also the former, he held until his death (WOOD, *Fæsti Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, i. 328). From the fact that we find him on 10 June 1626 associated with Baron Trevor in carrying the Duke of Buckingham's answer to his impeachment from the upper to the lower house,

it may be inferred that he then held the post of judge of the court of audience. On 17 Dec. 1633 he was made a member of the high commission, and from that time until his appointment to the mastership of the rolls he is not unfrequently mentioned in the acts of commission in a way which shows that under it he exercised a jurisdiction similar to that which in the court of chancery was then vested in a master. He sat in 1635-6 as a member of a special tribunal, composed of doctors of the civil law and judges and advocates of the court of arches, to try the question whether tobacco could rightly be considered contraband of war by the law of nations, or as falling within the purview of the fourth article of the treaty concluded between England and Spain in 1630, whereby it was made a breach of neutrality for either of the contracting parties to supply the enemies of the other with 'victual' (*commeatus*). The question arose from a man-of-war of Dunkirk having captured an English merchantman laden with leaf tobacco from Amsterdam, and bound presumably for France (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1635-6, p. 208, where the destination of the vessel is not stated), and the Dunkirk court and also the court of appeal at Brussels having adjudged her and her cargo lawful prize. The English court decided that the judgment was contrary alike to the law of nations and to the treaty. The mastership of the rolls falling vacant by the death of Sir Dudley Digges in March 1638-9, the king let it be known that it would only be parted with for a handsome consideration. Cæsar sounded Laud as to its probable price, and was told plainly 'that as things then stood, that place was not like to go without more money than he thought any wise man would give for it.' Cæsar, however, was not daunted. His competitors were Sir Edward Leech, who offered 7,000*l.* down, and 6,000*l.* to follow in May; Sir Thomas Hatton, who offered his wife's house, and money besides (how much is not known); and Lord-chief-justice Finch, and Sir Ralph Freeman, a master of requests; the amounts offered by the two last mentioned we do not know. Cæsar, however, cut them all out by bidding 15,000*l.* (10,000*l.* payable at once in hard cash), and agreeing to lend the king 2,000*l.* towards the expenses of his meditated journey into Scotland. This latter sum appears to have been trust money in his hands as executor of his uncle, Henry Cæsar [q. v.], dean of Ely, which he was bound by the terms of the dean's will to confer upon some college to be selected by himself. A warrant was issued for its repayment on 10 March of the following year.

The money, however, was never repaid, although repeated applications to the treasury were made by himself and by his wife and son after his death.

Cæsar died on 6 Dec. 1642 of the small-pox, and was buried at Bennington, Hertfordshire. His epitaph magniloquently designates him 'an equal distributor of unsuspected justice;' on the other hand, George Gerrard, the master of the Charterhouse, writing to Viscount Conway and Killultagh, under date 28 March 1639, curtly characterises him as 'a very ass,' adding that he was 'the very anvil on which the doctors of the law of his society played.' He married twice: first, Anne, daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore, merchant of London, who died on 13 June 1625; secondly, in 1626, Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Barkham, knight, lord mayor of London in 1622. She died on 16 June 1661, and was buried at Bennington. In all he had fifteen children, six by his first wife, and nine by his second; but only five survived him, three of these being sons, and of these the eldest, Julius, died a few days after his father, and of the same complaint.

[Willis's Not. Parl. iii. 173; Archives of All Souls College, pp. 307, 308, 380; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 296, 328, 348; Hardy's Catalogue of Lord Chancellors, &c., p. 89; Nichols's Progresses of James I, ii. 677; Parl. Hist. ii. 191; Commons' Journals, i. 257; Cobbett's State Trials, ii. 417; Rymer's Fœdera (Sanderson), xix. 221-2; Dugdale's Chron. Ser. iii.; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1625-1640); Foss's Judges of England; Lodge's Life of Sir J. Cæsar, with Memoirs of his Family.] J. M. R.

**CÆSAR, HENRY** (1562?-1636), dean of Ely, fifth and youngest son of Cæsar Adelmare or Dalnariis, a well-known physician, and brother of Sir Julius Cæsar [q. v.], was born, according to his epitaph, in 1564, although other evidence gives the more probable date of 1562. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, 'where to this day,' says Wood, 'certain lodgings are called from him Cæsar's lodgings,' and afterwards became a member of St. Edmund Hall in the same university. While still very young, he spent some time at Cambridge, and, being suspected of popish leanings, fled beyond sea. On his return about 1583 he recanted his former errors, and became vicar of Lostwithiel in Cornwall; but in March 1584, Sir Walter Mildmay, whom he had personally affronted, directed proceedings to be taken against him on the ground of his renewed nonconformity. He was still subject to the same suspicion in 1589, when his brother, Sir Julius, entreated Lord Burghley to protect him from his assailants. A few years later all his enemies

were silenced. On 6 Nov. 1595 he proceeded D.D. at Oxford; on 13 Sept. 1596 was presented by the queen to the rectory of St. Christopher, in the city of London, which he resigned in July 1597; became rector of Somersham, Huntingdonshire; and was appointed prebendary of Westminster in September 1609, and dean of Ely on 12 Oct. 1614. He resigned his prebend at Westminster in 1625. He died, according to his epitaph, on 7 Oct. 1636, and was buried in Ely Cathedral, where an elaborate monument was erected to his memory. He left several bequests to the officers of the cathedral, and to friends and relations. His sole executor, Sir Charles [q. v.], son of his brother, Sir Julius, was directed to apply within six months 2,000*l.* to the foundation of two fellowships and four scholarships (open to pupils from Ely school) in some college of his own choosing. Sir Charles chose Jesus College, Cambridge, which received annuities from the family till 1668, but never obtained the capital.

[E. Lodge's *Life of Sir Julius Cæsar*, with *Memoirs of his Family*; Bentham's *Ely* (1812), p. 230; Le Neve's *Fasti*; Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 270-1.] S. L. L.

**CÆSAR, SIR JULIUS** (1558-1636), judge, was of Italian extraction, his grandfather being Pietro Maria Adelmare, a citizen of Treviso, near Venice, but descended from a family belonging to Fréjus, in Provence. This Pietro Maria Adelmare, who had some reputation as a civilian, married Paola, daughter of Giovanni Pietro Cesarini (probably of the same family as Giuliano Cesarini, cardinal of St. Angelo, and president of the council of Basle, 1431-8), and one of his sons, Cesare Adelmare, having graduated in arts and medicine at the university of Padua, migrated to England, apparently about 1550, and began practice in London as a physician. He was elected fellow in 1554, and in the following year censor of the College of Physicians, and was appointed medical adviser to Queen Mary, from whom he obtained letters of naturalisation with immunity from taxation in 1558, and from whom he on one occasion received the enormous fee of 100*l.* for a single attendance. Elizabeth also consulted him and requited his services by sundry leases of church lands at rents somewhat below their actual value. In 1561 he fixed his residence in Bishopsgate, having purchased a house which had formed part of the dissolved priory of St. Helen's. There he died in 1569, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Helen's. Many of his prescriptions are preserved in Sloane MS. 2815, having been copied from original manuscripts

by Sir Hans Sloane. The name of Cæsar, by which the doctor was usually addressed by Mary and Elizabeth, was adopted by his children as a surname. His eldest son, Julius Cæsar Adelmare, was born at Tottenham in 1557-8, and baptised in the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East in February of that year, his sponsors being the lord treasurer, William Paulet, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and Lady Montagu as representing the queen. Shortly after his father's death his mother married Michael Lock, a zealous protestant. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and graduated B.A. in 1575, and proceeded M.A. 1578. In 1579 he left Oxford for Paris, where he took the degrees of bachelor licentiate and doctor of both laws (civil and canon) in the spring of 1581 and received (10 May) the complimentary title of advocate in the parliament of Paris. In 1584 he took the degree of doctor of laws at Oxford. He had been admitted a member of the Inner Temple in 1580, and on 9 Oct. 1581 made one of the commissioners under the statute 28 Henry VIII, s. 15, by which the criminal jurisdiction of the admiral had been transferred to the courts of common law. On the 15th of the same month he was appointed chancellor to the master of the hospital of St. Catherine's, near the Tower of London. In 1583 he was appointed counsel to the corporation of London. This year also he was appointed, by his friend Bishop Aylmer, commissary and sequestrator-general within the archdeaconry of Essex and Colchester and some deaneries. On 30 April of the next year he succeeded Dr. Lewes as judge of the admiralty court. He was also sworn a master of the chancery on 21 June. As judge of the admiralty court he suffered more than most of her servants from the constitutional meanness of Elizabeth. There appears to have been no regular salary attached to this office, and Cæsar bitterly complains that whereas his predecessor 'had every three years somewhat,' he himself had not, 'after nine years' service, received in fee, pension, or recompense to the value of one penny,' but rather was some 4,000*l.* out of pocket. The suitors who had recourse to the court of admiralty were not unfrequently poor seamen or foreigners, while the number of cases in which the crown was defendant was also considerable. It seems to have been Cæsar's regular practice to aid the poor or embarrassed suitors out of his own purse, and to consider all claims substantiated against the crown as a first charge upon the fees, and the expenses of administration to have priority to his own remuneration. As early as 1587-8 we find him petitioning the queen



that he might be installed in some lucrative and honorary post, such as 'the first deanery that shall fall void either of York or of Durham, or of Bath and Wells or of Winchester,' or the first hospital that shall become void of these three, St. Katharine's, near the Tower of London, St. Crosse's, near Winton, and the hospital of Sherborne, in the bishoprick of Durham,' or else that he might be made a 'master of requests extraordinary.' This petition was read and duly noted by Cecil, and there the matter rested. In October 1588 Cæsar was admitted master of the chancery in ordinary. This year, too, he was returned to parliament as senior member for Reigate. The council assumed to itself the right of reviewing his judgments. This he resented keenly in a letter dated 1 March 1588. The idea of an annual circuit round the coasts of the kingdom for the despatch of admiralty business, which had often been mooted, met with his hearty approval; and as Elizabeth 'mislked to enter into the charge,' he offered to travel at his own expense, adding only the proviso, 'if I may be encouraged by so much, either commodity or credit, as will provide me an honest burial when I die, and keep my poor wife and children from open beggary.' In the spring of the following year he was actually threatened with legal process upon a bond which he had given by way of guarantee for the payment of a sum of 420*l.* due from Sir Walter Leveson to a Dane, probably a suitor in the admiralty court. At length, however, the queen saw fit to confer upon him the post of master of requests. He was sworn on 10 June 1591, and admitted to the office on 7 March, having in the meanwhile (24 Jan.) been elected a bencher of his inn. The court of requests offered special facilities to poor suitors who might with advantage be transferred thither from the admiralty court. The same year, through the influence of the Scottish ambassador, Archibald Douglas, which he had bought for 500*l.*, he obtained from the queen a grant of the reversion of the mastership of St. Catherine's Hospital. At this time he was one of the commissioners of sewers. In 1592 he was entrusted with the commission of the peace for Middlesex, and returned to parliament as senior member for Bletchingley, Surrey. In November of the following year he was elected treasurer of the Inner Temple, and on 6 Dec. governor of the mineral and battery works throughout the kingdom, and was re-elected treasurer of the Inner Temple next year. He was at this time a member of the high commission and a close friend of Whitgift (STRYPE, *Annals* (fol.), iii. 609). On 17 Aug. 1595 he was appointed master of requests in ordinary

in attendance upon the person of the queen, with a salary of 100*l.* per annum, not, however, granted by the queen until she had forced him to disclose the precise amount which he had paid to Archibald Douglas for his interest in the matter of the St. Catherine's appointment. In this or the next year he contributed 300*l.* towards the erection of chambers between the Inner Temple Hall and the church, in consideration whereof he was invested with the privilege of granting admittances to the society at his discretion during his life. The chambers were known as late as Dugdale's time as Cæsar's Buildings. In 1596 the mastership of St. Catherine's Hospital fell vacant, and on 17 June he installed himself therein. Next year he was returned to parliament as senior member for Windsor. On 12 Sept. 1598 Elizabeth, then on her way to Nonsuch, paid him a visit at his house at Mitcham, spending the night of the 12th there, and dining with him next day. He tells us that he presented her with 'a gown of cloth of silver, richly embroidered, a black network mantle, with pure gold, a taffeta hat, white, with several flowers, and a jewel of gold set therein with silver and diamonds, which entertainment of her majesty, with the charges of five former disappointments,' cost him some 700*l.* In 1599 we find him associated with John Herbert, one of the masters of requests, and Robert Beale, secretary to the council of the north, in a commission to decide without appeal claims by French subjects in respect of piratical acts committed by English seamen. Next year he became the senior master of requests, being already talked of as master of the rolls. At the parliamentary election of the following year he retained his seat for Windsor. On 20 May 1603 he was knighted by the king at Greenwich. In 1606 (7 April) he succeeded Sir George Hume as chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and the following year (5 July) was sworn of the privy council. Cæsar was prompt to use the interest which he now possessed with the king on behalf of his inn. It appears to have been through Cæsar's influence that the lease of the Temple buildings was enlarged in 1608 into a fee simple, subject to a quit rent of 10*l.* (DUGDALE, *Orig.* 145-6). His tenure of the office of chancellor of the exchequer coincided with the period of Salisbury's treasurership, the period during which James's financial difficulties and the consequent tension between him and the parliament reached their extreme point. He seems to have been really little better than a clerk to the lord treasurer. In that capacity he was employed in estimating the value of the conversion of tenure

by knight's service into free and common socage, together with the abolition of wardships and other incidents of the royal prerogative in connection with the great contract of 1610, and a dialogue is extant ascribed to him advocating the acceptance of the king's offer by the commons, and hinting that in case of its rejection means of raising money without the consent of parliament would be found (*Parl. Deb.* 1610, App. D). In 1610 the king granted him the reversion of the office of master of the rolls, expectant on the death of Sir E. Philips. In 1613 he was among the commissioners appointed by the king at the suit of the Countess of Essex to determine the question of the validity of her marriage. He seems to have formed a very decided opinion in favour of the countess' contention at an early period of the inquiry, and to have been by no means sparing in the expression of it during the argument, to Archbishop Abbott's intense disgust. At this time he occupied a house on the north side of the Strand, nearly opposite the Savoy. Here (i.e. on the north side) he laid (10 Aug. 1613) the foundation-stone of a chapel, which was consecrated by the bishop of London (John King) on 8 May 1614, and called the Cecil Chapel. In the spring of 1614 he was returned to parliament as senior member for Middlesex; in the autumn, Sir E. Philips, the master of the rolls, having died, Cæsar succeeded him, receiving the usual patent granting him the office for life on 1 Oct., and taking his seat on the 10th of the same month. On his appointment he surrendered the offices of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. Chamberlain informs us that four judges were appointed to assist and act with him. With his connection with the exchequer he entirely abandoned the idea that the king could raise supplies without the consent of parliament; we find him earnestly advising in council (24 Sept. 1615) the summoning of a new parliament for the final settlement of the financial difficulty. He was one of the commissioners who examined (19 Jan. 1615) the puritan clergyman Peacham 'before torture, in torture, between tortures, and after torture,' with a view to discover his supposed accomplices in the conspiracy against the king's life, in which he was suspected of being principally concerned. At the end of this year he concluded a bargain with the Earl of Essex, who was embarrassed by the necessity of repaying the countess's marriage portion for the purchase of the estate of Bennington in Hertfordshire for the sum of 14,000*l.* In 1616 he followed the lead of Lord-chancellor Ellesmere in censuring the judges of the king's bench and common pleas

for their resistance to the king in the matter of the *commendam* case. In August 1618 he was associated with Sir Edward Coke in the trial of the persons indicted for the attack on the Spanish ambassador's house. He was a member of the court of Star-chamber that tried the Earl and Countess of Essex for speculation in the following year, and took the milder view of their offence. In 1620 he was returned to parliament as senior member for Malden, Essex. Between 21 May and 10 July of this year he was commissioned to hear causes in chancery, the period coinciding with the interval between the disgrace of Bacon and the delivery of the great seal to Lord-keeper Williams. He was one of the three liquidators appointed by the king to arrange a composition with the late chancellor's creditors, and in 1625 Bacon nominated him one of the supervisors of his will, describing him as 'my good friend and near ally, the master of the rolls.' In 1631 we find him named, with Archbishop Abbot and others, in a commission of inquiry into the operation and administration of the poor law. His last important public act was to assist Lord-keeper Coventry in drawing up thirty-one ordinances of procedure, intended to correct abuses which had grown up in the court of chancery, and in particular to restore the ancient brevity of the pleadings and documents generally. He died on 18 April 1636, being then seventy-nine years old, and was buried in the church of Great St. Helen's, where his monument, with an inscription wrought in the device of a deed poll, with pendant seal (the attaching cord severed), is still to be seen. His reputation for legal acumen does not stand high. Chamberlain thought that he had more of 'confidence in his own sufficiency' than his abilities warranted. The same person writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, under date 4 April 1624, remarks incidentally that 'Sir Julius Cæsar is reflected on for his want of law.' He seems, however, to have had the rare merit of being superior to corruption. Fuller gives the following account of his character: 'A person of prodigious bounty to all of worth or want, so that he might seem to be almoner-general of the nation. The story is well known of a gentleman who once borrowing his coach (which was as well known to poor people as any hospital in England) was so rendezvoused about with beggars in London that it cost him all the money in his purse to satisfy their importunity, so that he might have hired twenty coaches on the same terms. Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, was judicious in his election when perceiving his dissolution to approach he made his last bed in effect in the house of Sir Julius.' Aubrey,

on the authority of Sir John Danvers, says that Bacon 'in his necessity' received 100*l*. from Cæsar. Cæsar married, first, in 1582, Dorcas, relict of Richard Lusher of the Middle Temple, and daughter of Sir Richard Martin, alderman of London, and master of the Mint; secondly, in 1595, Alice, daughter of Christopher Green of Manchester, and widow of John Dent of London; and thirdly, in 1615, Anne, widow of William Hungate of East Bradenham, Norfolk, sister of Lady Killebrew, and granddaughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon. The last-mentioned marriage was solemnised on 19 April at the Rolls Chapel, the bride being given away by her uncle, Sir Francis Bacon, then attorney-general. Through his first wife Cæsar acquired the little property at Mitcham, where Elizabeth visited him. She bore him five children, one daughter and four sons, of whom only one survived him, the youngest, Charles [q. v.], who became master of the rolls in 1639. By his second wife Cæsar had three sons, all of whom survived, and attained some slight distinction. By his third he had no children. Peck (*Desid. Cur.* lib. xiv. No. vii.) states that Cæsar 'printed a catalogue of the books, parchments, and papers belonging to the court of requests in quarto, of singular use to antiquaries, but now almost as scarce as the manuscripts themselves.' There can be little doubt that this work is identical with the compilation described in the catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum as 'The Ancient State Authorities and Proceedings of the Court of Requests,' 1597 (*Lansd. MS.* 125). The work consists of a brief treatise on the court of requests, its origin and functions, followed by a collection of records illustrative of the procedure of the court, ranging from the reign of Henry VII to that of Elizabeth. It is interleaved with manuscript annotations and additions. The dialogue on the great contract ascribed to him has already been mentioned. He also wrote in 1625 a treatise on the constitution and functions of the privy council, entitled 'Concerning the Private Council of the Most High and Mighty King of Great Britain, France, Scotland, and Ireland' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1625-6, p. 138). A multitude of miscellaneous papers in his handwriting will be found in the Lansdowne and Additional MSS. in the British Museum, his library having been dispersed on the sale of the family estate at Bennington in 1744. Two relating to Prince Henry have been printed in 'Archæologia,' xii. 82-6, xv. 15-26.

[Sloane MS. 4160 (an extract from a manuscript by Cæsar chronicling the chief events of his life); Add. MS. 11406 contains some information con-

cerning his ancestry; Add. MS. 12503; Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 53; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 198, 226; Nichols's Progresses of James I, i. 155, iii. 344; Rymer's Fœdera (Sanderson), xv. 487; Willis's Not. Parl. iii. 124, 133, 137, 146; Parl. Hist. i. 973, 1171; Stephen's Hist. Crim. Law, ii. 18; Strype's Life of Aylmer (8vo), p. 46; Spedding's Life of Bacon; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1591-1635); Court and Times of James I, i. 261, 349; Aubrey's Letters and Lives, ii. 225; Rawley's Resuscitatio (Life of Bacon); Fuller's Worthies; Manningham's Diary, 129, 138; Dugdale's Orig. 145-6, 147, 170; Biogr. Brit.; Lodge's Life, with Memoirs of his Family; Foss's Lives of the Judges; Cox's Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, p. 286 et seq.] J. M. R.

**CÆSAR, JULIUS** (1656?-1712?), a physican and amateur musical composer who lived at Rochester, is only known as the author of three convivial catches which appeared in the sixth edition of the 'Pleasant Musical Companion' (1720). He was probably the same Julius Cæsar who was the son of Joseph Cæsar, a grandson of Dr. Gerard Cæsar of Canterbury, who is generally supposed to have been a grandson of Sir Thomas Cæsar [q. v.] This Julius Cæsar died at Strood, aged 55, on 29 April 1712.

[Hawkins's Hist. of Music, ed. 1853, p. 763; Lodge's Life of Sir J. Cæsar, with Memoirs of his Family, ed. 1827, pp. 41, &c.] W. B. S.

**CÆSAR, SIR THOMAS** (1561-1610), judge, second son of Dr. Cæsar Adelmare, of whom a brief account will be found in the life of Sir Julius Cæsar, was born at Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, in 1561, and was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, which he left in 1578. He became a member of the Inner Temple in October 1580. His career at the bar was wholly undistinguished. Nevertheless, on 26 May 1610, he was created puisne or cursitor baron of the exchequer. He was knighted the ensuing month at Whitehall, and from an undated letter of his spiritual adviser, the Rev. D. Crashaw, relating the fact of his death and describing the 'godly disposition' in which he met it, endorsed by his brother Sir Julius with the date 18 July 1610, would seem to have died then or shortly before. The vacancy caused by his death was filled in the following October. He married thrice. His first wife died in 1590, leaving three children, who all died in infancy. His second wife was Anne, daughter of George Lynn of Southwick, Northamptonshire, and relict of Nicholas Beeston of Lincolnshire; she died without issue. By his third wife, Susan, daughter of Sir William Ryder, lord mayor of London in 1600, whom he married on 18 Jan. 1592-3,

he had eight children, three sons and five daughters, who all survived him.

[Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 271; Dugdale's *Orig.* 149; Chron. Ser. 102; Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* ii. 363; Lysons's *Environs*, iii. 451; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1611-18), pp. 168, 210; Sloane MS. 4160 (extract from manuscript of Sir Julius Cæsar), ff. 8, 9; Add. MSS. 12497 f. 406, 12504 f. 123; Foss's *Judges of England*; Lodge's *Life of Sir J. Cæsar*, with *Memoirs of his Family.*] J. M. R.

**CAFFIN, SIR JAMES CRAWFORD** (1812-1883), admiral, was a son of Mr. William Caffin of the Royal Laboratory, Woolwich. He entered the navy in 1824, and in 1827 was midshipman of the Cambrian frigate at Navarino, and when she was wrecked off Carabusa on 31 Jan. 1828 (MARSHALL, *Nav. Biog.* vi. (supplement, part ii.) 451). In August 1831 he passed his examination, and in October 1834 was appointed to the Excellent, then recently organised as a school of gunnery. He afterwards served for two years as gunnery-mate of the Asia in the Mediterranean, and on his promotion to the rank of lieutenant, 28 June 1838, he was again appointed to the Excellent, in which, with but a short break, he remained for the next three years. He was made commander on 7 March 1842, and after studying for some months at the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth, was appointed, together with an artillery officer, to investigate and report on Warner's 'Long Range,' which was then much talked about; but the report was unfavourable, and it died out of notoriety. In February 1845 he was one of a commission for experimenting on the relative merits of paddle and screw; and their report paved the way for the general introduction of the screw-propeller into the navy. On 11 Oct. 1847 he was advanced to post rank; in 1854 he commanded the Penelope in the Baltic, and was present at the reduction of Bomarsund; and in 1855 he commanded the Hastings at the bombardment of Sveaborg, when, with the other captains, he was made a C.B. on 5 July. On his return from the Baltic he was appointed director-general of naval ordnance, and vice-president of the ordnance select committee at the War Office. In 1858 he was appointed director of stores in the war department, an office which he held till 1868. On his retirement he was made a civil K.C.B. He had previously, 2 Dec. 1865, attained his flag-rank, but, not having served his time at sea, was placed on the retired list, on which he duly advanced to the higher grades—vice-admiral, 2 Nov. 1871, and admiral, 1 Aug. 1877. He died on 24 May 1883 at Blackheath, where he had lived for several

years, the centre of a religious society of very pronounced views. He married in 1843 Frances, daughter of Mr. William Atfield of Cosham, Hampshire, but was left a widower in 1871. His son Crawford, a commander in the navy, received his promotion for his services in the transport department during the Zulu war in 1879.

[O'Byrne's *Nav. Biog. Dict.*; Times, 26 May 1883.] J. K. L.

**CAFFYN, MATTHEW** (1628-1714), general baptist minister, was born at Horsham, Sussex, 26 Oct. 1628. He was the seventh son of Thomas Caffin, by Elizabeth his wife. In Lower's 'Worthies of Sussex' it is erroneously said that 'his father was a German;' the family existed in the neighbourhood at an early date. Caffyn was adopted by a neighbouring gentleman as a companion to his son, and sent to a Kentish grammar school, and to the university of Oxford, whence he was expelled for the advocacy of baptist tenets. Returning to Horsham he joined a general (i.e. Arminian) baptist church there, and soon became its minister, though not ceasing to be a farmer. He preached assiduously in the Sussex villages, and by the members of his own denomination was 'cryed up to be as their battle-axe and weapon of warre.' He was five times imprisoned for unauthorised preaching. In 1655 two quakers from the north, Thomas Lawson and John Slee, were on a mission in Sussex. Lawson, a baronet's younger son, had been a beneficed clergyman in Lancashire, and was a man of some attainment and an excellent botanist. But in his encounter with Caffyn he descends to coarse and dull abuse. Caffyn had expressed his views in a quakers' meeting at Crawley, and the discussion had been continued on 5 Sept. at Caffyn's 'own house neere Southwater,' a small village some three miles south of Horsham. Against Caffyn's utterances Lawson fulminated 'An Untaught Teacher witnessed against, &c.,' 1655, 4to. Caffyn retorted in 'The Deceived, and deceiving Quakers discovered, &c.,' 1656, 4to, with which was conjoined a somewhat fiercer pamphlet by William Jeffery, baptist minister of Sevenoaks. Caffyn's position is that of a literal believer in external revelation, and he defends such points as the second coming of Christ and the bodily resurrection against the 'damnable heresies' of the quakers. Lawson made no reply, but the matter was taken up in a better spirit by James Nayler in 'The Light of Christ, &c.,' 1656, 4to (not included in his collected works), and incidentally by George Fox in his 'Great Mistery, &c.,' 1659, fol. Caffyn reiterated

his charges against the quaker theology in an appendix to his 'Faith in God's Promises the Saint's best weapon,' 1661, which was briefly answered by Humphrey Wollrich in 'One Warning more to the Baptists,' &c., 1661, 4to, and by George Whitehead in an appendix to 'The Pernicious Way, &c.,' 1662, 4to. A neighbouring baptist minister, Joseph Wright of Maidstone, took part in this dispute with the quakers, publishing 'A Testimony for the Son of Man,' &c., 1661, 8vo. Caffyn was several times prosecuted and fined under the Conventicle Act. Wright was removed from the scene by an incarceration of twenty years in Maidstone gaol; and when he came out, Caffyn's heresies seemed to him to require attention rather than those of the quakers. The first to accuse Caffyn (though not by name) of error respecting the person of Christ seems to have been Thomas Monck, in 'A Cure for the cankered Error of the New Eutychians,' 1673. As early as 1677 we hear of a separation, amicably managed, in a baptist church at Spilshill, in the parish of Staplehurst, Kent, on account of a difference of opinion regarding the Trinity. On this cardinal topic a part of the flock had embraced the teaching of Caffyn. There was room for latitude in the treatment of this article among the Arminian baptists, for in their 'Brief Confession' of March 1660 neither the Trinity nor the Godhead of Christ is explicitly stated. Caffyn did not vent his views in any publication, but in his preaching he avoided 'unrevealed sublimities,' and in conversation he owned his disagreement with material points in the Athanasian creed. His views, indeed, do not seem to have been pushed to the point of overt heresy; but his expressions were susceptible of an Arian interpretation. Accordingly, Wright denounced him to the general baptist assembly of 1691 as denying both the divinity and the humanity of Christ, and moved for his excommunication. What Toulmin calls Caffyn's 'truly protestant and ingenious defence' satisfied the assembly. Wright returned to the charge in 1693, but again the assembly refused to censure Caffyn. Wright withdrew and protested. The matter was agitated outside the assembly, and at length the Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire churches demanded and re-demanded (1699) a further trial, and the assembly agreed to go into the case at Whitsuntide of 1700. They fulfilled this promise by appointing a committee of eight, including four of the complainants, to confer with Caffyn and draw up a healing resolution. The committee were unanimous in offering a declaration (given in Toulmin, after Crosby) which rather evaded than de-

termined the points in dispute; and the assembly recorded its satisfaction with Caffyn's defence. Just before the next assembly, Christopher Cooper of Ashford published a reply to 'The Moderate Trinitarian,' &c., 1699, 4to, by Daniel Allen, whose work seems to have inspired the mediating policy of the assembly's committee. Cooper charges Caffyn with unsoundness respecting Adam's fall, Christ's satisfaction, and the soul's immortality; he quotes a description of Caffyn's opinions as 'nothing but a fardel of Mahometanism, Arianism, Socinianism, and Quakerism.' At the same time he admits that Caffyn took pains to convert Socinians. He deplores the spread of Caffyn's errors 'in Kent, Sussex, and London, but especially in West Kent.' When the assembly met (1701) the Northamptonshire churches complained that Caffyn had not been properly tried. The assembly, after debate, affirmed by a large majority that Caffyn's declaration, with his signature to 'the aforesaid expedient,' was sufficient and satisfactory. The minority seceded, and formed a new connexion under the name of the 'general association,' branding the majority as 'Caffinites.' But the two parties came together again in 1704; Wright died in 1703. This is the first deliberate and formal endorsement of latitudinarian opinions in the article of the Trinity by the collective authority of any tolerated section of English dissent. For the future of the general baptists this action was important. Antitrinitarianism, of one type or another, took possession of their congregations in the south of England; a 'new connexion' was formed, chiefly in the midlands, by Dan Taylor in 1770; the older body arrived at Socinianism (in its modified English form) and is now a small remnant, with some signs of evangelical reaction. Caffyn's own church at Horsham, though still (1886) on the assembly's roll, has long ceased to be baptist, and has been known as 'free christian' since 1879. Of Caffyn's career subsequently to 1701 we have no account. He had left Southwater for Broadbridge, some two miles north of Horsham, in an outlying part of the parish of Sullington. In 1695 Matthew, William, and Richard Caffyn were joint occupants of Broadbridge farm and mill, and the house is still in the hands of one of Matthew's numerous descendants. Caffyn lived to a patriarchal age, dying in June 1714. He was buried in the churchyard at Itchingfield on 10 June. He was succeeded in the ministry by his eldest son, Matthew.

Caffyn's works are very rare. In addition to those mentioned above, he published: 1. 'Envy's Bitterness corrected,' 1674 (P).

2. 'A raging Wave foaming out its own shame,' 1875. 3. 'The Great Error and Mistake of the Quakers.' 4. 'The Baptist's Lamentation.'

[Crosby's Hist. English Baptists, 1740, iii. 116, 280. iv. 328; Ivimey's Hist. English Baptists, 1811, i. 559, 1814, ii. 505; Toulmin's Hist. View, 1814, p. 308 sq.; Monthly Repos. 1827, p. 483 sq.; Chr. Reformer, 1828, p. 65 sq.; Smith's Cat. Friends' Books, 1867, ii. 68; Smith's Biblioth. Anti-Quak. 1872, pp. 99, 252, 456; Barclay's Inner Life of Rel. Soc. of the Commonwealth, 1876, pp. 95, 505; extracts from registers of various Sussex parishes; information from descendant.] A. G.

**CAHILL, DANIEL WILLIAM, D.D.** (1796-1864), lecturer and author, third son of Daniel Cahill, C.E., and of his wife, Catherine Brett, was born at Ashfield, in the parish of Arless, Queen's County, Ireland, on 28 Nov. 1796, and received his rudimentary education at Ferris's academy, Athy. He became a student on the lay side of Carlow College, with the intention of entering the army, but changing his views, he, on 24 Oct. 1816, took up his residence at Maynooth, where he commenced a course of severe study. Here he passed through the classes of theology and natural philosophy, under Dr. Delahogue and Dr. John MacHale (afterwards archbishop of Tuam). In Hebrew and the cognate studies he became a great proficient, under Dr. Browne (afterwards bishop of Kilmore). Under Dr. Boylan he studied German, French, and Italian, becoming an adept scholar in all these languages. He received orders and was elected to the Dunboyne establishment of Maynooth, where he spent an additional period of years in reading a more advanced course of theology and ecclesiastical history. In 1825 he was elected to the professorship of natural philosophy in Carlow College, then under the rectorship of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, and his talents being also recognised at Rome, the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on him by his holiness.

In Carlow College he continued for some years teaching not only natural philosophy, but mathematics and astronomy. At Seapoint, Williamstown, he conducted a seminary from 1835 to 1841. He was afterwards induced by many distinguished persons, desirous of having their children educated in the Roman catholic faith as well as in the higher sciences, to remove to Prospect, Blackrock, near Dublin, where he remained until 1846.

At this time he added to his other labours the editing of the 'Dublin Telegraph.' Meanwhile Dr. Cahill was known as a preacher of

singular force and of great, yet simple, eloquence, and he at last gave up the seminary to have more time for this occupation. Later in life he took to religious polemics, and published many fierce attacks on the imperial government and the established church, in the shape of letters in the 'Daily Telegraph.'

Having in 1853 received an invitation to visit the United States, he delivered a farewell address in Dublin, but circumstances arose which prevented his departure for several years. Sailing from Ireland, he arrived in New York 24 Dec. 1859, where he delivered a course of astronomical lectures to crowded audiences. In December and January 1860-1 he visited Boston, and gave a course of lectures, and then addressed large assemblies in several of the towns and cities of Massachusetts. Addresses for charitable purposes now engaged his attention, and he lectured and preached in various places in the United States and Canada. It is estimated that over 100,000 dollars were thus realised from his sermons for numerous catholic charitable institutions. He died in the Carney Hospital, Boston, on 28 Oct. 1864, and the body, after being embalmed, was deposited in a vault in the Holyrood cemetery. Here it remained for twenty years, when it was sent to Ireland and buried in Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin, on 9 March 1885. Cahill was six feet five inches in height, handsome, and of a commanding presence. He was the author of the following works: 1. 'A Letter on the subject of the New Reformation,' by W. Kinsella and D. W. Cahill, Carlow, 1827. 2. 'A Letter to the Earl of Derby,' 21 Oct. 1852. 3. 'Letter to the Rev. J. Burns on the Adorable Sacrament of the Eucharist,' Melbourne, 1854. 4. 'Letters addressed to several Members of the British Cabinet,' and 'Speeches on Various Subjects,' Dublin, 1856. 5. 'Letter to Viscount Palmerston relating to the alleged Enlistment of Irishmen in the United States for the British Service,' Melbourne, 1856. 6. 'The Holy Eucharist,' a lecture, Albany, 1860.

[The Lamp, 7 June 1851, p. 361, with portrait, and 21 June, p. 392; The Universe, 19 Nov. 1864, 7 and 14 March 1885; Men of the Time, 1865, p. 144; Manchester Free Library Catalogue, 41246 to 41260; Comerford's Collections in Kildare and Leighlin (1883), pp. 198-200.]

G. C. B.

**CAILLAUD, JOHN** (d. 1810), brigadier-general, was a contemporary of Stringer Lawrence and Clive, frequently mentioned by Orme in his 'History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan.' The earliest mention of him occurs in Orme's 'History' (i. 309), where he is re-

ferred to as having arrived in India from Europe with a detachment of 247 British soldiers in 1753, and having shortly afterwards taken part in an engagement with the French in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. From that time until 1775, when he retired from the service and returned to England, Caillaud was a prominent actor in the struggle which ended in the establishment of the British power in India. He was a man of undaunted courage and of great readiness of resource. In 1758, just before the second and unsuccessful siege of Madras by the French, Caillaud was sent to Tanjore to procure military assistance from the Rájá of Tanjore. He made his way by sea to Tranquebar in an open *masila* boat, accompanied by only six native boatmen, and after having encountered a gale on his voyage, and been stranded during a whole night in the immediate vicinity of a fort held by the French, he succeeded in reaching Tanjore, and with difficulty obtained the troops for which he had been sent. With these he tendered effective service to the besieged garrison by disturbing the enemy's communications with Pondicherry. In 1759 Caillaud held for a time the command of the company's troops in Madras, and in the same year he was appointed, on the recommendation of Clive, to command the troops in Bengal. In the following year he was actively employed in repelling an invasion of Behar by the eldest son of the emperor of Delhi. In 1763 he obtained the rank of brigadier-general, and in 1766 he was sent to take possession of the northern Sirkárs, which had been ceded to the company by the emperor. In the performance of this duty he met with very slight opposition; but, owing to the attitude assumed by Nizam Ali, the subahdar of the Dekhan, who, considering that he had a claim upon the Sirkárs, threatened an invasion of the company's territories in the south, Caillaud was deputed by the Madras authorities to Hyderabad, where he concluded a treaty binding the company to pay an annual tribute to the subahdar for the Sirkárs. Caillaud on his retirement from the service in 1775 was granted a pension by the company. He passed the remainder of his life as a country gentleman in Oxfordshire, where he died in 1810.

[Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan from the year 1745 (4th edition, Madras, 1861); Philippart's East India Military Calendar (1824); Mill's History of British India, vol. iii. (1840).]

A. J. A.

**CAILLIN** (*Æ* 560), Irish saint, son of Niata, was descended from Rudraighe, whose

grandson, Fergus Mac Roigh, flourished at the beginning of the christian era. His mother was Deighe, granddaughter of Dubhthach, chief poet of King Laogaire in the time of St. Patrick. The authority for the history of St. Caillin is the ancient 'Book of Fenagh,' a series of poetical rhapsodies, written about 1400, a copy of which with a connecting narrative in prose was made in 1516. This was published in 1875 by Mr. D. H. Kelly, with the competent aid of Mr. W. M. Hennessy, and from an examination of it it appears that the transcriber of the sixteenth century added a good deal which he thought likely to increase the veneration for his saint. But fortunately many of these interpolations are of so extravagant a character that there is no difficulty in distinguishing them.

Disregarding the fables, which even in 1690 were complained of by readers, we may gather the following facts of St. Caillin's history from this curious repertory of ancient traditions: 'The descendants of Medbh and Fergus, viz. the children of Conmac, Ciar, and Corc, grew and multiplied throughout Ireland. The children of Conmac especially were in Connaught.' Those were the Conmaicne of Dunmor, kinsmen of Caillin's. Resolved to remedy the congestion of the population by killing each other, the Conmaicne would no doubt have carried out their plan but for the interference of St. Caillin. By the advice of an angel they sent messengers to him at Rome, whither he had gone for his education. Caillin came first to the place where his own kinsmen, the Conmaicne, were, 'to prohibit their fratricide and enmity.' 'My advice to you,' said the saint, 'is that you remain on the lands on which you at present are. I will go moreover to seek possessions and land for you as it may be pleasing to God.' St. Caillin then left Dunmor, where this conversation seems to have been held, and went to Cruachanaoi in the county of Roscommon, thence to Ardcarra, near Boyle, where his friend Bishop Beoathed lived. Passing on to the east, he crossed the Shannon, and obtained land at Moynishe in the county of Leitrim, and finally reached Dunbaile in Magh Rein, afterwards and still known as Fidnacha or Fenagh, so called from the wooded character of the country. In all these places, which are included in the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Leitrim, and Longford, the Conmaicne afterwards had settlements.

When he arrived at Dunbaile, then the residence of Fergna, king of Breifney, he endeavoured to persuade the king to become a christian, but without success; the king ordered his son Aedhdubh to expel St. Caillin and his party. The prince accordingly proceeded to obey the order; but when he 'found



the saint and his psalmists engaged in prayer and prostrations,' he and his followers forthwith became believers. Aedhdubh was afterwards baptised, and then presented the fortress of Dunbaile to St. Caillin that he might erect his monastic buildings within it. The historical accuracy of this statement is rendered probable by the existing remains at Fenagh. The ruins of St. Caillin's Church are still to be seen, and traces of the stone fortress, which was of great extent, are still visible (PETRIE). The fortress was of great antiquity even in the sixth century, being also known as Dun-Conaing, from Conaing the Fearless, a prehistoric king to whom its origin was ascribed.

Enraged at his son's conduct in not carrying out his orders, King Fergna directed his druids to banish the christians. Aedhdubh, now a christian, commanded his men to resist the attack, but here St. Caillin interposed, and the story went that he caused the druids to be turned into stones, which are still standing. On the death of Fergna, who continued obstinate in his paganism, St. Caillin inaugurated Aedhdubh as king; but though now king the prince was dissatisfied with his dark complexion, whence his name of *dubh*, and requested St. Caillin to transform him into the likeness of St. Rioc of Innis-bo-finne. The saint by means of prayer complied with his request. Similar stories are told in the lives of St. Moedoc of Ferns and St. Finnchu of Brigown, and it may perhaps be regarded as a fanciful way of describing the change for the better wrought in the demeanour of a pagan chieftain under the influence of christian teaching and example. When recognised as the teacher of the Conmaicne, Caillin bestowed on them as a *cathach*, or battle standard, a 'hazel cross with the top through the middle.' St. Columba in like manner gave a *cathach* to the Cinel Eoghain. When Caillin's church of Fenagh was built, it was a matter of importance to attach the tribe as much as possible to it, and to make it their burial-place. For this purpose the body of Conall Gulbán, the famous ancestor of Aedhdubh, was disinterred, and buried again with great pomp at Fenagh. It is thus we may venture to interpret the story that St. Caillin raised him from the dead, and then buried him again. A remarkable cromlech still to be seen at Fenagh is supposed to mark the site of his grave. Aedhdubh (now become Aedh *finn*, or the fair, from the change already mentioned) was also buried there, and it is stated that nineteen kings lie in the burial-ground. The church of Fenagh also possessed relics reported to have come from Rome. These are stated to have been 'the relics of the eleven apostles and of Saints Martin Lawrence and Stephen

the martyr,' and 'that in which they were preserved was the cloth that the Virgin Mary made, and which was around Jesus when a babe,' or, as afterwards explained, 'when he was being fed.' These objects were kept in a shrine, together with the crozier of the saint and his bell. The bell is still preserved at Foxford, and the shrine was in the possession of the late Dr. Petrie. The tribute to the church as ordained by King Aedh was as follows: The king's riding horse and his body raiment; the same from every chieftain; the same from the queen and each chieftain's wife; a cow from every biatach (farmer), and from every chief of a bally; a screpull (three *pinginn*s or pennies) from every sheep owner; a fat cow out of every prey from every son of a king and chieftain; the same from every foster-son and every sister's son of the race of Aedh. This tribute was due every third year. All the veneration attracted to Fenagh tended to secure the payment of the rental due to the institution, and the chief object of the transcript of the 'Book of Fenagh' made in the sixteenth century was to substantiate the claim of the monastery to the tribute.

When St. Caillin's end approached he was in the church of St. Mochoemog, who was a kinsman, attended by St. Manchan. After giving directions to St. Manchan as to what part of the burial-ground he was to be interred in, and appointing him his successor, he desired that in twelve years' time, 'when his bones should be bare,' they should be removed to his church at Fenagh. Accordingly they were taken up and enclosed with the other relics in the shrine.

The dates of his birth and death are not found in the native records; but as we know those of his contemporaries, St. Columba, St. Ciaran, and the two St. Brendans, and as he was the grandson of Dubhthach, St. Patrick's contemporary, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that he flourished in the second half of the sixth century. His peace-loving disposition is the chief characteristic emphasised by Caillin's early panegyrists. His day in the calendar is 13 Nov.

[Life of St. Caillin, MS. 3, 54, p. 6, Royal Irish Academy; Book of Fenagh, Dublin, 1875; Martyrology of Donegal, p. 307; Book of Leinster (facsimile), p. 349 e; Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 464, and iii. 311; Petrie's Inquiry into the Origin and Use of the Round Towers of Ireland, pp. 444-5.] T. O.

CAIMIN or CAMIN, SAINT (d. 653), 'was of the race of Cathaíor Mór of Leinster' (*Martyrology of Donegal*, translated by J. O'Donovan, p. 85, Dublin, 1864), his father, Dima, belonging to the princely house of

Hy-Kinselagh (or Ende-Kenselach). His mother's name was Cumman, daughter of Dallbronnach (*Annals of the Four Masters*, i. 273, edited by O'Donovan, 2nd ed. 1856), who was also mother to the famous Guaire Aidhne, son of Colman, king of Connaught. Considerable doubt hangs over the relationship, inasmuch as Cumman is expressly said to have been blessed by St. Patrick, and to have given birth, in consequence of that blessing, to forty-seven, or, according to another account, seventy-seven children. Plainly these must include her more remote posterity, unless indeed the whole difficulty has arisen from a confusion of names (see TODD, *Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland*, i. 90, 91, Dublin, 1855). St. Caimin himself appears, in all probability, twice in the Irish hagiology, under his own name and under that of Coman (LANIGAN, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii. 11, 2nd ed., Dublin, 1829). He is ranked in the third order of Irish saints (concerning which see *ib.* ii. 330, 331), and was distinguished even in that remarkable company for the holiness and devotion of his character. He was, says an ancient record (quoted in a note to the *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 87), 'in his manners and life like unto Paucomius the monk.' He withdrew for the more undisturbed exercise of his religion to the island of Inis-Cealtra (or Kelttra) in Loch Deirgdheire (Lough Derg), on the borders of what are now the counties of Galway and Clare. There he built a church and attracted a numerous band of disciples. His asceticism was extreme. It is told of him that he prayed for pain as his chief wish in life, and that his prayer was granted 'so that not one bone of him remained united to the other on earth, but his flesh dissolved, and his nerves, with the excess of every disease that fell upon him' (TODD, *Hymns*, &c., p. 87). He died in 653, and was buried in the monastery that had grown up about him. The date is given either as 24 or 25 March, the latter having the higher authority.

St. Caimin is stated to have written a commentary on the Psalms, some leaves of which, relating to the 119th Psalm, and reputed to be autograph, were long preserved in the Franciscan convent at Donegal, where they were seen by Sir James Ware (*De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ*, i. 3, p. 24, Dublin, 1639). Archbishop Ussher, who also examined the manuscript, describes it as 'obelis et asteriscis diligentissime distinctum: collatione cum veritate Hebraica in superiore parte cuiusque paginæ posita, et brevibus scholiis ad exteriorem marginem adiectis' (*Britanniarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, p. 503, 2nd ed., London, 1687). The manuscript in course

of time passed to the convent of St. Isidore at Rome, whence it was ultimately restored in 1871 to the archives of the Franciscans of the Irish province at Dublin (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xlv. 344 et seq., 1885; J. T. GILBERT, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland*, iv. 2, Introd. p. 112, 1884). From the specimen given by Gilbert (Append. plate xxii.) it is clear that whatever the authorship of the glosses, the manuscript is decidedly later than St. Caimin's time.

[Authorities cited, and Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, pp. 746, 747.] R. L. P.

CAIN, RHYS (16th cent.), a Welsh poet of the latter part of the sixteenth century, was born at Trawsfynydd in Merionethshire, a village on the river Cain, whence he took his surname. Several poems by him are preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. They consist chiefly of *englynion* and of complimentary poems addressed to various persons; among these last is one to William Morgan, bishop of St. Asaph, 'on his translating the Bible into Welsh.' Some of these poems are dated, the dates ranging from about 1570 to 1600; that to Bishop Morgan may be assigned to 1588, the date of the appearance of the Welsh Bible in print. Rhys Cain is said also to have been a painter as well as a poet.

[Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 14874, 14965, 14973-8, 24980.] A. M.

CAINNECH or CANNICUS, SAINT (d. 598 ?), abbot of Achadh-bo, and the patron saint from whom Kilkenny (Cill-Cainnech) receives its name, has been generally identified with the more famous St. Kenneth or Kenny, to whom so many Scotch churches have been dedicated. Most of the early authorities state that he died between 598 and 600 A.D., at the age of eighty-four. This gives from 514 to 516 as the year of his birth (cf., however, the *Annales Ultonienses*, A.D. 497-574, and *Ann. Buelliani*, which seem to preserve a slightly different tradition, A.D. 526-98).

Cainnech belonged to the tribe of the Corca-Dalann in the northern part of Ireland (see Irish version of NENNIUS, note to p. 264). According to Ussher and the manuscript lives his father was Laydech, a famous poet of this family, and his mother Melda of another race (but cf. *Martyr. of Don.* 11 Oct.). He was born in the district of Ciannachta—now Keenaght in the county of Derry—where, centuries after his death (1458 A.D.), the superior of his principal church at Drumachose was still called the 'Comarb of St. Cannice' ('Vit. Can.' in *Act. SS.* 11 Oct.;

*Annals Four Masters*, sub annis 1056, 1090, &c.; REEVES, *Eccles. Antiq.* p. 374). Cainnech is said to have been brought up in his mother's country. From Ireland he is reported to have passed on to Wales, and there to have studied under an abbot named Docus, who is generally identified with the famous St. Cadoc of Llancarvan, cousin of St. David and a member of the great triad of early Welsh saints (see the so-called TIRECHAN'S *Catalogue*, ap. HADDAN and STUBBS, II. pt. ii.) From Wales the legend carries him to Italy, a journey which Dr. Forbes thinks is probably founded on fact; at all events such a pilgrimage is by no means an uncommon incident in the lives of early Irish saints. We now reach an era in Cainnech's life to which it is possible to assign something like fixed dates. In the life of St. Finnian (COLGAN, *A. SS.*, 23 Feb. p. 395), we read that he studied under this saint in the newly founded monastery at Clonard in Meath, where so many of the greatest Irish saints of the century were living about the same time. Here Cainnech probably renewed or commenced his friendship with Columba, the two St. Kierans, the two Brandans, and Mobhi Clareneach. The date of this sojourn at Clonard, if strictly contemporaneous with that of Columba, may be referred to c. 543 A.D. (REEVES, *St. Columba*, xxxv); in any case it cannot have been later than 548 A.D., in which year St. Finnian died (*A. F. M.*, but see note 2). From Clonard Cainnech seems to have passed with his friends Comgall, Kieran, and Columba to the great school of Mobhi Clareneach at Glasnevin on the Finglass, near Dublin (*Vita Columbæ* v. ap. COLGAN, *Tr. Thau.* p. 396); and of his residence here a story has been preserved which well illustrates his love of learning. Cainnech's stay at this place may be fixed about the year of Mobhi's death (544 A.D.) In 561 A.D. Columba crossed over to Scotland; and from this time Cainnech's name occurs not unfrequently in connection with that of his great contemporary. The traditions of Iona in Adamnan's time still spoke of Cainnech's visits to Iona (*Vita Adamn.* i. c. 4). The same authority tells us that Cainnech was one of the 'four holy founders of monasteries' that came to visit Columba in Hinba. This must have been before 576, in which year St. Brendan of Clonfert died (*A. F. M.* p. 209). The same saints were present when St. Brendan saw the miraculous globe of fire hovering over the head of St. Columba in Hinba (*Adamn.* iii. c. 17). From the life of St. Comgall we learn that Cainnech was one of Columba's three companions at the conversion of the Pictish king Brude ('Vit. Comgalli,' *A. SS.* 10 May,

p. 587). Some time during the course of these years Cainnech must have founded his great monastery 'quod Latine Campulus Bovis dicitur, Scotice vero Achadh-bou' (*Adamn.* ii. c. 12), i.e. Aghaboe in Queen's County. The date of this foundation appears to have been before 577 A.D. (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.* i. 382). There do not seem to be any materials for fixing the year in which Cainnech founded his church at Kilkenny. It must have been in the latter part of his life that he formed his friendship for St. Pelcherius (Mochmoemoc), more especially as, from the context, it would appear that the intimacy of the two saints was already established when Failbhe Flann (*d.* 633) was reigning at Cashel ('Vit. Pul.' *A. SS.* 13 March, pp. 280-8). Cainnech is said to have died on 11 Oct. 598 (? 600). Of all the stories connected with his name perhaps the one best worth preserving is that which tells how he persuaded St. Fintan of Clonenagh to relax the harshness of his rule towards the monks under him (COLGAN, *A. SS.* 17 Feb. p. 350).

According to Dr. Forbes, Cainnech is the favourite Irish saint in Scotland, with the single exception of St. Bridget. The 'Martyrology of Donegal' assigns him a church at Killrymont (St. Andrews), which appears to have been a very old foundation (cf. STOKES, the *Leabhar Breac* gloss on Angus the Culdee, 156). Other churches dedicated to Cainnech are to be found in the island of Tiree in the ruined chapel of Kil-Chennich, from which two neighbouring farms draw their names to this day (*Uist Journal of Archaeology*, 1854, pp. 234-5); Kil-Chainnech in Iona, Kil-Chenzie in Ayr, Inchkenneth and Cambuskeneth (for a fuller list see FORBES, *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, p. 297). Cainnech is said to have written out a copy of the four gospels in the island of Crie, near Roscrea; and this work (called 'Glass-Kynnis') was still preserved in the days of one of Cainnech's biographers quoted by Ussher (*Antiq.* p. 495). It is much to be regretted that the life of this saint contains so little on which absolute reliance can be placed, and that the few details collected above from various sources must share in the uncertainty common to nearly all the records of the early Irish saints. His name occurs in the seventh or eighth century document known as Tirechan's 'Catalogue,' immediately after that of St. Columba.

[*Vita Cannici*, privately printed by the Marquis of Ormonde from the Codex Salmaticensis at Brussels; COLGAN's *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 112, 190, &c.; Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, 11 Oct. pp. 642-646; REEVES's *Vita Adamnani*, pr. xxxv, &c. text and notes; FORBES's *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, pp. 25, 106, 297, &c.; REEVES's *Culdees*, p. 33;

*Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan), i. 598; Tighernac, the Ulster *Annals* and *Annales Buelliani*, ap. O'Connor's *Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum*, vols. ii. and iv.; Ussher, *De Antiquit. Eccles. Brit.*; Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 146, &c.; J. H. Todd's *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 271; *Journal of Royal Hist. and Archæol. Society of Ireland*, iv. 201-4; Hennessey's *Chronicon Scotorum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 67; Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 200; *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, 1854 (ii.); Ware's *Antiquities* (ed. 1725), p. 137; Stowe *Missal* (ninth and tenth cent.), ed. Warene; *Drummond Missal*, ed. Forbes. The references to the various contemporary Irish saints are given according to their lives in the Bollandist or Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* (A. SS.) Two manuscript lives of Cairnech may be found in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 485, ff. 128 b-34; and Rawlinson B 505, ff. 145-9 b. Another life is preserved in the so-called *Codex Kilkeniensis* of Primate Marsh's library at Dublin.] T. A. A.

**CAIRNCROSS, ALEXANDER** (d. 1701), archbishop of Glasgow, was descended from the ancient family of Cairncross of Cowmull. For some time he followed the trade of a dyer in the Canongate of Edinburgh. Subsequently he became parson of Dumfries, where he remained till 1684, when by the recommendation of the Duke of Queensberry he was promoted to the see of Brechin, from which he was in a few months promoted to that of Glasgow. Having incurred the displeasure of the lord chancellor, the Earl of Perth, he was in January 1687 removed from the see, but after the revolution he obtained the notice of the new powers, and in 1693 was made bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, where he continued till his death in 1701. By his will he left 20*l.* to the poor of the parish of Raphoe, and the tenth part of his personal estate to the episcopal clergy of the kingdom of Scotland. He was buried in the cathedral of Raphoe.

[*Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1856), p. 141 (App.) 79; Keith's *Scottish Bishops* (Russell), 168, 268-9; Ware's *Works* (Harris), i. 277.] T. F. H.

**CAIRNCROSS, ROBERT** (d. 1544), abbot of Holyrood, afterwards bishop of Ross, was descended from the ancient family of Balmashannar, Forfarshire, which had been seated there as early as the time of Robert II. He was provost of the collegiate church of Corstorphine, and one of the king's chaplains. On 5 Sept. 1528 he was nominated treasurer on the downfall of the Earl of Angus. Knowing that the abbot of Holyrood was on the point of death, he, according to Buchanan, wagered a large sum with James V that he would not present him to the first vacant

benefice, when the king, quite well aware of what he referred to, accepted and won the wager. On suspicion of favouring the cause of the Douglasses he lost the treasurership almost as soon as he obtained it, although he again held it from 1537 to 1539. On 23 June of the latter year he was admitted to the see of Ross, and shortly afterwards received *in commendam* the abbacy of Fern, the dilapidated state of which his wealth was expected to repair. On the death of the king he was appointed one of the lords of the council to the governor, the Earl of Arran, when he joined in opposing the treaty of peace with England. He died in April 1544. He is the subject of two epigrams by George Buchanan.

[Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, pp. 190-1; Crawford's *Officers of State*, pp. 371-2; Haig and Brunton's *Senators of the College of Justice*, pp. 45-6.] T. F. H.

**CAIRNECH, SAINT** (d. 539 ?), whose name does not appear in the 'Felire' of Angus the Culdee, was, according to the account preserved in the book of Ballimote (compiled *cir.* 1390), the son of Sarran, so-called king of Britain, by Babona, daughter of Loarn, king of Alban. This Loarn was the son of Erc, and one of the four leaders of the first Scots colony to Argyll (*cir.* 495) (*Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, p. 18). Babona's sister Erc seems to have married Muredach, grandson of Neil of the nine hostages (d. 405 ?), and so became the mother of the great Irish king, Mucertach MacErc (504-527), who was thus cousin to St. Cairnech. This genealogy exactly corresponds with the other Irish traditions as to Mucertach's ancestry (*Annals of Four Masters*, i. 175), and, if we accept it as genuine, it gives us the materials for fixing the era of St. Cairnech, whom we may infer to have been a little younger than his cousin, who was certainly a grown man at the battle of Ocha (478 A.D.) Mucertach's grandfather and great-uncle were both alive in 464, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we place the birth of this Irish king at somewhere about 455, and that of his cousin Cairnech about 460. As, however, Loarn seems to have reigned between 495 and 505, we must suppose that the book of Ballimote calls him king of Alban proleptically.

According to the legend alluded to above, Cairnech was harassed in his monastery by his brother, King Luirig, who, however, is at last slain through the instrumentality of Mucertach. Cairnech then attends a great synod at Tours, where he is given the 'chief-tainship of the martyrs of the world.' From Gaul Cairnech passes over first to Cornwall

and then to Ireland, to which country he goes to prepare the way for Mucertach. Here we read that he became first bishop of Temhar (Tara) and the Clan O'Neil, his former designation having been 'Bishop of Tours and Cornwall' (Britain-Cornn). These events may have taken place about 504, when Mucertach MacErc became king of Ireland (*Annals of Four Masters*, i. 165, with which, however, cf. TIGHERNAC, A.D. 509, and *Ann. Ult.* 512). Lastly we read that Cairnech became 'first monk of Erin and the first Brehon of the men of Erin also.' Here, as in the former quotation, where St. Cairnech is styled bishop of Cornwall, it is impossible not at least to suspect a confusion with his namesake, the friend of St. Patrick. But, whether strictly historical or no, there can be little doubt that an extremely ancient tradition has coupled together the names Cairnech and Mucertach (see REEVES's quotation from manuscript account of Mucertach's death, ADAMNAN, xciv. &c.) Even so early as the eleventh century there was a set of Irish verses current purporting to contain Cairnech's prophecy or narrative of his cousin's fate (TIGHERNAC, 133; *Annals of Four Masters*, i. 173). In an early Irish poem we have a somewhat detailed account of St. Cairnech's friendship with his aunt Erc, who gave him Drum-Tighean (Drumleene, W. of Lough Foyle) in full possession. From this document Dr. Todd has attempted to fix the year of Cairnech's death (539).

[Chronicle of Picts and Scots, ed. Skene, 52, 56; Irish Nennius, ed. Todd, 178-92, ci-cx; *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan; Tighernac's *Annals* and the *Annales Ultonienses* are quoted from O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, of which collection they form part of vol. iii.; Adamnan's *Vita Columbæ*, ed. Reeves; Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, 781-3; *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i. 383; Hardy's *Catalogue*, i. 46-7.]

T. A. A.

**CAIRNES, DAVID** (1645-1722), defender of Londonderry, was born in 1645. He was a lawyer in the city, and a person of considerable property and influence. On the approach of Tyrconnell's troops against Londonderry in December 1688, he advised the citizens to concert measures for its defence. On the 11th he was sent to London to ask assistance on its behalf from the Irish Society of London and William III. He was detained for several months in London before obtaining success in his mission, but at last returned on 11 April 1689 with special instructions from the king in time to thwart a design that had been entertained of delivering up the city. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, and

took a prominent part in its defence until it was relieved in the following August. At the conclusion of the war he was chosen member of parliament for Londonderry, which he continued to represent till the close of his life. He was also appointed recorder, and held various other offices. He died in 1722, and was buried in the cathedral church.

[Wills's *Illustrious Irishmen*; Hempton's *History of Londonderry*; *Derriana*.] T. F. H.

**CAIRNES, JOHN ELLIOT** (1823-1875), economist, was born at Castle Bellingham, co. Louth, 26 Dec. 1823. He was the sixth child and eldest surviving son of William Cairnes by his wife, Mary Anne (Wolsey). His father was partner in a brewery in Castle Bellingham, and two years after the son's birth took a brewery in Drogheda. When eight years old the boy was sent to a boarding school at Kingstown, and at fourteen or fifteen was placed with a clergyman named Hutton at Chester. Mr. Hutton thought him a dull boy, and told his father that he was unfit for college. He was therefore placed in his father's house at Drogheda, and stayed there three years, during which he learnt some chemistry, and became intimate with a young man named La Bart. La Bart's influence drew him for a time towards Calvinism, and the young men held prayer meetings together, while Cairnes also began to develop intellectual tastes. He read Gibbon and many other books, and gradually took a dislike to business. His desire to go to college now led to a coolness with his father, which lasted for some years. His father, however, made him a small allowance, upon which he lived at Trinity College, Dublin. He graduated as B.A. in 1848, and as M.A. in 1854. He led a desultory life for some time, studying chemistry occasionally, and at one time entered an engineer's office at Galway. Here he became acquainted with Professor Nesbitt of Queen's College, Galway. Nesbitt turned his attention to political economy, and advised him to compete for the Whately professorship of political economy at Dublin. He won this upon an examination in 1856, and held it for the regular term of five years. He delivered his first course of lectures in the Hilary term of 1857, and published them in the same year as 'The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy' (second edition in 1875). In 1859 he was appointed professor of political economy and jurisprudence in Queen's College, Galway. He had been called to the Irish bar in the Michaelmas term 1857, but never seriously practised. In 1860 he injured his knee by an accident in hunting, the consequences of which were ultimately fatal to

his health. He visited Aix-les-Bains the same year, and was apparently cured, but the mischief reappeared and gradually became worse. In 1860 he married Eliza Charlotte, daughter of George Henry Minto Alexander, officiating judge at Banda, India. Her sister was the wife of his great friend, Professor Nesbitt. In 1862 he established his reputation by his work on 'The Slave Power,' the most powerful defence of the cause of the Northern states ever written. It made a great impression both in England and America (a second edition, 'greatly enlarged, with a new preface,' appeared in 1863). In 1865 he settled at Mill Hill, near London, where the dampness of the situation was very prejudicial to his health. In 1866 he was appointed professor of political economy in University College, London. Renewed attacks of ill health in the shape of rheumatic gout forced him to pay several visits to foreign baths. A severe operation in 1868 gave him some relief, but he was in time completely crippled. In the spring of 1870 he settled at Lee, near Blackheath, and two years later at Kidbrooke Road, Blackheath. Here he remained for the rest of his life, becoming by degrees a more hopeless invalid, but never losing his cheerfulness or his intellectual vigour. He was a near neighbour and a warm friend of J. S. Mill, and was especially intimate with the late Henry Fawcett and Mr. L. H. Courtney, both of whom constantly visited him. Through them and other friends, as well as by his occasional writings, he exercised considerable political influence. He was deeply interested in questions of national education in Ireland, being always a strong advocate of united education. He took an energetic part in the opposition to the supplementary charter of the Queen's Colleges in 1865-6, which was ultimately pronounced invalid by the master of the rolls. He also did much to inspire the successful opposition to Mr. Gladstone's scheme of an Irish university in 1873. During this time he contemplated a book upon the economical history of Ireland, and upon finding the task too much for his strength worked up the fragments, together with various papers upon the education question, into a volume called 'Political Essays,' published in 1873. In that year appeared also a volume of 'Essays on Political Economy, Theoretical and Applied,' containing some articles upon the change in the value of gold which had originally been published in 'Fraser's Magazine.' The predictions in these articles were remarkably verified by the statistical researches of Professor Stanley Jevons made some years later in ignorance of Cairnes's speculations. A remarkable book, entitled

'Some Leading Principles of Political Economy newly explained,' appeared in 1874. In the same year the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the university of Dublin, though he was unable to present himself to receive it. Cairnes at the time of his death was undoubtedly at the head of living economists. Although in the main a follower of J. S. Mill, and therefore of the so-called orthodox school, he was a strikingly original thinker, and did more than any one else to develop the doctrine which he accepted. His statement of the wages fund theory is particularly worth notice. In private life he was a man of singular charm of conversation, even when quite disabled physically. He died, after long suffering, borne with heroic patience, on 8 July 1875, leaving a widow and three children.

Besides the works above mentioned the following have been published separately: 1. 'The Southern Confederacy and the Slave Trade, a correspondence between Professor C. and G. M. Henry (reprinted from the *Daily News*), with introduction by G. B. Wheeler,' 1863. 2. 'Who are the Canters?' (No. 3 of a series of tracts published by the Ladies' Emancipation Society), 1863. 3. 'England's Neutrality in the American Contest,' reprinted, with additions, from 'Macmillan's Magazine,' 1864. 4. 'University Education in Ireland, a letter to J. S. Mill,' 1866. 5. 'University Education in Ireland,' reprinted from the 'Theological Review,' 1866. 6. 'Woman Suffrage,' a reply to Goldwin Smith, reprinted from 'Macmillan's Magazine' of September 1874. He published many articles in the 'Fortnightly Review,' his last contribution being an interesting criticism of 'Mr. Herbert Spencer on Social Evolution' in the numbers for January and February 1875.

[Information from Mrs. Cairnes; Times, 8 July 1875 (article by L. H. Courtney); H. Fawcett in Fortnightly Review for August 1875; personal knowledge.] I. S.

**CAIRNS, HUGH McCALMONT**, first EARL CAIRNS (1819-1885), belonged to a family of Cairns, of Scotch origin, which migrated from Kirkcudbright to the north of Ireland in the time of James I, and was there of some distinction. A baronetcy, which soon became extinct, was conferred upon an Alexander Cairns for service under Marlborough. Hugh Cairns was the second son of William Cairns of Cultra, county Down, formerly a captain in the 47th regiment of foot, by his wife Rose Anna, daughter of Hugh Johnson. He was born in December 1819, and was educated first at Belfast Academy and afterwards

at Trinity College, Dublin. His father at this time designed him for holy orders, but the Rev. George Wheeler, afterwards rector of Ballysax, who was his tutor, strongly urged that Cairns should be bred to the law. Cairns's own bent was decidedly in the same direction. He took a first class in classics and his B.A. degree in 1838, and then came to England to prepare for the bar. He was called to the bar by the benchers of the Middle Temple in January 1844, and shortly afterwards 'migrated' to Lincoln's Inn. In chancery he read in the chambers of Mr. Richard Malins, afterwards vice-chancellor; and it was in those of Mr. Thomas Chitty, the well-known special pleader, of King's Bench Walk, that he read at common law. His original intention had been to return to Ireland, but upon the advice of Mr. Malins he determined to remain in England. He came to London, without influence or connection, and yet his opportunities of success came early. His first brief was given him by Mr. Gregory of Bedford Row, who remained his firm client till he quitted the bar. His practice, once begun, grew rapidly. Yet constitutionally he was diffident and at first so nervous as a speaker that he thought himself unfit for anything but chamber practice and conveyancing. In July 1852 he entered parliament as member for Belfast, and continued to represent that town as long as he remained at the bar. In 1856 he was made a Q.C. and a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and elected to practise in Vice-chancellor Wood's court. In February 1858, when Lord Derby took office, he was appointed solicitor-general and knighted, and from this time enjoyed an enormous practice. He was employed in many ecclesiastical cases, in which his opinions are still valued, and in Scotch and Irish appeals, and on various occasions, such as the Windham lunacy case and the case of the Alexandra, he made very successful appearances before juries at nisi prius. At this time his health, never very good, was tried to the utmost by his professional labours; it was his habit to refuse all briefs for Saturdays and to take that day as a holiday, often in the hunting-field, while in his long vacations he annually recruited his vigour on the Scotch moors.

But from 1858 he became a conspicuous figure in public life. His first great success was on 14 May 1858, in the debate upon Mr. Cardwell's motion to censure the conduct of Lord Ellenborough in India. Of this Mr. Disraeli, in his official letter of the day to the queen, says: 'Two of the greatest speeches ever delivered in parliament, by Sir Edward Lytton and the solicitor-general, Sir Hugh Cairns. Cairns devoted an hour to a reply

to Lord John's resolution and to a vindication of the government bill, which charmed every one by its lucidity and controlled every one by its logic' (MARTIN, *Life of the Prince Consort*, iv. 411). This speech was subsequently published. In the following session he introduced two bills, one to simplify titles to real estate and another to establish a land registry, and his speeches in bringing them in produced a very favourable impression upon the house. He also spoke with good effect, persuasively and pointedly, in the 'Cagliari' debate. In 1860, upon the motion for an address to the crown upon the French commercial treaty, Cairns accepted it, with criticisms, on behalf of his party; and in 1865, on Mr. Monsell's Roman Catholic Oaths Bill, he moved an amendment to secure protestant government and worship in the United Kingdom, which was supported by Mr. Disraeli and defeated by the government by a majority of only nineteen. He also spoke on 23 Feb. 1864 on the right of the government to detain ships, with reference to the confederate privateers, and this speech was subsequently published. When the conservatives returned to power in 1866 and Sir Fitzroy Kelly was no longer available as attorney-general, that office was, without question, conferred on Cairns, and at the same time Lord Derby arranged with Lord Chelmsford that the lord-chancellorship was to be held by him only temporarily, and that he should in time make way for Cairns as his successor. Cairns's health, however, failed him under the stress of double duties, and when in October a vacancy occurred in the court of chancery, for the first time during fourteen years, by the retirement of Sir J. Knight-Bruce, he became the colleague of Lord-justice Turner as a lord-justice of appeal. A peerage was at the same time offered him, his party being desirous of retaining his great parliamentary services, but it was refused on the ground of want of means to support a title. Indeed the loss of income which he suffered by this promotion was very great. A wealthy relative, however, came to his assistance, and when the government, standing in need of an accession of strength in the House of Lords, renewed the offer in February 1867, it was accepted, and Cairns was created a privy-councillor and Baron Cairns of Garmoye, co. Antrim. He now took a very active part in the discussions upon the Reform Bill, and made no less than twenty-four speeches on it. His resistance on one occasion went the length even of opposing his own party, and on 29 July he carried by a large majority against Lord Malmesbury, who had the conduct of the bill in the lords during



Lord Derby's illness, an amendment to raise the lodger qualification from 10*l.* to 15*l.* The government accepted this, but afterwards, on Earl Russell's motion, the 10*l.* qualification was restored in committee and accepted by Lord Derby on 6 Aug. Cairns also carried, by 253 to 204, a motion in favour of the protection of minorities by means of the cumulative vote. In the same session he made an important speech, being always a champion of the protestant church in Ireland, against Earl Russell's motion for an address for a royal commission on the revenues of the Irish church. In February 1868 Lord Derby resigned office through ill-health, and Mr. Disraeli became prime minister, and in forming his ministry summarily passed over Lord Chelmsford and appointed Cairns lord-chancellor. Although this was according at any rate to the spirit of Lord Derby's agreement with him in 1866, Lord Chelmsford was exceedingly indignant, complained of being dismissed 'with less courtesy than if he had been a butler,' and appealed to Lord Derby, who, however, confirmed Mr. Disraeli's view of the matter. Cairns to some extent appeased Lord Chelmsford by appointing his son, Sir Frederick Thesiger, to the bench. On the defeat of the conservatives at the general election, Cairns resigned with Mr. Disraeli, and after Lord Derby's death (23 Oct. 1869) led the opposition in the House of Lords. His resistance to the disestablishment of the Irish church was vigorous and tenacious. His speech on Mr. Gladstone's Suspensory Bill was printed and widely circulated, and in 1868 the bill, although carried by large majorities in the House of Commons, was thrown out by the lords by 192 to 97. On 21 July, when the bill was returned to the lords with the amendments of the commons to their lordships' amendments, Cairns moved and carried by a majority of seventy-eight that the lords do insist on their amendments to the preamble of the bill, to which the commons had disagreed. But the resulting constitutional strain was great, and when on the 22nd Cairns heard, within an hour of the debate, that the government was willing to offer then and there acceptable concessions, which must be taken or refused before the debate began and could not afterwards be renewed, he took upon himself the responsibility of ending the struggle between the houses, and agreed with Lord Granville to withdraw his opposition. This, however, had to be done without consulting his party, and they were much aggrieved at this apparent vacillation, until Cairns cleared the matter up by sending round to his followers a circular on 24 July. Not long after this he re-

signed the leadership of the conservative party in the House of Lords, but he resumed it in 1870, Lord Salisbury being then too little in harmony with his party to lead it with success, and he energetically opposed the Irish Land Bill in that year. He was at this time acting also as a law lord on House of Lords' appeals, although on resigning in December 1868 he had declined Lord Hatherley's invitation to him to resume his place as a lord-justice of appeal. He also acted as arbitrator, in conjunction with Lord Salisbury, under the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company's Act, and also in another most intricate arbitration upon the affairs of the Albert Life Insurance Company in 1871. Consequently about this time he found his health considerably impaired, and was obliged to spend some time at Mentone, and during his absence the leadership of the conservative peers was undertaken by the Duke of Richmond. He was in his place, however, to speak upon the triple treaty of England, France, and Prussia to secure the independence of Belgium (August 1870), and he also very energetically opposed the appointment of Sir Robert Collier to a seat on the judicial committee of the privy council as a colourable evasion of the law. Although he was in opposition when the Judicature Act was passed, he had been chairman of the committee on judicature reform, which reported in 1869, and was lord chancellor when the act came into operation, and had a large share in the passing of the act. It was on his initiative that Lord Selborne's bill of 1873, which had displaced the House of Lords as the ultimate court of appeal, was amended by allowing an appeal from the supreme court to the House of Lords. The name of the supreme court, however, remained unchanged, so that though in name supreme it is not so in fact. In this as in much other legislation Cairns and Lord Selborne, who had always been rivals in politics and at the bar, worked together with mutual trust and confidence. It was practically by their agreement that the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 was passed; and with Lord Selborne's sanction Cairns brought to a successful issue the Conveyancing Acts of 1881 and 1882 and the Settled Land Act of 1882. Though thus responsible for most important legal changes, the only act which bears Cairns's name is one, now repealed, to enable the court of chancery to give damages in lieu of specific performance or an injunction.

When the conservatives took office after the general election of 1874, Cairns was lord-chancellor in Mr. Disraeli's government. In that year he introduced the Real Property

(Vendors and Purchasers) Act as a pendant to the Real Property Limitation Act, and in 1879 the Irish University Bill, in substitution for that introduced by the O'Connor Don. He was created in September 1878 Viscount Garmoye and Earl Cairns in the peerage of the United Kingdom; but after the conservative defeat and his resignation in 1880 he played a comparatively retired part in public life. He often, however, powerfully criticised the liberal government on various points of its policy, especially the Transvaal question, and his speech on this was published. On the death of the Earl of Beaconsfield there was a considerable desire on the part of a portion of the conservative party that Cairns and not Lord Salisbury should succeed to the leadership, but neither health nor years fitted Cairns for that task, and it was undertaken by Lord Salisbury. After this date he appeared but rarely in debate, and still more rarely to hear appeals. His health, never strong, had long been failing. At one time he was kept alive only by breathing special inhalations for asthmatic disorders; towards the end of his life an affection of the ear made him very deaf. He spent much time on the Riviera, and in 1873 built himself a house at Bournemouth, where he died 2 April 1885 of congestion of the lungs, and was buried 8 April. He was made LL.D. of Cambridge in 1862, D.C.L. of Oxford in 1863, and was also LL.D. of Dublin University and chancellor from 1867. He married, 9 May 1856, Mary Harriet, eldest daughter of John MacNeile of Parkmount, co. Antrim, by whom he had five sons and two daughters. The eldest son dying shortly after his birth, the second, Arthur William, succeeded to the peerage.

Cairns was confessedly the first lawyer of his time; his especial characteristic was lucidity. Without any great parade of case-law, he would exhaust the argument from principle and only in conclusion illustrate it by citing a few decisions. As a judge he did not explain the process by which his mind had been persuaded, but adhered to strict reasoning, his mind working like a logical machine. As a speaker he was very cold and unimpassioned, though in public addresses there were traces of repressed fire; but he invariably produced personally an impression of the chilliest austerity. He was believed to have but one human weakness, namely, for immaculate bands and tie in court and for a flower in his coat at parties. His classical and literary attainments were great, but if he had any humour—Lord Coleridge in his obituary speech to the lords, 13 April 1885, pronounced it keen—it was assiduously concealed. He was an evangelical churchman

of great piety. Like Lords Selborne and Hatherley he was a Sunday-school teacher almost all his life. He was a frequent chairman of meetings at Exeter Hall and of missionary meetings. Addresses of his on such occasions were published, one on the Irish church in 1864, another on the Young Men's Christian Association in 1881. He zealously supported Dr. Barnardo's homes for boys and his conduct of them, and laid foundation stones for him at Ilford in Essex in 1875. He was also a supporter of the coffee-house movement and looked askance upon the stage. He was not popular.

[Earl Russell's Recollections; Memoirs of Lord Malmesbury, ii. 373, 378, 409; Law Journal, 11 April 1885; Solicitors' Journal and Law Times, 11 April 1885; Times, 3 April 1885.]

J. A. H.

**CAIRNS, WILLIAM** (d. 1848), philosophical writer, was a native of Glasgow. After completing his course at the university, he, in 1800, entered the Antiburgher Secession Hall for the study of divinity. In March 1808 he was ordained minister of the secession church at Johnshaven, Kincardineshire. This position he resigned in October 1815 on being chosen professor of logic and belles-lettres by the directors of the Belfast Institution. He remained there till his death, 21 April 1848. He was the author of 'Outlines of Lectures on Logic and Belles-Lettres,' 1829, and 'Treatise on Moral Freedom,' 1844. He also edited, with a memoir, 'Lectures on Intellectual Philosophy,' by Dr. John Young, 1835.

[Mackenzie's Annals of the United Presbyterian Church, pp. 80, 660; Irving's Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen; Brit. Mus. Cat.] T. F. H.

**CAISTOR, RICHARD** (d. 1420), theologian, is said to have been born at Caistor, near Norwich, from which place he appears to have derived his surname (Blomefield, p. 591). In October 1385, at a time when he had already received the first tonsure, a title for this diocese was given to him (TANNER, from *Reg. Merton. Priorat. Bibl.* E. 54). On 22 May 1402 he was instituted vicar of St. Stephen's, Norwich, in which city he died 29 March 1420. For his extreme piety Caistor received the cognomen of 'good,' and Blomefield adds that he was a constant preacher of God's word and a great supporter of Wycliffite doctrines in the reign of Henry V. While living, the common people regarded him as a prophet, and after his death miracles were reported to have been wrought at his tomb, which became the object of local pilgrimage, to the great annoyance of the orthodox authorities. Caistor's popularity may be gauged by the fact

that in 1458 John Falbeck, from Thorndon in Suffolk, left money to any one who should make this pilgrimage, and John Stalton Mercer gave a cloth of red tissue to be laid on the 'good veker's' grave (BLOMEFIELD). A fifteenth-century manuscript in Merton College Library (Oxford) still preserves a metrical prayer in English verse composed by 'Master Richard Castre.' This composition is followed by another English poem, entitled 'Psalterium Fraternalis Caritatis,' perhaps by the same author. Other works enumerated by Tanner are: 'A Summa Summarum of the Ten Commandments,' and homilies on the eight beatitudes, and on the relationship between master and servant, father and son, man and wife—all apparently written in Latin. To these Tanner adds certain discourses from St. Bernard.

[Tanner; Blomefield's Norfolk (ed. 1744), ii. 591; Coxe's Catalogue of Oxford MSS. i.]

T. A. A.

**CAITHNESS, EARL OF.** [See SINCLAIR, JAMES (1821-1881).]

**CAIUS** or **KAY, JOHN**, sometimes called the elder (*fl.* 1480), poet, is the author of an English poem relating the history of the siege of Rhodes unsuccessfully undertaken by Mahommed II in 1480. It was printed in London in 1506, but has no printer's name, and although some of the type resembles that used by Caxton, it is not from his press. Warton describes the book as a translation of the 'Obsidionis Rhodie Urbis Descriptio,' which was written by 'Gulielmus Caorsinus or Caoursin,' vice-chamberlain for forty years of the knights of Malta, and published at Ulm in his collected works in 1496. Caius dedicates his translation to Edward IV, whose 'humble poete lawreate' he describes himself. But the expression does not imply that the writer held any official position at court. Three copies of the book are now known—two in the British Museum and a third in Earl Spencer's library at Althorp. An early manuscript version is in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Titus A. xxvi. 161).

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Blades's Caxton, ii. 251-252; Warton's History of English Poetry; Walter Hamilton's Poet Laureates of England (1879), p. 21.]

S. L. L.

**CAIUS, JOHN** (1510-1573), occasionally referred to as John Caius, junior, in order to distinguish him from another John Caius [*q. v.*] who was poet laureate to Edward IV, was an eminent scholar and physician of the sixteenth century. His name is generally supposed to be a Latinised form of the English name Kay or Kaje. He was born at

Norwich on 6 Oct. 1510, the son of Robert Caius and Alice (Wodanell) his wife, and may be regarded as the first of a series of eminent men who have practised and adorned the profession of medicine in that city. For a knowledge of the main facts of his literary career we are indebted chiefly to the account given by himself in his sketch entitled 'De Libris propriis Liber,' written, about three years before his death, at the request of his friend Thomas Hatcher. He appears to have received a good elementary education in his native city, and on 12 Sept. 1529 was admitted a student of Gonville Hall in the university of Cambridge, where, owing to the successive labours of Erasmus, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith, the new learning, and especially the study of Greek, was being cultivated with great success. It was also the time when Cheke and Smith were endeavouring to introduce a new method of pronouncing Greek, an innovation which gave rise to considerable controversy. Caius, who seems from the first to have inclined to the conservative view, took a lively interest in the contest, and subsequently wrote a treatise on the subject. The bent of his studies at that period shows that he was designing to become a theologian. He translated into English a Latin paraphrase of St. Jude by Erasmus, and epitomised the same writer's popular treatise, entitled 'Ratio vera Theologie,' for the benefit of a young friend whose mind had been perplexed by the new opinions then becoming current. In November 1533 he was appointed principal of Fiswick's Hostel in the university, and on 6 Dec. in the same year was elected a fellow of Gonville Hall. In 1535 he commenced M.A., and in the course of the year made his submission, in common with the rest of the society, to the royal injunctions sent down for the purpose of remodelling the discipline of the university and introducing the new learning. It may consequently be inferred that when he left England for Padua in 1539 he had not definitely pledged himself to the acceptance of the tenets of catholicism: that he ultimately did so, is attributed to the associations which he formed while resident at the latter university. At Padua, according to his own statement (*De Libris propriis*, p. 163), he lectured on the Greek text of Aristotle 'concurrently' with Realdus Columbus, but his name does not appear in the 'Fasti' of Facciolati, who gives lists of the teachers and professors in the university from the earliest times. While at Padua, however, there can be no doubt that his attention was mainly given to those scientific acquirements for which he afterwards

became celebrated. He studied medicine under John Baptist Montanus, an eminent physician, and anatomy under the yet more distinguished Andreas Vesalius, in whose house he resided for eight months. On 18 May 1541 he was created M.D. of the university of Padua. On quitting Padua he proceeded on a tour through Italy, and his observations, recorded in the treatise above referred to, on the libraries and the state of learning in Venice, Florence, Urbino, Ferrara, Sienna, Bologna, Pisa, and Rome, though brief, are of considerable interest. At Florence he was the guest of Cosmo de' Medici. On leaving Italy he proceeded on a similar tour through France and Germany, and in the latter country he mentions, as scholars with whom he became well acquainted, Melancthon, Joachim Camerarius, and Sebastian Munster. His main object during these months appears to have been to obtain, by the collation of the best manuscripts, an accurate text of Galen and Hippocrates. He also took especial pains to note the practice of continental scholars in the pronunciation of Greek, and finding that this was generally in conformity with the older method, he eventually gave his deliberate verdict in favour of this method (as opposed to that recently introduced at Cambridge) in his treatise '*De Pronunciatione Græcæ et Latinæ Linguae*.'

He returned to England in 1544, and shortly after, at the command of Henry VIII, commenced to deliver lectures on anatomy, which were attended by many of the principal surgeons in London. According to his own statement (*De Libris propriis*, p. 171), he continued these lectures for a period of twenty years. He appears, however, to have been resident for some time at Shrewsbury, and again at Norwich. On 21 Dec. 1547 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians, was an elect in 1550, and a member of the council in the ensuing year. During his residence in Shrewsbury the 'sweating sickness' broke out, and at the request of his friend Robert Warmington he compiled a short tract in English, '*A Boke or Counsell against the Sweate or Sweating Sicknesse*,' which he afterwards expanded into the longer Latin treatise, '*De Ephemera Britannica*.' He was shortly after appointed one of the physicians to King Edward VI, and retained his post under Queen Mary. In the practice of his profession Caius soon acquired considerable wealth, which, being unmarried, he resolved to employ in the encouragement of science and learning. Foremost among his schemes was the refounding of Gonville Hall, the home of his early education. On 4 Sept. 1557 he obtained letters patent from Philip

and Mary empowering him to carry out his design, and the college from this time became known as Gonville and Caius College, he being declared a co-founder with Edmund Gonville and William Bateman, bishop of Norwich. In the following year, on the occasion probably of his being incorporated M.D. of the university, he revisited Cambridge, apparently for the first time subsequently to his leaving England for Padua (*Hist. Cant. Academiæ*, p. 3), and his account of his impressions shows how great had been the change in the university during the preceding twenty years. In January 1559 he 'unwillingly and with much entreaty' was prevailed upon to accept the mastership of the college, vacant by the death of Thomas Bacon, but he altogether refused to receive a stipend or emoluments in any form. To this circumstance and his known munificent intentions in relation to the society we may attribute the fact that when, in the following September, the royal commission visited the university and displaced the heads who were known to favour catholicism, he was left undisturbed in his office. His benefactions to his college were both judicious and munificent. He enlarged the original site of the buildings, and erected an additional court, together with the three gates of Humility, Virtue, and Honour—the last being executed after his death from plans which he had prepared, 'indifferently copied,' in the late Professor Willis's opinion, 'from the sepulchral monuments of the ancients,' and representing probably a reminiscence of his observations in Italy. His eminence, now almost unrivalled, in his profession led to his being retained in his office of chief royal physician on the accession of Elizabeth; and on the occasion of her visit to the university in 1564 he was assigned the initiatory part in the disputations in physics, as 'antient in the faculty.' As, however, the enactments against catholics increased in stringency, he could no longer be exempted from their operation, and in 1568 he was dismissed from his post of royal physician, a proceeding suggested perhaps by prudential considerations quite as much as by religious intolerance. His reputation among his own profession continued unimpaired. In 1571 he was for the ninth time elected to the office of president of the College of Physicians. The distinction thus conferred upon him was more than repaid by the eminent services which he rendered to the society. In the notable dispute between the physicians and the surgeons, when the former body challenged the right of the latter to administer internal remedies as part of their treatment of external maladies, he appeared before the commissioners

appointed to try the case, and maintained the exclusive functions of the profession over which he presided. His arguments were deemed so conclusive that the decision was unanimously given in favour of the physicians. It was through his influence that a grant was obtained from the crown of the bodies of criminals after their execution for dissection. He compiled the 'Annals' of the college from its foundation; and it was at his suggestion that the society first adopted the insignia of the presidential office—the cushion, silver verge, book, and seal.

Caius's relations with the society over which he ruled at Cambridge were less happy. Lying, as he did, under the suspicion of aiming at a restoration of catholic doctrine, he was an object of dislike to the majority of the fellows, and could with difficulty maintain his authority. He retaliated vigorously on the malcontents. He not only involved them in lawsuits which emptied their slender purses, but visited them with personal castigations, and even incarcerated them in the stocks (*State Papers*, Dom. Eliz. xxxix. 5). Expulsions were frequent, not less than twenty of the fellows, according to the statement of two of their number, having suffered this extreme penalty. In their resentment, they brought forward articles accusing him of atheism. Archbishop Parker and Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley), who were called upon to adjudicate in these disputes, did not altogether acquit Caius, although they confirmed several of his acts of expulsion (*Parker Correspondence*, pp. 251-2).

The strong feelings of resentment evoked in England by the massacre of St. Bartholomew led to renewed feelings of animosity against all suspected of harbouring catholic sympathies; and one of the fellows, having discovered that the master had in his secret possession a collection of ornaments and vestments such as were used in the Roman ritual, gave information to the ecclesiastical authorities. An inquiry was forthwith instituted by Sandys, the intolerant bishop of London, and this having led to an examination of the master's premises, the different prohibited articles discovered in his keeping were publicly burnt in a bonfire in the college court. The indignity was keenly felt by Caius, who, in his 'Annals' of the college, animadverted upon the ingratitude thus shown for his services to the society and to learning. In the following year we find him devoting his leisure to the compilation of his 'History of the University,' not improbably as a distraction from his harassed and dejected feelings. It was his last service to letters. Blomefield indeed suggests that his life was shortened by the

growing intolerance of the times, his death, which took place in London, having occurred (29 July 1578) only seven months after the events above described. By his will, dated a few days before, he appointed Archbishop Parker his literary executor; and availing himself of powers conferred by a grant obtained from the society in the preceding September, he nominated Thomas Legge, of Jesus College, his successor in the mastership. He was interred in the college chapel, where his simple inscription on his monument, 'Fui Caius. Vivit post funera virtus,' with simply the addition of the date of his decease, affords a striking contrast to the prolixity and fulsome adulation customary in such inscriptions those times.

A few years before his death Caius became involved in a controversy respecting the comparative antiquity of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in his zeal for the reputation of the latter was led to maintain its priority in a treatise which must be looked upon as the least creditable of all his writings. He was answered by a writer who, singularly enough, bore the same surname, one Thomas Key, a fellow of All Souls [see CAIUS, THOMAS], Oxford; and his treatise was subsequently reprinted by Hearne with the criticisms of his antagonist appended (Oxford, 8vo, 1730). He availed himself on more than one occasion of the services of Richard Grafton the printer, and it has been surmised that he rendered that writer material assistance in the compilation of his chronicle.

Of the three portraits of Caius in the possession of the college, that in the combination room, representing him in profile, is the most striking, and is an admirable work of art. About 1719, in the course of certain repairs in the college chapel, his tomb was opened and the corpse fully exposed to view. After comparing the picture 'probably the portrait in the hall) 'with his visage,' says Blomefield, 'there was found a great resemblance' (IVES, *Select Papers*, p. 65).

Out of the long list of Caius's works given by himself, only the following seem to have been printed: 1. 'De Medendi Methodo libri ii. ex Cl. Galeni et Joh. Bapt. Montani sententia,' Basileæ, 1544, 8vo. Dedicated to William Butts; reprinted Lovanii, 1556, 8vo (in Joh. Caii Opera), with dedication to Sir John Mason; also printed in 'Joh. Bapt. Montani Opuscula,' Basil, 1558. 2. 'Galeni libri aliquot Græci, partim hactenus non visi, partim repurgati, annotationibusque illustrati,' Basileæ, 1544, 4to (dedicated to Henry VIII, containing (1) Galeni de placitis Hippocratis et Platonis liber primus jam primum inventus et in Latinum sermonem

versus.' This book was wanting in previous editions of 'Galen,' but is printed in later ones chiefly from Caius's text, the manuscript of which is still preserved in the Caius College Library. His Latin version was reprinted in the collective Latin edition of 'Galen' issued by Frellon, Lyons, 1550. (2) 'Galenus de Comate secundum Hippocratem, Græce.' (3) 'Galenus de succedaneis, Græce.' (4) 'Galenus de anatomicis administrationibus libri novem, Græce' (not new, but with amended text and notes). Some of these notes, Caius asserts, were added by Rouille, the printer of Lyons, to his Latin edition of this book published in 1551, which, however, we have not been able to trace. The remainder forms, properly speaking, a second volume dedicated to Antony Denne, and contains (5) 'Galenus de motu musculorum libri duo, Græce' (amended text, with notes); (6) Fragment of the seventh book of 'Galenus de Usu partium' (wanting in previous editions); (7) 'Hippocrates de medicamentis purgantibus, Græce' (not before printed). 3. 'Galenus de tuenda valetudine libri sex' (Greek text only and without notes; dedicated to Edward VI, 'supreme head of the church'), Basil, 1549, 8vo. 4. 'A Boke or Counsell against the Disease commonly called the Sweate or Sweatyng Sicknesse,' dedicated to William, earl of Pembroke; printed by Grafton, London, 1552, 8vo. A very rare book, reprinted in Babington's translation of Hecker's 'Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' Lond. Syd. Society, 1844, and later; also in Gruner and Haeser, 'Scriptores de Sudore Anglico,' Jena, 1847. 5. 'Joannis Caii Opera aliquot et versiones,' Lovanii, 1556, 8vo, containing: (1) 'De Medendi Methodo' (second edition), dedicated to Sir John Mason; (2) 'De Ephemera Britannica liber unus, jam primum excusus.' This Latin treatise on the sweating sickness appears to have been written, or at least begun, at the same time as the English tract, from which it is quite distinct, and was intended especially for the medical profession, while the former was addressed to the public. This was meant to consist of two books, according to the author's statement. It is dedicated to Antony Perenot, bishop of Arras. This work was reprinted in London, 1721, 8vo; also Berlin, 1833, 12mo, edited by Hecker; and in Gruner's 'Scriptores' above cited. (3) 'Galenus de propriis libris; de ordine librorum suorum; de ratione victus Hippocratis in morbis acutis; de decretis Hippocratis et Platonis liber primus.' All these, in Latin versions by Caius, dedicated to George Day, bishop of Chichester. A good woodcut head of Caius, in profile, is prefixed to this volume, and repeated

in the middle of it. 6. 'Galenus Pergameni libri. De Septimestri partu, Brevis designatio dogmatum Hippocratis, De Ptissana, De Ossibus; integri et emendati,' Basil, s.a. 8vo, Greek text only. These treatises are dedicated respectively to Thomas Wonde, Robert Warmyngton, and Thomas Marron (Maro), the dedications being dated February 1557. 7. 'De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensi Academiae libri duo, Londinensi auctore. Londini per H. Bynneman,' 1568, 8vo. Subjoined is 'Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae, incerto auctore ejusdem Gymnasii,' reprinted by Day, London, 1574, 4to, with the name of Caius as author; also the Oxford tract; and a further contribution to the controversy by Caius with title, 'Historiae Cantabrigiensis Academiae ab urbe condita libri duo, auth. Joh. Caius.' 8. 'De pronunciatione Græce et Latine lingue cum scriptione nova libellus,' London, J. Day, 1574, 4to, usually bound up with the last. 9. 'De Canibus Britannicis libellus; De variorum animalium et stirpium historia libellus; De libris propriis liber, jam primum excusi Londini per Gul. Seresium,' 1570, 8vo (with separate titles). The first tract was written to Conrad Gesner, the celebrated naturalist, and was intended as a contribution to his 'History of Animals,' but not published in consequence of Gesner's death. The second was to be a further contribution. These three were reprinted (Lond. 1729, 8vo) with the treatise 'De pronunciatione Græcæ,' &c. 10. 'Of English Dogges.' A short treatise written in Latine by Johannes Caius, drawne into Englishe by Abraham Fleming,' London, 1576, 4to. 11. 'Epistola Bartholomæo Clerke. Prefixed to his translation of Castillon,' London, 12mo, 1577 (*Athenæ Cantab.*) The above list of Caius's printed books, drawn up from actual inspection, is believed to be complete, though it is possible there may have been later continental editions of one or two of the classical works. The following are said, on the authority of 'Athenæ Cantab.,' still to exist in manuscript: 1. 'Annales Collegii de Goveville et Caius a Collegio condito libri duo,' Caius Coll. 2. 'Annotationes in Galenum,' Univ. Lib. Camb. 3. 'Annales Collegii Medicorum Lond. ab A.D. 1520-65,' Coll. Phys. London. 4. 'Notes on Hippocrates,' Caius Coll. 5. 'De Canonicis libris Veteris Testamenti,' Caius Coll. 6. Notes on 'Alex. Aphrodisii de prudentia,' Caius Coll. 7. 'Notes on Aristotle,' Caius Coll. 8. Additions to Robert Talbot's 'Annotations on the Itinerary of Antoninus,' Caius Coll.

Caius's own list above referred to contains seventy-two titles, including sixteen origi-

nal works, seven versions from Greek into Latin, and ten commentaries, besides texts, discovered, edited, and amended, but all the rest appear to have perished. Some, he says, were lost through the dilatoriness of Oporinus, the printer of Basel.

Caius's medical writings have a high value. Living in an age when book-learning was the mark of the skilled physician, and himself a profound scholar, he was still notable for his power of observation. He saw what was important, and described it with precision. His description of the symptoms of the sweating sickness is the classical account of that remarkable epidemic, with which his name is inseparably associated. His works on that subject must be regarded as the most important medical writings produced in England before the time of Harvey, and their value is shown by the fact that both the Latin and the English treatise have been each three times reprinted in this and the last century. Comparing Caius with the continental writers on the same subject (who were chiefly Germans), Haeser says: 'Caius omnium qui de sudore Anglico scripserunt, princeps putandum est.'

Caius's Latin writing is terse and lucid. It is evidently modelled on the style of Celsus, from whom he borrows many words, and sometimes whole phrases. His English is vigorous. He was a good naturalist, as well as an excellent physician and scholar. In every department of learning he seems to have been proficient.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 37-109; Cooper's *Athenae Cantab.* i. 312-18; Goodall's Coll. of Phys.; Mullinger's Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge, vol. ii.; Bibliography and medical criticism kindly supplied by Dr. J. F. Payne.] J. B. M.

**CAIUS, THOMAS** (*d.* 1572), writer on the history of the university of Oxford, was of a Yorkshire family whose name is usually written KEY or CAY, but his immediate relatives resided in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Oxford, and Wood states doubtfully that he was a student of University College. In 1525 he was elected fellow of All Souls' College, proceeded to his degrees in arts, and became proficient in classical studies. In 1534 he was chosen registrar of the university—an office which at that date embraced the additional functions of public orator. He declined to submit readily to the changes brought about by the Reformation; fell under the suspicion of the authorities, and in 1552 was dismissed from the registrarship. In later years he conformed to the new religion, became in 1559 prebendary of Salisbury, and in 1561 was elected master of University

College. He became rector of Tredington, Worcestershire, and dying in May 1572 was buried at Oxford, in the church of St. Peter-in-the-East.

Caius is best known as the leader of a very curious controversy touching the comparative antiquity of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. His opponent was a Cambridge man of the same surname, although not lineally related, John Caius (1510-1573) [q. v.], warden of Gonville and Caius College. When Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge, in August 1564, the public orator (William Masters) asserted, in a speech, that Cambridge was a more ancient university than Oxford. A friend of Thomas Caius reported the speech to him, and he wrote within a week a little treatise entitled '*Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae*,' to disprove the Cambridge orator's statement. Two copies were made of the manuscript, one of which found its way into the Earl of Leicester's library. There it seems that John Caius saw it, and in 1568 he printed it, without consulting the author, as an appendix to his own '*De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae libri duo*'—a plea for the superior antiquity of Cambridge. John Caius describes the '*Assertio*' as the work of an unknown author of Oxford University, and attacks it severely. Thomas Caius's treatise was reprinted with John Caius's book for the second time in 1574. Both writers were then dead; but the friends of the champion of Cambridge University were alone responsible for this edition. Thomas Caius had, however, left behind him an annotated copy of John Caius's work, and another manuscript treatise of his own, entitled '*Vindiciae Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis contra Joannem Caium Cantabrigiensem*.' Many copies of this treatise were circulated in manuscript. One copy passed into the hands of Archbishop Ussher, thence to the archbishop's nephew, James Tyrrell Ussher, and thence to an anonymous friend of the antiquary Hearne, who printed it at Oxford for the first time in 1730. Caius's account of the origin of Oxford University is wholly valueless from an historical point of view. It fully accepts the mythical stories about Alfred and earlier times. Its chief interest lies in the numerous and varied authorities cited. Bryan Twine used Caius's manuscripts in his '*Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia*,' 1608.

Caius translated into English, at the request of Queen Catherine Parr and of Dr. Owen, Henry VIII's physician, Erasmus's paraphrase of the Gospel of St. Mark, which, according to Strype, was 'set up in all churches, for the better instruction of priests.' He translated from English into Latin Bishop Longland's



sermons (London, 1527?), and into Latin from Greek Aristotle's 'De Mirabilibus Mundi,' the tragedies of Euripides, and an oration of Isocrates. His friends, John Leland and John Parkhurst, complimented him on his erudition in Latin epigrams.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 397, s. v. 'Key'; Parker's *Early History of Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society), 21-37; Hearne's edition of *Cains's Vindiciæ* (1730); Strype's *Parker*, i. 511; Strype's *Annals*, i. ii. 108.] S. L. L.

**CALAH, JOHN** (1758-1798), organist and composer, was born in 1758, but his birth-place and early history are alike unknown. In December 1781 he succeeded John Jackson as organist of the parish church and master of the song-school of Newark-on-Trent, where he remained until 1785, on 28 June of which year he was appointed to the offices of organist and master of the choristers in the cathedral church of Peterborough, which were vacant by the resignation of Richard Langdon. Calah remained at Peterborough until his death, which took place on 5 Aug. 1798. He was buried on the 8th of the same month. He composed some unimportant church music, songs, sonatas, &c., but his works are now nearly forgotten.

[Gent. Mag. 1798, p. 728; Appendix to Bemrose's *Choir Chant Book*; *Burial Register and Chapter Audit Book of Peterborough Cathedral*, communicated by the Rev. W. Farley Wilkin-son.] W. B. S.

**CALAMY, BENJAMIN, D.D.** (1642-1686), prebendary of St. Paul's, was the second son of Edmund Calamy the elder [q. v.], and eldest son by his second wife, Anne Leaver. He was born in London on or before 8 June 1642. His mother, according to Tillotson, was a strong presbyterian. His education was begun at St. Paul's School. His father sent him, before 1660, to Catharine Hall, Cambridge, where he fully sustained the family reputation. At the Restoration, which his father had been active in promoting, Benjamin Calamy, with his younger brother James, adhered to the national church as re-established. The ejection of his father and elder brother occurred while he was still an undergraduate, but his writings show that if he was alarmed into conformity, it was the sectarianism of the nonconformists, rather than their sufferings, which alarmed him. He graduated B.A. in 1664, M.A. in 1668, was elected fellow, and became 'an ornament to the college' (ECHARD). Among his pupils was James Bonnell [q. v.] On 25 April 1677 he obtained the preferment from which his father had been ejected, the perpetual

curacy of St. Mary Aldermanbury, in succession to Simon Ford, D.D. This appointment he owed to the interest of the notorious George Jeffries, then a leading man in the parish. He was soon appointed one of the king's chaplains in ordinary, and took his D.D. in 1680. In 1683 the publication of his 'Discourse about a Doubting [the second edition has 'Scrupulous'] Conscience,' dedicated to Jeffries, made a great noise. He had already preached it twice with great applause, once to his own parishioners, and again at Bow Church. His text (Luke xi. 41) gave occasion for expounding his habitual thesis, that the best church is the one which leads men to subordinate everything else to humble and practical piety. The sting of the sermon lay in Calamy's quotations from Baxter and from his own father; the former having declared that 'thousands are gone to hell,' the latter that 'all our church calamities have sprung' from forsaking the parish churches. Calamy's sermon was accepted as a challenge to nonconformists by a baptist schoolmaster, Thomas de Laune [q. v.], who brought out 'A Plea for the Nonconformists,' 1683, a pithy and trenchant performance. Its publication cost its author his liberty, and indeed his life. Although Calamy did not choose to answer the letters which De Laune wrote to him from Newgate, he made interest in his behalf, and his failure to obtain De Laune's release 'was no small trouble to him,' as his nonconformist nephew testifies. For his 'scrupulous conscience' sermon Calamy was rewarded in 1683 by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's with the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jewry, with St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, annexed. On 18 June 1685 he was installed in the prebend of Harleston in St. Paul's, vacated by the death of John Wells, D.D. His nephew thinks he now had 'a fair prospect of the utmost preferment.' But in the autumn of this year occurred the lamentable affair of Alderman Henry Cornish [q. v.], executed on 23 Oct., nominally for conspiracy, but really for the part he had taken in the discovery of the alleged 'popish plot.' Cornish was Calamy's parishioner; on his trial Calamy stood by him, and in the interval before his execution repeatedly pressed Jeffries to intercede for him. Jeffries is reported to have told Calamy at last that 'a mine of gold as deep as the monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames at the top of it,' would not save Cornish. Up to the morning of his execution Calamy was in attendance upon the condemned man; he could not trust himself to accompany him to the scaffold. His nephew, who met him on his way from his last interview with

Cornish, thought he 'would have sunk down' as he told the sad story. There can be little doubt that this business preyed upon Calamy's spirits and caused his death. In less than two months he was seized by a pleurisy, under which he sank, 'when a little turned of forty years of age,' says his nephew, somewhat underestimating his years. He was buried on 7 Jan. 1686 at St. Lawrence Jewry, the sermon at his funeral being preached by his co-prebendary, William Sherlock. He left a widow, to whom his parishioners made a 'generous present.' Calamy was on the best of terms with his nonconformist brother and nephew, and 'exceeding kind' to the latter after his father's death. He declares that could he find any church 'that did lay greater stress upon a pure mind and a blameless life, and less upon voluntary strictnesses and indifferent rites and ceremonies than we do, I would very soon be of that church, and even entice all I could to it' (*Sermons*, 4th edition, 1704, p. 75). According to Ned Millington, the auctioneer who valued his library, none of his books were so much thumbed and marked as the works of the puritan William Perkins, particularly his 'Cases of Conscience.'

He published seven separate sermons, enumerated in 'Biographia Britannica,' the earliest being a sermon at Guildhall, from Tit. iii. 8, 9, 1673, 4to. In 1690 his brother James edited an 8vo volume, dedicated to the parishioners of St. Lawrence and St. Mary Magdalene, and containing thirteen of Calamy's sermons, all preached on special occasions; prefixed is his likeness, engraved by Vander Gucht, and appended is Sherlock's sermon at his funeral, originally published 1686, 4to. The volume went through several editions, and was to have been followed by another, which James Calamy could not be prevailed upon to bring out. One of his sermons is reprinted in 'British Pulpit Eloquence,' 1814, 8vo, vol. i. Granger mentions two other prints of Benjamin Calamy.

[Biog. Brit. 1784, iii. 137 (life by John Campbell, LL.D., a few additions by Kippis); Birch's Life of Tillotson, 2nd ed. 1753, p. 388; Calamy's Hist. Acct. of my own Life, 1830, i. 57 sq., 74; Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng., 1824, v. 32; extract from parish register of St. Mary Aldermanbury, per Rev. C. C. Collins.] A. G.

**CALAMY, EDMUND**, the elder (1600-1660), one of the authors of 'Smectymnuus,' was born in February 1600, the only son of a tradesman in Walbrook. His father came from Guernsey, and the family tradition is that he was an exiled Huguenot from the coast of Normandy. Calamy was admitted, on 4 July 1616, to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where

he graduated B.A. in 1619, B.D. in 1632. His aversion to Arminianism is said to have stood in the way of his obtaining a fellowship, but he was made 'tanquam socius' on 22 March 1626. This office (peculiar to Pembroke) was tenable for three years; but Calamy could have held it but a very short time if it be true that Nicholas Felton, bishop of Ely, who took him into his house as chaplain, presented him to the vicarage of St. Mary, Swaffham Prior. After Felton's death (5 Oct. 1626) he was chosen lecturer at Bury St. Edmunds, and resigned his vicarage in favour of one Eldred, whom the parishioners desired. The Swaffham living lapsed to the lord keeper, who would not present Eldred, but allowed him to officiate till he found him another living, and then (24 Aug. 1633) presented Jonathan Jephcott. There are somewhat conflicting accounts of Calamy's attitude at this period towards the ceremonies. He was not the uncompromising nonconformist which his colleague, Jeremiah Burroughes [q. v.], proved himself. Wood and Walker make the most of the statements of an anonymous pamphleteer, followed by Henry Burton [q. v.], from which it may appear that Calamy wore the surplice and bowed at the name of Jesus. He admits that 'in some few things' he did conform, but strenuously asserts his noncompliance on other points, and especially as regards reading 'that wicked book of sports.' And, in the impeachment of Bishop Wren, Calamy is mentioned as one of the divines whom the enforcement of Wren's articles of 1636 drove away from the district. When he left Bury he preached a retraction sermon, in which he took his farewell of all ceremonial compliance. Robert Rich, second earl of Warwick, a leader of the puritan party, is said to have presented him to the valuable rectory of Rochford, Essex, on the death ('about 1640,' Wood) of William Fenner, B.D. Probably, however, he was only lecturer at Rochford. The Essex climate had an unfortunate effect upon Calamy's constitution. He fell into a quartan ague, which left him with a nervous affection of the head, permanently precluding him from mounting the pulpit, so that he ever afterwards preached from the reading-desk. The death of John Stoughton, D.D. (buried 9 May 1639), made an opening for Calamy in the perpetual curacy of St. Mary Aldermanbury, to which he was elected before 27 May 1639. In July of that year he was incorporated B.D. at Oxford. At this period the controversy on episcopacy became acute. The elder Edward Bagshaw [q. v.] had attacked as a lawyer the political rights of the bishops, and been silenced. At Laud's desire, and with his

assistance, Bishop Hall defended their sacred claims. His 'Episcopacie by Divine Right asserted' was published in 1640, and was followed early next year by his tract called 'An Humble Remonstrance' (anon.), addressed to the parliament. Soon appeared 'An Answer to a Booke entituled An Humble Remonstrance, . . . Written by Smectymnuus,' 1641, 4to. This *nom de plume* was framed of the initials of five contributors to the authorship of the quarto, Marshall, Calamy, Young, Newcomen, and Spurstowe. It was the first publication in which Calamy had any share. The position of 'Smectymnuus' was really one of conciliation. Denying the apostolic origin of liturgies, and the divine right of the episcopacy, its writers were ready to bear with bishops if reduced to a primitive simplicity, and with a liturgy if reformed by a consultation of divines. But they defeated their aim by galling allusions to historic displays of the prelatic spirit. These are in a postscript, which Masson, relying on internal evidence, assigns to John Milton. Hall, a controversialist of admirable skill and power, in a 'Defence' (also anon.), complained of his opponents' case as 'frivolous and false;' and when Smectymnuus issued a 'Vindication,' pronounced it 'tedious,' and contented himself with a 'Short Answer.' Milton had now put forth an 'Apology for Smectymnuus' and 'Animadversions' on Hall's 'Defence.' Meanwhile two of the Smectymnuans, Marshall and Calamy, were invited to take part in the consultations promoted by the lords' committee for innovations in March 1641 [see BURGESS, CORNELIUS]. This was in fact carrying out their own proposal. Here (according to Neal) they met Hall; and had the suggestions for accommodation agreed upon within the Jerusalem Chamber been accepted by parties outside, the approaching overthrow of episcopacy might have been averted. All the Smectymnuans were nominated in the ordinance of 12 June 1643 as members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Calamy, as an assembly man, took the covenant with the rest. During the doctrinal debates he showed himself 'liberal and cautious' (MITCHELL) in his holding of the Augustinian or Calvinistic theology. In this respect, as well as in his original views of church government, he followed Ussher in taking a mean betwixt extremes. But in the rapid progress of events Calamy was led to find the mean in presbyterianism. He was confirmed in this view by observing, even in his own parish, the disintegrating tendency of congregationalism. Henry Burton was permitted to hold a 'catechetical lecture' on alternate Tuesdays at St. Mary

Aldermanbury. On 23 Sept. 1645 he launched out at this lecture in favour of 'his congregational way.' A somewhat acrimonious interchange of pamphlets between Burton and Calamy ensued. On 9 June 1646 parliament required the ordinance of the previous year establishing presbyterianism to be carried out in the London province, and on 19 June the London ministers agreed, with certain cautions, to obey the ordinance. Calamy's parish was included in the sixth London classis. His name appears, as one of the assessors, at the foot of the 'Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government,' &c. 1650, 4to, drawn up by the London provincial assembly on 2 Nov. 1649. He had a hand also in the 'Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici,' &c., published by the same assembly in 1654. He took part in presbyterian ordinations. During the civil war Calamy found himself more than once in a difficult position. His speech at the Guildhall, on 6 Oct. 1643, to promote the city loan for subsidising the Scots army, 'in order to the preservation of the Gospel,' has often been quoted. Echard says he acted as an army chaplain, but this is incorrect. He remained constant to the duties of his own parish, where his week-day lecture had for twenty years an unprecedented following, 'seldom were so few as sixty coaches' at the doors. His preaching, so far as it touched upon the questions of the day, held up the ideal of constitutional freedom as against arbitrary acts, whether of the king or of his opponents. Yet it is too much to say, with his grandson, that in his utterances there was 'nothing tending to inflame.' In the pulpit Calamy's frankness of heart sometimes got the better of his caution. Though he was 'a bitter enemy to all mobs,' and a resolute opponent of the rising sectaries, his expressions on public affairs were quoted as countenancing 'incendiary' measures. The trial and execution of Charles he did what he could to oppose: his name is attached to the 'Vindication' of the London ministers' conduct in this affair, drawn up by Cornelius Burgess. Under the Protectorate he 'kept himself as private as he could.' There is a remarkable story of his interview with Cromwell, in which he told him that nine in ten of the nation were opposed to his assumption of supreme power. The restoration of the monarchy he eagerly promoted (respecting the story to the contrary, quoted in 'Biographia Britannica,' 1784, iii. 134, note K, see CALAMY, *Contin.* 1727, ii. 910), preaching before the commons on the day when the vote was taken on the question, and joining the deputation to Charles at Breda. In June 1660 he was sworn chaplain-in-ordinary to

the king, but only once preached in that capacity. His grandson says he 'soon saw whither things were tending,' and mentions an anecdote that, having Monk as his auditor on a sacrament day, he emphasised the remark, 'Some men will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake,' by flinging towards the general's pew 'his handkerchief, which he usually wav'd up and down while he was preaching.' Nevertheless, he hesitated a considerable time before refusing the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, which was kept open for him. We have it on Tillotson's authority that Calamy was sensible of 'the great inconvenience of the presbyterian parity of ministers;' but Mrs. Calamy 'over-ruled her husband, and so the matter went off.' At the Savoy conference (April–July 1661) Calamy took a moderate part, and there were great hopes of his conforming; but his preface to the 'Reply' to the bishops' 'Answer' to the nonconformists' 'Exceptions' shows that by this time his position was such as to make his nonconformity inevitable. While the conference was sitting he had been returned with Baxter by the city ministers, on 2 May, as one of their nominees for convocation. Bishop Sheldon, however, in the exercise of his power of selection, had passed them over. There was yet one measure by which Calamy might have been induced to conform, namely, the ratification by law of the provisions of the king's declaration of 25 Oct. 1660. To gain this Calamy used all the interest at his command. He was prevented by illness from waiting upon the king with the presenters of the petition for such ratification. On the failure of this last hope, and the passing of the Uniformity Act, he suffered ejection, preaching his farewell sermon (from 2 Samuel xxiv. 14) on 17 Aug. 1662. On 27 Aug. Calamy, at the head of the London ejected ministers, presented a brief petition to the king in dignified and pathetic terms. Charles gave them hopes of an indulgence; but at the privy council next day the arguments of Sheldon prevailed. Calamy continued to attend the parish church from which he had been ejected. On 28 Dec. he was present as usual, and the appointed preacher did not appear. Prevailed upon by 'the importunity of the people,' he went into the desk and preached with some warmth. He was committed to Newgate under the lord mayor's warrant on 6 Jan. 1663, being the first of the nonconformists who got into trouble for disobeying the Uniformity Act. Newgate Street was blocked by the coaches of his visitors. 'A certain popish lady' (apparently the king's mistress), detained on her way through the city by the throng, repre-

sented to the king the disturbed state of popular feeling. Calamy was set free by the king's express order, but it was stated that the act had not provided for his longer restraint. The commons on 19 Feb. referred it to a committee to inquire into this defect, and addressed the king against toleration. With this incident, which was made the subject of verses by Robert Wilde, D.D., the presbyterian humorist and poet, Calamy's public life closes. He survived to see 'London in ashes' after the great fire. Driven through the ruins in a coach to Enfield, the sight broke his heart. He kept his room, rapidly sank, and died on 29 Oct. 1666. The register of St. Mary Aldermanbury records, under 'Burials since the dreadfull fire Sep. 2. 66,' that of 'Mr. Edmond Calamy late pastor —Nov. 6.' Henry Newcome's diary says he was buried in the ruins of his church, 'as near to the place where his pulpit had stood as they could guess.' Granger mentions five prints of Calamy; a sixth, and the best, is the engraving by Mackenzie, in the second edition of Palmer; they are all from one original painting, now in private hands.

Calamy was twice married: first to Mary, daughter of Robert Snelling, portman of Ipswich, probably of the same family to which belonged Joane Snelling, the mother of William Ames, D.D. (Browne, p. 66); secondly to Anne Leaver, of the Lancashire Leavers. By his first wife he had Edmund [q. v.], Jeremy (b. November 1638), and a daughter (Mrs. Bayly). By his second wife he had Benjamin [q. v.], James, John (who was born 2 Aug. 1658, was educated at Cambridge, was twice married, and left a son, who died without issue, and a daughter, living in 1731), and four daughters, all well married.

Calamy published chiefly sermons: 1. 'England's Looking-glasse,' &c. 1642, 4to (fast sermon before the commons, 22 Dec. 1641). For preaching this sermon Calamy received a massive almsdish, bearing his arms and the inscription, 'This is the Gift of the House of Commons to Edmund Calamy, B.D., 1641.' It is now in the possession of Michael Pope, Thurlow Towers, Streatham. 2. 'God's Free Mercy to England,' &c. 1642, 4to (ditto, 23 Feb.) 3. 'The Nobleman's Patterne of Thankfulness,' &c. 1643, 4to (thanksgiving sermon before the lords, 15 June). 4. 'England's Antidote against the Plague of Civil Warre,' &c. 1644, 4to (fast sermon before the commons, 22 Oct.) 5. 'An Indictment against England because of her Selfe-murdering Divisions,' &c. 1645, 4to (fast sermon before the lords, 25 Dec. 1644). 6. 'The Door of Trvth opened,' &c. 1645, 4to (anon., issued 'in the name and with the consent of the whole church

of Aldermanburie,' in reply to Henry Burton's 'Truth shut out of doores'). 7. 'The Great Danger of Covenant-refusing,' &c. 1648, 4to (sermon before the lord mayor, 14 Jan.) 8. 'A just and necessary Apology,' &c. 1646, 4to (against an attack in Henry Burton's 'Truth still Truth,' &c.) 9. 'The Saints' Rest,' &c. 1651, 4to (sermon). 10. 'The Monster of sinful Self-seeking anatomised,' &c. 1655, 4to (sermon before the lord mayor, 10 Dec. 1654). 11. 'The Doctrine of the Bodies Fragility,' &c. 1655, 4to (funeral sermon for Dr. Samuel Bolton). 12. 'The Godly Man's Ark,' &c. 1657, 12mo, 8th edit. 1683, reprinted 1865, 12mo (five sermons). 13. 'A Patterne for all,' &c. 1658, 4to (funeral sermon for Robert, earl of Warwick). 14. 'A Sermon . . . at the Funeral of the Lady Anne Waller, . . . 31 Oct. 1661,' 1662, 8vo. 15. 'The Fixed Saint, a Farewell Sermon,' &c. 1662, 4to (printed also in the volume of 'Farewell Sermons' by London ministers). 16. 'A Sermon . . . at Aldermanberry-Church, Dec. 28, 1662,' &c. Oxford, 1663, 4to. Posthumous were: 17. 'The Art of Divine Meditation,' &c. 1667, 8vo (printed from a hearer's notes). 18. Sermon on the resurrection of the dead in 'Morning Exercises at St. Giles's, Cripplegate,' 1676, 4to. Wood mentions also: 19. 'A Leading Case,' &c., and says Calamy had a hand in 'Saints' Memorials,' 1674, 8vo. An epistle by Calamy is prefixed to Fenner's 'The Soul's Looking-Glasse,' &c. 1651, 4to.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* 1691-2, i. 898, ii. 377; Calamy's *Abridgement*, 1713, pp. 159, 176; Calamy's *Account*, 1713, pp. 4, 388; Calamy's *Contin.* 1727, pp. 7, 149; Calamy's *Historical Account of my own Life*, 2nd edit. 1830, pp. 52 seq.; Pulmer's *Nonconf. Memorial*, 2nd edit. 1802, i. 76; Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 2nd edit. 1753, p. 388; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, Dublin, 1759, ii. 369, iii. 259 seq.; *Biog. Brit.* 1784, iii. 131 (article by Dr. John Campbell, a few addenda by Kippis); *Monthly Repository*, 1817, p. 592; Granger's *Biog. Hist. of Eng.*, 5th edit. 1824, ii. 363, v. 364; Masson's *Milton*, 1871, ii. 260; Marsden's *Later Puritans*, 3rd edit. 1872, p. 121; Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (Laud), 1875, xi. 311; Brown's *Hist. of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 1877, p. 88; Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly*, 1883, p. 121; extracts from *Pembroke College books*, per the master of Pembroke, from the register of St. James, Bury St. Edmunds, per Rev. W. T. Harrison, and from the registers and vestry book of St. Mary Aldermanbury, per Rev. C. C. Collins.]

A. G.

**CALAMY, EDMUND**, the younger (1635?-1685), ejected minister, was the eldest son of Edmund Calamy the elder [q. v.], by his first wife, Mary Snelling. He was born

at Bury St. Edmunds about 1635. His early training he got from his father, who sent him to Cambridge, where he was entered at Sidney Sussex College on 28 March 1652. On 10 Nov. 1653 he (and two others) received presbyterian ordination at Moreton, Essex, of which Hoard (not one of the five ordainers) was rector. Having graduated B.A. in 1654 he was transferred to Pembroke Hall on 13 March 1656, and graduated M.A. in 1658. His son states that he became a fellow of Pembroke, but this is not confirmed by the records. Hoard died in February 1658, and Calamy was presented by the trustees of Robert, earl of Warwick, deceased, to the rectory of Moreton, where he had preached for some time with acceptance. On 20 April 1659 the presentation was confirmed by the commissioners for approbation of public preachers. He gave four bonds to insure the payment of 18*l.* as first-fruits to Richard Cromwell, lord protector, or his successors. Notwithstanding his father's example he never took the covenant. Like his father, he welcomed the restoration of the monarchy, and in 1661 he gave generously to the voluntary contribution for the supply of the king's exchequer. But on the passing of the Uniformity Act in 1662 he suffered ejection as a nonconformist, and went to live with his father in London. In 1665 he was chaplain to Sir Samuel Barnardiston [q. v.], at Brightwell Hall, near Ipswich, but returned to his father in the following year, and was with him till his death. Three years afterwards he married (1669) and set up house in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury. Here he preached privately to a few friends. This was illegal, and exposed him to the annoyance and costs of a crown office prosecution. Though warrants were issued against him, he was never disturbed at his services, and managed to avoid arrest. On the king's declaration of indulgence, 15 March 1672, he took out a license and quietly ministered to a small congregation at Curriers' Hall, near Cripplegate. His character was essentially that of a man of peace and piety. His son tells us that he instilled moderation into him from his very cradle. With his brother Benjamin [q. v.], who became incumbent of the parish in which he lived, he was on excellent terms, and among his intimate friends was Richard Kidder, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells (originally a nonconformist).

He led a very retired life, never seeking fame or popularity, and was carried off by consumption. He died suddenly in the night, while on a visit in May 1685 to Edward Haynes, F.R.S., of Totteridge, near Barnet, a member of his flock. He was buried under

the pulpit at St. Mary Aldermanbury. In 1669 he married Mary, eldest daughter of Joshua Gearing of Tooting, a retired London trader, only brother of Thomas Gearing, vice-provost of King's College, Cambridge. His widow died at Bath in March 1715, and was buried in Aldermanbury churchyard. Their children were Edmund (1671-1732) [q. v.], followed by four daughters, of whom the second died of consumption in 1692. Calamy never published anything.

[Calamy's Account, 1713, p. 301; Contin. 1727, i. 461; Hist. Acct. of my own Life, 2nd ed. 1830, i. 64 sq., 88, 126, 310, 342, ii. 309; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 2nd ed. 1802, ii. 208; Biog. Brit. 1784, iii. 136 (article by Dr. John Campbell).] A. G.

**CALAMY, EDMUND, D.D.** (1671-1732), biographical historian of nonconformity, the only son of Edmund Calamy the younger [q. v.], was born on 5 April 1671 'in a little house just over against the Conduit, in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury. He was baptised by his father, and makes a point of the fact that he had never been joined to the established church. Yet his baptism is entered in the parish register. As a child he was sickly and studious. His own account of his education is very interesting. As soon as she had taught him his catechism, his mother took him on Saturday afternoons to the public catechisings held at Dyers' Hall by Thomas Lye, M.A., the grammarian, ejected from Allhallows, Lombard Street, who had a wonderful gift with children, and had been Mrs. Calamy's own instructor. His first schoolmaster was Nelson, the curate of Aldermanbury; next, for the sake of country air, he was boarded at Epsom with Yewel, a harmless sort of fifth-monarchy man, and 'no great scholar.' He made better progress under Robert Tatnal, M.A., a pupil of Bushy, ejected from the chapel of St. John Evangelist, who kept a very successful school in Winchester Street. As a schoolboy he was often made the bearer of gifts of money to imprisoned ministers, and was twice present when dissenting meetings for worship were broken up by the authorities. He liked the preaching of dissenters best, but went about to hear all the famous preachers in the established church. In 1682 he was boarded in the house of Thomas Doolittle, M.A., ejected from the rectory of St. Alphage, London Wall, who kept a theological academy at Islington. Calamy was too young for the special studies of the place; he had one companion in grammar learning and the advantage of the society of his elders. When Doolittle was compelled by a prosecution to remove his academy from Islington, Calamy

seems to have been transferred to Walton's school at Bethnal Green, shortly afterwards broken up. On his father's death in 1685 he was sent, by the advice of his uncle Benjamin [q. v.], to Merchant Taylors' School, under Hartcliff, afterwards canon of Windsor. Here he had as companions William Dawes, afterwards archbishop of York, and Hugh Boulter, afterwards archbishop of Armagh [q. v.] Leaving Merchant Taylors' he read Greek for a few months with Walton, his old master, and was inclined to proceed for the study of divinity to New England under the escort of Charles Morton, ejected from Blisland, Cornwall, and afterwards vice-president of Harvard University. His mother objected, and in 1686 he entered the academy of Samuel Cradock, B.D., ejected from North Cadbury, Somersetshire, and now settled on his own estate at Wickhambrook, Suffolk. Here he took a two years' course in philosophy, keeping up his Greek by private application with a fellow-student, Thomas Goodwin, afterwards archbishop of Cashel. Returning for a few months to Doolittle, at St. John's Court, Clerkenwell, he was recommended by John Howe to pursue his studies at Utrecht. Obtaining his mother's consent he sailed for Holland in the middle of March 1688. At Utrecht he heard lectures in philosophy and civil law as well as divinity, and defended a thesis (afterwards published) against innate ideas. His pictures of university life in Holland, and of the colony of English students there, are very graphic. He had a knack of making friends, and formed many acquaintances which proved of service to him in after life. It was at Utrecht that he was a class-fellow of Charles Spencer, afterwards third earl of Sunderland, and Queen Anne's whig secretary of state. Another of his good friends was Spencer's tutor, Charles Trimmell, afterwards bishop of Winchester. William Curstares [q. v.], who was in Holland in 1691 looking out for suitable men to fill chairs in the Scottish universities, made several offers to Calamy. In May 1691 Calamy returned to London. He visited Baxter (whom he had never before seen) and heard him preach like one that had been in another world 'and was come as a sort of an express from thence to make a report concerning it.' Baxter encouraged him in his design of repairing to Oxford, which he carried out 'a little after midsummer.' Armed with introductions from Grævius of Utrecht, Calamy had no difficulty in obtaining permission to study at the Bodleian. His object was to go thoroughly into the whole range of questions at issue between conformists and nonconformists. Among modern writers

none influenced him more than Chillingworth. During his stay of some nine months at Oxford Calamy mixed freely in university society. He was still under age when Joshua Oldfield, minister to the Oxford dissenters, put him into his pulpit. He preached at several places near Oxford, particularly at Bicester, and on one occasion at Casfield 'in the public church.' He was sought as their regular minister by the Andover dissenters, of whose differences he gives an amusing account. Almost simultaneously he received invitations from Bristol to become assistant to John Weekes (ejected from Buckland Newton, Dorsetshire), with a salary of 100*l.* a year, a house, and a horse's keep, and from Blackfriars, to assist Matthew Sylvester (ejected from Gunnerby, Lincolnshire) in his new meeting-house, with a 'prospect of bare 40*l.* a year.' His mother decided for him; he must settle in London to be near her. Accepting the call to Blackfriars in 1692, he joined Thomas Reynolds (assistant to John Howe) in a quiet lodging at Hoxton Square. The two young men soon (1694) thought of being ordained, and determined if possible to have a public ordination, a thing not yet attempted among the London dissenters since the Uniformity Act. They consulted Howe, who raised no objection, but suggested that as there was (since 6 April 1691) a nominal union between the presbyterian and congregational ministers, it would look better if Matthew Mead the independent were asked to preach. Calamy did not want Mead, or any 'narrow, confining, cramping notions.' He and Reynolds 'insisted upon being ordained ministers of the catholic church,' without reference to particular flocks or denominations. Mead, however, was applied to, but declined, lest the affair should give offence. Then Howe, after consulting Lord Somers, refused to take part unless the ordination were perfectly private. Calamy next resorted in vain to William Bates, D.D. By persistence Calamy secured the services of six ejected ministers, headed by Samuel Annesley, D.D. [q. v.], in whose meeting-house, near Little St. Helen's, the ordination took place on 22 June 1694. Seven were ordained; the proceedings lasted from before ten till past six. The candidates had gone through the previous ordeal of a strict examination in philosophy and divinity. Soon after this Calamy's mother found him a wife. In 1695 he rendered a service to Daniel Williams, against whose character certain malicious charges had been laid. Williams in gratitude offered him the post of assistant (on 60*l.* a year) at Hand Alley, Bishopsgate. As the Blackfriars people were really unable

to support two ministers, at midsummer he made the move. He remained with Williams till June 1703, when he succeeded Vincent Alsop [q. v.] at Tothill Street, Westminster. John Lacy, who afterwards achieved notoriety as one of the 'French prophets,' was a member of this congregation and a very active mover in the election of Calamy. In the previous October Calamy had been chosen one of the Tuesday lecturers at Salters' Hall in the room of Nathaniel Taylor. Both these positions he held until his death. A new meeting-house for him was set on foot in 1719, and opened on 23 April 1721, in Long Ditch, afterwards called Princes Street. Calamy never legally qualified as a dissenting minister by subscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England, according to the Toleration Act. He shrewdly calculated that no one would suspect him of neglecting this requirement, and had he not in 1713 privately recommended the same course to a young student (who bettered his instructions) his disqualification, unmentioned even in his autobiography, would never have become known (Fox's 'Memoirs' in *Monthly Repos.* 1821, p. 135). Calamy's peculiar case throws new light on his attitude towards the Salters' Hall conferences in 1719 [see BRADBURY, THOMAS], when his holding aloof disappointed both parties. It is now clear that he could not have gone with the subscribers, while the position of the nonsubscribers, as refusing on principle to give among themselves precisely the same kind of testimony to their orthodoxy which they were willing to tender to the government, must have appeared to him strangely illogical. Calamy's life, apart from his literary career, presents few incidents after his settlement at Westminster. His journey to Scotland in 1709, on the invitation of his friend Principal Carstares, while it afforded full scope for his powers of social observation and gave him an opportunity for preaching moderation in the leading pulpits of the north, confirmed his attachment to the methods of English dissent. He relished the claret of his hosts more than their ecclesiasticism. The proceedings of the Aberdeen synod struck him as 'the inquisition revived.' He was made a Burgess of Edinburgh, and received the honours of M.A. (22 April) and D.D. (2 May) from the university of Edinburgh (his name stands first on the existing roll of graduates in divinity). King's College, Aberdeen (9 May), and Glasgow (17 May) followed suit. In 1713 he made a similar progress through the west of England, and, as he tells us, never 'worked harder or fared better.' Calamy was always something of a diplomatist. He had a courtly



manner and an engaging way of taking people into his confidence, with plenty of address. He was at his ease in all companies, perfectly knew his own purpose, and pursued it with great tenacity. He understood the value of backstairs influence and the use of a silver key. But he was at his best when confronted with able men in church and state, and seldom failed to make them feel the strength of the case of dissent. Our knowledge of his weaker points is chiefly owing to the carefulness of his autobiographical revelations. His frank self-consciousness never displeases; his essential kindness always attends him. He made no personal enemies. John Fox was told that he and Williams were rivals, but he appears to have been singularly free from the jealousies which often vex the mutual relations of ecclesiastical persons. He is almost the only divine for whom Fox has not a single bitter word.

Calamy's publications, as catalogued by Rutt, are forty-one in number. The majority are sermons, but no one reads Calamy's sermons. His place in literature is as the biographer of nonconformity. He began this work by editing Baxter's 'Narrative' (to 1684) of his life and times. Sylvester was Baxter's literary executor, and his name alone appears as responsible for the 'Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,' 1696, fol. But the expurgations, to which Sylvester was very reluctantly brought to consent, were Calamy's, as he minutely describes (*Hist. Acct.* i. 377). Calamy furnished also the 'contents' and index to the volume. His next step was the popularising of Baxter's life by an 'Abridgment,' 1702, 8vo, which is much better known than the original. It condenses Baxter's 'Narrative,' continues the history to the end of Baxter's life (1691), and summarises (in chap. x.) Baxter's 'English Nonconformity . . . Stated and Argued,' 1689, 4to. The most remarkable feature of the volume is chapter ix. (nearly half the book), headed 'A Particular Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Fellows of Colleges, &c., who were Silenced and Ejected by the Act for Uniformity: With the Characters and Works of many of them.' The publication required some courage, and by many nonconformists was viewed as unseasonable, appearing as it did at the moment when the dissenters had 'lost their firm friend' (William III), and were not anxious to court the notice of 'the high party' that came in with the reign of Anne. When it appeared, 'a dignified clergyman' threatened one of the publishers with a censure of the book in convocation, who replied that he would willingly give 'a purse of guineas' for such an advertisement. It provoked at

once a storm of angry pamphlets, aiming in various ways to shake the credit of the work. The caution with which Calamy had revised his materials is curiously shown in his own story of his going to Oxford, and by bribing a Dutch printer obtaining a sight of Clarendon's 'History' while in the press, in order to soften, if necessary, any 'difference in matters of fact, between my Lord and Mr. Baxter.' He read all that was published against him, and at once began to amend and enlarge for a new edition, which was called for immediately. The second edition was, however, not issued till 1713, 2 vols. 8vo. In the new 'Abridgement' the history was brought down to 1711; Baxter's 'Reformed Liturgy' was added (separately paged). The 'Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660. By, or before, the Act of Uniformity' (a more cautious title) now formed a distinct volume, and is properly quoted as an independent work. Next year appeared John Walker's 'Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy . . . who were Sequester'd, Harrass'd, &c. in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion: Occasion'd by the Ninth Chapter (now the Second Volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment,' &c., 1714, fol. Walker's is a work of great historical value, the fruit of marvellous industry (as his collections for it, now in the Bodleian, show) disfigured by a total want of dignity, and enlivened with a vitriolic humour. To the argumentative part of his huge folio Calamy replied in an octavo pamphlet, 'The Church and the Dissenters Compar'd, as to Persecution,' 1719. In dealing with Walker's mistakes he displayed contempt rather than severity, and he had the great advantage of a disposition to correct his own slips. Attacks never injured his temper, but simply made him anxious to improve his matter. In 1718 he penned with some sharpness his 'Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard,' who had aspersed his grandfather; but he was ready to discuss the points with Echard over a glass of wine, and told him 'men of letters should not be shy of each other.' He completed his biographical labours by publishing 'A Continuation of the Account,' &c. 1727, 2 vols. 8vo (paged as one), reprinting in the second volume his reply to Walker, and adding 'Remarks' upon Thomas Bennet's 'Essay' on the Thirty-nine Articles. As the 'Continuation' is really a series of emendations of the 'Account,' Calamy would have saved himself and his readers much trouble if he had chosen the course of bringing out

a new edition. Among dissenters Calamy's dumpy volumes took the place of Clarke's 'Lives,' those folio treasures of the older puritan hagiology. Inferior to Clarke's collections in richness and breadth, they were well adapted for explaining the causes and justifying the spirit of the nonconformist separation. In choosing for his central figure Richard Baxter, whom some writers have strangely called a presbyterian, Calamy emphasised liberty of conscience as the keynote of nonconformity. He wrote three distinct lives of Baxter, the 'Abridgment,' a shorter life prefixed to Baxter's 'Practical Works,' 4 vols. 1707, fol., and a sketch in the 'Continuation' (p. 897), especially valuable for its dealing seriatim with the 'chief accusations' brought against Baxter. In 1775 Samuel Palmer condensed Calamy's four volumes into two, with the title of 'The Non-Conformists' Memorial.' An improved edition was issued in 3 vols. 1802-3, but an adequate edition of Calamy is still a desideratum. Palmer's arrangement is convenient, and his additions are of some service, but he is not a good compiler; he omits valuable matter, rarely reproducing the original documents which abound in Calamy, nor can his accuracy be trusted. Partly perhaps from failing eyesight, he makes some blunder or other in nearly every life. Even on the title-page of his first volume (1802) he not only commits himself to the number of 'two thousand' ejected, but gives 1666 as the date of the Uniformity Act (corrected in vols. ii. and iii.) This number of two thousand is rather a figure of rhetoric than of calculation. Calamy says it was 'mention'd from the first' (*Account*, pref. p. xx), and it probably originated as a counterpart to an assertion by Thomas Cartwright [q. v.] in one of his defences of Field and Wilcocks's 'Admonition,' 1572, to the effect that 'two thousand preachers, which preached and fed diligently, were hard to be found in the church of England' (*Contin.* pref. p. i). Calamy does not profess to give an exact enumeration, but he thinks two thousand under the mark. His own volumes mention 2,465 names, omitting duplicates, but counting those who afterwards conformed. Palmer's contain 2,480, including only 230 of the after conformists, but adding new names. Nor is this exhaustive; in Norfolk and Suffolk, to take an example, Calamy and Palmer give 182 names; Browne, the careful historian of nonconformity in these counties, while removing two (one ejected in another county), adds 14 on the evidence of ecclesiastical registers, so that Oliver Heywood may be right in estimating the gross total at 2,500.

All the lists require more careful classification than they have yet received. Baxter is probably very near the mark when he fixes at 1,800 the number of the nonconforming clergy who entered upon active work in the dissenting ministry. Calamy's 'Continuation' concluded his historical labours. In the summer of 1729 his health was broken, and he spent ten weeks at Scarborough for the waters. He lived to deprecate, though not to take part in, the discussions (1730) on the decay of the dissenting interest, and preached on 28 Oct. 1731 the first sermon to ministers at Dr. Williams's library (he was one of the original trustees of Williams's foundations). In the following February he tried the Bath waters, but returned home to prepare for death. He died on 3 June, and was buried at Aldermanbury on 9 June, 1732.

Calamy was married, first, on 19 Dec. 1695, to Mary (*d.* 1713), daughter of Michael Watts, a cloth merchant and haberdasher (*d.* 3 Feb. 1708, aged 72); secondly, on 14 Feb. 1716, to Mary Jones (niece of Adam Cardonel, secretary to the great Duke of Marlborough), who survived him. He had thirteen children, but only six survived him, four of them, including Edmund (1697?-1755) [q. v.], being by the first wife.

Of the many engravings of Calamy, the best is that by G. Vertue, prefixed to the sermons on the Trinity (see below); less refined, but more genial, is that by Worthington from Richardson's painting, prefixed to his autobiography; that by Mackenzie, 'from an original picture,' prefixed to Palmer's work, shows a shapeless face with a squinting leer.

Calamy's most important publications, in addition to those mentioned above, are: 1. 'Defence of Moderate Nonconformity,' 3 parts, 1703-5, 8vo, against Ollyffe and Hoadley. 2. 'Inspiration of the Holy Writings,' 1710, 8vo, dedicated by permission to Queen Anne. 3. 'Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity,' 1722, 8vo, in which he vindicates the authenticity of 1 Jo. v. 7, and vouches for the orthodoxy of the generality of his dissenting brethren. George I, to whom the book was dedicated, received Calamy 'very graciously' when he came to present it, and charged him with a message to the London dissenting ministers, to use their 'utmost influence' at the coming election in favour of the Hanoverian candidates. 4. 'Memoirs of the Life of the late Revd. Mr. John Howe,' 1724, 8vo. Calamy's numerous funeral sermons are valuable for their biographical particulars. He was in the habit of furnishing similar particulars to other writers of funeral sermons, John Shower, for instance.

[Calamy's gossiping autobiography, 'An His-

torical Account of my own Life, with some Reflections on the Times I have lived in,' though quoted by Kippis, was first edited by John Towill Rutt in 2 vols. 1829, 8vo, 2nd ed. 1830, from two transcripts of Calamy's autograph, one of which, in three folio volumes, had been collated with the original by his son Edmund; Rutt, in his preface, speaks of having 'endeavoured to exercise a discretion,' which James (Hist. Litigation Presb. Chapels and Charities, 1867, p. 724) interprets as referring to omissions from the text; in point of fact there is one omission, referring to a family circumstance of no public interest; among the Calamy papers are three successive revisions of the autobiography, in Calamy's autograph, not seen by Rutt. Mayo's Funeral Sermon, 1732; Biog. Brit. 1784, iii. 140 (article by Dr. John Campbell, additions by Kippis); Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood, 1842, p. 137, seq.; James, ut sup. p. 628; baptismal and burial registers of St. Mary Aldermanbury, per Rev. C. C. Collins; authorities quoted above.]

A. G.

**CALAMY, EDMUND** (1697?-1755), dissenting minister, the eldest son of Edmund Calamy, D.D. (1671-1732) [q. v.] by his first wife, Mary Watts, was born in London (date not ascertained), and, after passing through Westminster School, entered the Edinburgh University in 1714, and graduated M.A. on 15 June 1717. From Edinburgh he went to Leyden, where he entered 29 Sept. 1717. For some time he assisted his father at Westminster, but in 1726 he was chosen to succeed Clark Oldisworth, as assistant to Benjamin Grosvenor, afterwards D.D., at Crosby Square. He was a member of the presbyterian board (1739-48), and a trustee of Dr. Williams's foundations from 1740 till his death. In 1749 Grosvenor resigned his charge, owing to advancing years, and simultaneously Calamy retired from the ministry. He died on 13 June 1755, and was buried on 17 June in the chancel of St. Mary Aldermanbury. His son Edmund (b. 18 May 1743), who entered Warrington academy in 1761 as a divinity student, removed to Cambridge in 1763, and became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. He was a member of the presbyterian board, and a Williams' trustee (1784-1812). Thomas Emlyn of London, barrister (grandson of Thomas Emlyn, whose unitarian views E. Calamy, D.D., had controverted), by will dated 20 July 1796 left lands at Syddan, co. Meath, to 'Edmond Calamy, Esq., senior.' In 1812 Calamy the barrister left London. He died at Aliphington, near Exeter, on 12 May 1816, aged seventy-three. His son, Edmund, died 27 Aug. 1850, aged seventy. His younger son Michael, the last of the direct Calamy line, lived a very secluded life at Exeter, in a house filled with the

family books and papers. He was educated for the ministry at Wymondley, and under John Jervis at Lymptone, and was always called reverend, but it is not known that he ever was ordained or held any charge. Occasionally he preached for the unitarians, at Exeter and Topsham. He is the author of hymn 93 in the supplement (1823) to Kippis's collection. He bore a strong resemblance to the portraits of Edmund Calamy, B.D. He died unmarried, at Baring Crescent, Exeter, on 3 Jan. 1876, aged eighty-five.

[Calamy's Hist. Acct. of my own Life, 2nd ed. 1830, ii. 307, 489; Jeremy's The Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Williams's Trust, 1885, pp. 135, 171; Monthly Repos. 1814, p. 205, 1816, p. 300; James's Hist. Litig. Presb. Chapels and Charities, 1867, p. 668; Edinburgh University records; burial register of St. Mary Aldermanbury, per Rev. C. C. Collins; will of T. Emlyn, in the possession of H. L. Stronge; tombstone at Guildford; Calamy papers, manuscripts, in private hands.]

A. G.

**CALCOTT.** [See also **CALLCOTT.**]

**CALCOTT, WELLINS** (A. 1756-1769), author, was a native of Cheshire, the son of a member of the corporation of Shrewsbury. All that is known of his personal history is gathered from the preface to one of his books, from which it appears that he was induced to become an author by reverses of fortune. He published two books by subscription, and was enabled thereby to make advances towards a restoration of a settled life. The first edition of his 'Thoughts, Moral and Divine,' was issued in London in 1756. A second edition was brought out at Birmingham in 1758; a third at Coventry in 1759; a fourth at Manchester in 1761; and a fifth at Exeter in 1764. In 1769 he published 'A Candid Disquisition of the Principles and Practices of the most ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons,' London, 8vo. This work is said to have been the means of leading many persons to join the society. It was reprinted in 1847 by Dr. George Oliver, who considered it the 'gem of the period' in which it was written.

[Notes and Queries, 4th ser. ii. 9; Oliver's Golden Remains of the Early Masonic Writers, vol. ii. 1847; Oliver's Revelations of a Square, 1855, p. 118; Temperance Spectator, 1866, p. 181.]

C. W. S.

**CALCRAFT, SIR GRANBY THOMAS** (1770-1820), colonel, was the younger son of John Calcraft [q. v.] of Rempston Hall in the isle of Purbeck, politician, and younger brother of John Calcraft (1765-1831) [q. v.], and was born in 1770. He entered the army as a cornet in the 15th light dragoons in March

1788, and was promoted lieutenant in 1793, in which year his regiment was ordered to join the force under the Duke of York in Flanders. With it he served at the battle of Famars, the siege of Valenciennes, and the affair of Villiers-en-Couche, where 160 troopers of the 15th light dragoons with 112 Austrian hussars defeated a corps of 10,000 Frenchmen and saved the life of the emperor. For this exploit all the eight officers of the 15th present were knighted, and received the order of Maria Theresa from the Emperor Leopold. In the same month, April 1794, Calcraft was promoted captain, and his regiment was frequently engaged throughout the disastrous retreat of the following winter. In 1799 he accompanied Major-general Lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry brigade in the expedition to the Helder, as aide-de-camp; he was wounded at the second battle of Alkmaar on 1 Oct., and was for his services promoted major into the 25th light dragoons in December 1799. In the following year he exchanged into the 3rd dragoon guards, of which he became lieutenant-colonel on 25 Dec. 1800, and he commanded that regiment continuously with great reputation until his promotion to the rank of major-general in 1813. In 1807 he was elected M.P. for Wareham, but resigned his seat at the close of 1808 on his regiment being ordered for service in the Peninsula. The 3rd dragoon guards were at once brigaded with the 4th dragoons under the command of Henry Fane, as the heavy brigade, which was engaged in the battle of Talavera. General Fane fell ill, and Calcraft assumed the command of the brigade, which he held until the arrival of George de Grey in May 1810. The brigade was frequently engaged during the retreat on Torres Vedras, and again in the pursuit of Masséna in March 1811. After the combat of Foz d'Aronce, the heavy brigade served on the left bank of the Tagus under Marshal Beresford, and Calcraft, who had been promoted colonel for his services on 25 July 1810, was engaged at the head of his regiment at Campo Mayor, where he earnestly begged to be allowed to succour the 13th light dragoons, at the battle of Albuera, and in Lumley's charge at Los Santos on 16 April 1811. In January 1812 the heavy brigade, which was again temporarily under the command of Calcraft, assisted in covering the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and when Wellington formed the siege of Badajoz, it was left with General Graham's division to watch Marmont. After Salamanca the cavalry division distinguished itself in the affair of Llera on 11 June 1812, when General Lallemand's cavalry was cut to pieces, and in General Slade's report the 'conspicuous gal-

lantry' of Calcraft is specially mentioned (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vii. 348). The brigade was then engaged in covering Hill's retreat from Madrid, and in December 1812 Calcraft was made a knight of the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword for his services. On 4 June 1813 he was promoted major-general, and left the Peninsula after four years' continuous and distinguished service. He was comparatively neglected in later years. His political opinions were peculiarly obnoxious to the ministry, whose jobbery was repeatedly attacked by his brother, at the instigation (it was believed) of Sir Granby. In 1813 he was appointed to the command of a brigade in England, and in 1814 received only a gold medal for the battle of Talavera. In 1814 he threw up his staff appointment, and lived in retirement, a somewhat disappointed and certainly an ill-used man, until his death on 20 Aug. 1820.

[Royal Military Calendar; Record of the 3rd Dragoon Guards; Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches.] H. M. S.

**CALCRAFT, JOHN**, the elder (1726-1772), politician, was the son of a solicitor at Grantham, who acted as town clerk of the borough, and manipulated its parliamentary contests in favour of the Duke of Rutland's nominees. Through the influence of the Marquis of Granby he obtained a small clerkship in the pay office or commissariat department, but his astounding rise into wealth and power was due to the patronage of Henry Fox, the first lord Holland, of whom Calcraft was by some writers said to be the cousin, and by others insinuated to be the natural son. When Fox became the paymaster-general he reposed implicit confidence in this young official, made him the medium in his communications with the chiefs of the army, and appointed him agent for as many regiments as he could. Through the aid of the same unscrupulous politician Calcraft was placed in the lucrative position of deputy commissary-general of musters, and in the eyes of the multitude, who were then unacquainted with his keenness and talents, he was considered to hold his position in trust for Fox. After a time Calcraft withdrew from the civil service and devoted himself entirely to his business as army agent or quasi-banker and contractor for the forces, in which position he found his official knowledge of the greatest utility, and speedily secured a 'revenue superior to any nobleman's estate in the kingdom.' He 'riots in the plunder of an army' was the expressive phrase in which Junius afterwards summed up the general estimate

of his profits. In 1763 Calcraft deserted the cause of Fox for his more illustrious rival, throwing himself with characteristic energy into the task of reconciling Pitt with the other discontented politicians. His first attempt was to reconcile Pitt to the Duke of Bedford, and for that purpose he was closeted with the great commoner for three hours on 15 Aug. 1763; but the effort proved a failure, and he was denounced by the Bedford faction for having deceived them as to Pitt's views. Early in the same year (1763) he had been talked of as a possible Irish peer; in its closing month he was ejected from his post of deputy commissary-general. In December 1765 Calcraft contested the city of Rochester against Grey Cooper, but he had the mortification of being defeated by his antagonist, probably through Cooper's influence as secretary of the treasury. At the general election of 1768 he was returned to parliament for the same constituency, and continued to represent it until his death. As he possessed the 'best head for intrigue in the whole party' of Pitt's followers, he was the medium in restoring in 1768 the friendly relations which had existed in previous years between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple, and he tried, though with less success, to connect Henry Conway with them. Long before this date his earliest patron, the Marquis of Granby, had been indebted to Calcraft for considerable loans, and through his agency the marquis was detached from the court. Calcraft had now acquired much borough influence, had ingratiated himself with the proprietors of the chief London newspapers, and had won over to his side many of the leading members of the London corporation. His activity was thrown into the cause of the 'liberty of the subject and parliamentary reform,' and he exerted himself with Philip Francis (the reputed author of the 'Letters of Junius'), whom he patronised as a boy and a man, in the task of forcing Lord Chatham into power. In October 1771 Calcraft fell under the lash of Junius, although Francis was then his professed friend; but it has been suggested that this was a 'blind' to divert suspicion of the authorship of the letters from Francis. Large purchases of landed property had from time to time been made by Calcraft, and he was now reported to possess estates worth 10,000*l.* per annum. He had acquired the estate of Rempston, Corfe Castle, in 1757, and had become the owner of the manor of Wareham in 1767, which he followed up by gradually purchasing the chief part of the town. An English peerage was now the object of his ambition, and the title which he coveted was that of Earl of Ormonde; but in April 1772

he was seized by a fatal illness. On 21 Aug. in that year he wrote to Lord Chatham, that he had conquered the disorder which troubled him, and that 'by gentle exercise and a warm climate' he would be quite restored; but on 23 Aug. he died at Ingress Abbey, Belvedere, Kent, aged 46, leaving four sons. He was buried at St. Mary's, Wareham, and there is a monument to his memory in the chancel. Calcraft was a free liver, and had several children by Mrs. George Anne Bellamy [q. v.] and by Miss Bride, both of them actresses. The former had presided at Calcraft's table, but her habits were too extravagant for him, and after he had repeatedly paid her debts she was dismissed with a pension. The letter to him which she advertised for publication in October 1767, but afterwards suppressed, is printed, with an address to the public, in 'The Apology for her Life' (1785), v. 87-144. The sums of money which he left to his children by these women are set out in a note to Tooke's edition of Churchill's 'Poems' (1804), i. 346-7. To Philip Francis he left 1,000*l.* in cash, and ordered that if Francis died without leaving his widow 300*l.* a year she should be provided with an annuity of 200*l.* per annum. He also expressed his desire that Francis should be returned to parliament for Wareham. Numerous letters to and from Calcraft will be found in 'The Grenville Papers,' ii. 90-2, and the 'Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham,' ii. 245, &c.

[Parkes's Sir P. Francis, i. 13-363; Correspondence of fourth Duke of Bedford, iii. 236-237; Walpole's Letters (Cunningham's ed.), iv. 69, 140, 199, v. 207; Walpole's Last Ten Years of George II, i. 400; Walpole's Memoirs of Reign of George III, i. 261, 294, 332, and iii. 208, 274; Hutchins's Dorset (1861 ed.), i. 82, 111, 113, 534; Satirical Prints at British Museum, iii. 1171, 1184, iv. 588, 593, 610.] W. P. C.

**CALCRAFT, JOHN**, the younger (1765-1831), politician, was the eldest son of John Calcraft, the elder [q. v.] He was born 16 Oct. 1765, and as he inherited his father's instincts soon entered upon political life. Before he was twenty-one he was returned for the family borough of Wareham in Dorsetshire (15 July 1786), and sat for it until the dissolution in 1790. For ten years after this he remained out of parliament, but on a casual vacancy was again elected for Wareham (16 June 1800), retaining his seat until 1806. At this time he was identified with the principles of the whig party, and was numbered among the personal friends of the Prince of Wales, his attachment being shown by his motion in March 1803 for a select committee to inquire into the prince's pecuniary embarrassments. In the Grenville administration of

1806 he was appointed clerk of the ordnance, and acquired considerable reputation for the efficient manner in which he discharged his duties. At the general election in that year he was returned for the city of Rochester, defeating Admiral Sir Sidney Smith both at the polling-booth and before the election committee of the House of Commons. For Rochester he sat until 1818, when he was again returned for Wareham, which he represented until 1831. Down to 1828 Calcraft had been a staunch whig, but on the formation of the Duke of Wellington's administration he consented to hold the post of paymaster-general (1828-30), and was created a privy councillor 16 June 1828. In 1831 he reverted to his old faith, voting for the Reform Bill when it was carried by one vote 22 March 1831, and at the subsequent dissolution he contested and carried the county of Dorset in the reform interest. Under the reproaches of the tories, with whom he had co-operated from 1828 to 1830, his mind became unhinged, and he committed suicide at Whitehall Place, London, 11 Sept. 1831. On 17 Sept. he was buried in the chancel vault of St. James's Church, Piccadilly, and at a later date a monument was erected to his memory in St. Mary's, Wareham. He married, 5 March 1790, Elizabeth, third daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Pym Hales of Bekesbourne, Kent. She died at Clifford Street, London, 2 July 1815, aged 45. Calcraft was one of the earliest reformers of the liquor traffic, his proposition being to 'throw open the retail trade in malt liquor.' There is in the British Museum 'a dispassionate appeal to the legislature, magistrates, and clergy,' by a county magistrate against this suggestion. The titles of numerous broadsides on Calcraft's election for Dorset in 1831 are printed in C. H. Mayo's bibliography of that county.

[Gent. Mag. 1790, pt. i. 273, 1815, pt. ii. 92, 1831, pt. ii. 465-6; Hutchins's Dorset (1861 ed.), i. 113, 534; Wilson's House of Commons, 1808, pp. 510-11; Le Marchant's Memoir of Earl Spencer, p. 303.] W. P. C.

**CALCRAFT, WILLIAM** (1800-1879), executioner, was born at Baddow, near Chelmsford, in 1800. He was a shoemaker by trade, but at one time was watchman at Reid's brewery in Liquorpond Street (now Clerkenwell Road), London, and afterwards butler to a gentleman at Greenwich. At a later period, while obtaining a hawker's precarious living, he accidentally made the acquaintance of Foxton, the hangman, which led to his employment at Newgate to flog juvenile offenders, at ten shillings a week. On an emergency during 1828 he was sent to

Lincoln, where he put two men to death. John Foxton, who had been the executioner in the city of London for forty years, died on 14 Feb. 1829. Calcraft was appointed his successor, and sworn in on 4 April 1829. The emolument was a guinea a week and an extra guinea for every execution, besides half a crown for every man he flogged, and an allowance to provide cats or birch rods. For acting as executioner of Horsemonger Lane gaol, in Surrey, he received a retaining fee of five guineas, with the usual guinea when he had to officiate on the scaffold; he was also at liberty to engage himself in the country, where he demanded, and was paid, 10*l.* on each occasion. During his tenure of office the act of parliament was passed ordering criminals to be put to death privately. The last public execution in England took place in front of Newgate 26 May 1868. The first private execution under the new law was in Maidstone gaol, 3 Aug. 1868. Calcraft's last official act was the hanging of James Godwin, on 25 May 1874. Old age then obliged him to retire from office, and he was pensioned by the city of London on twenty-five shillings a week. He died at Poole Street, New North Road, Hoxton, on 13 Dec. 1879. He was of kindly disposition; was very fond of his children and his grandchildren, and took a great interest in his pigeons and other pet animals. 'The Groans of the Gallows,' or 'The Life of W. Calcraft,' 1846, which ran to numerous editions, 'The Hangman's Letter to the Queen,' 1861, 'The Heroes of the Guillotine and Gallows, Askern, Smith, and Calcraft,' three publications of little worth, and not countenanced by the executioner, contain very few facts relating to his history.

[Arthur Griffith's *Chronicles of Newgate* (1884), ii. 272-3, 411-15; *Daily Telegraph*, 17 Dec. 1879, p. 5; *Life and Recollections of Calcraft*, with portrait, London, 1880.] G. C. B.

**CALDECOTT, JOHN** (1800-1849), astronomer and meteorologist, had been acting during about four years as commercial agent to the government of Travancore at the port of Allepey, when, in 1836, he became impressed with the advantages derivable to science from the establishment of an astronomical station in southern India. His views, enforced by the British resident, Colonel Fraser, were at once acceded to by Rama Vurmah, then rajah of Travancore. An observatory (described in the *Madras Journal*, vi. 56) was built at Trevandrum, Caldecott was appointed its director, and in July 1837 observations were begun with portable instruments, the use of which had long constituted his recreation. The completion of a

permanent instrumental outfit, including two mural circles by Simms and Jones respectively, a transit, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$ -foot equatorial by Dollond, claimed his presence in Europe in December 1838, and while there he fell in with the movement recently set on foot by Humboldt for carrying out a connected scheme of magnetic research all over the world. Authorised by the rajah, he purchased a set of instruments of the pattern devised by Dr. Lloyd for the British stations, and on his return to Trevandrum in April 1841 a magnetic and meteorological observatory was erected for their reception. A great mass of observations was quickly accumulated, copies of which were forwarded to the Royal Society, as well as to the court of directors of the East India Company. Their publication was undertaken by the rajah, after Caldecott had made a journey to England in 1846, with the futile hope of enlisting the aid of some scientific society; and in their laborious preparation for the press he was deeply engaged until his death at Trevandrum, of paralysis, on 16 Dec. 1849.

Caldecott showed great energy coming the difficulties attendant on scientific work in India, and collected materials of value despite inevitable shortcomings. His experiments (1842-5) on the temperature of the ground at various depths possessed a special interest as being the first of the kind made within the tropics (*Trans. R. Soc. of Ed.* xvi. 369). They showed, contrary to the assertion of Kupffer, that the earth is there  $5^{\circ}$  to  $6^{\circ}$  F. hotter than the air, and disproved the invariability of temperature at a depth of one foot, imagined by Boussingault, and used by Poisson to support his mathematical theory of heat. Caldecott presented to the British Association in 1840 a series of horary meteorological observations begun June 1837 in pursuance of a suggestion by Sir John Herschel (*Report*, 1840, ii. 28); and experimented, with Taylor of the Madras observatory, July to October 1837, on the direction and intensity of the magnetic force in southern India (*Madras Journal*, ix. 221). He first drew scientific attention to the bi-annual inversion of the law of variation near the magnetic equator, but attributed the change to the influence of the monsoon (see *Trans. R. Soc. of Ed.* xxiv. 670). He observed and computed elements for the great comet of 1843 (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* xv. 229); and his observations of that of 1845 proved available for Hind's calculations of its path (*Astr. Nach.* No. 540; *Month. Not.* vi. 215). The solar eclipse of 21 Dec. 1843 was observed by him at Parratt,

near the source of the Mahé river, where it just fell short of totality, but afforded a striking view of Baily's beads (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* xv. 171). He was elected a fellow both of the Royal Astronomical and of the Royal Societies in 1840.

[*Bombay Times*, 2 Jan. 1850; *Athenæum*, 9 Feb. 1850; *Annual Reg.* 1849, p. 299; Broun's *Report on Trevandrum Observatories*; *R. Soc. Cat. Sc. Papers.*] A. M. C.

**CALDECOTT, RANDOLPH** (1846-1886), artist, was born at Chester on 22 March 1846, his father being an accountant of good standing, and one of the founders of the Institute of Accountants in England. He was educated at King Henry VIII's School in his native town, where he and his two brothers were successively head-boys. Among his earliest amusements as a child had been the cutting out of animals in wood, and as a schoolboy he won a prize for drawing. His father, however, seems to have discouraged these artistic tendencies, and in due time he left Chester to enter a bank at Whitechurch in Shropshire. The bank life of a little country place was not very exacting, nor without its relaxations, while the agricultural character of the surrounding district stimulated his inborn love of rural sights and scenes. While at Whitechurch he lodged with a yeoman-farmer in the neighbourhood, thus gaining further facilities for making the intimate acquaintance of horses and dogs, to say nothing of occasional opportunities for hunting. From Whitechurch he was transferred to the Manchester and Salford Bank at Manchester, where his advance was rapid. It had long been his practice to sketch from nature such picturesque details or animals as struck his fancy, and about 1871 he appears to have visited London with a view to begin life as an artist. Mr. Armstrong, the art-director of the science and art department at South Kensington, was one of his earliest advisers, and he recommended him to continue to study, but not to relinquish his occupation. A year later Caldecott came to London, and shortly afterwards began drawing for 'London Society' and other periodicals. He received much kind assistance from Mr. Henry Blackburn; and he made the acquaintance, among others, of the sculptor Dalou, in whose studio he worked and modelled. He devoted himself with great assiduity to the improvement of his artistic gifts, not only copying, but frequently dissecting, birds and animals. Some time previous to 1875 arrived the opportunity which gave him his first distinction as a thoroughly original and individual artist. Mr. James D. Cooper, the well-



known wood-engraver, had long been seeking for an illustrator for Washington Irving's 'Sketch-Book,' when he fell in with one of Caldecott's sketches for 'London Society.' The result was the volume of selections from the 'Sketch-Book,' which appeared at the close of 1875 under the title of 'Old Christmas.' This book, in which artist and engraver co-operated in the most congenial manner, is an almost typical example of fortunate sympathy between author and artist. In 1876 it was succeeded by 'Bracebridge Hall,' another of Irving's books, and henceforth Mr. Caldecott's position as a popular book illustrator was secured. In 1877 he illustrated Mrs. Comyns Carr's 'North Italian Folk,' in 1879 Mr. Blackburn's 'Breton Folk,' in 1883 'Æsop's Fables with Modern Instances,' and he supplied designs to stories by Mrs. J. H. Ewing, Mrs. Frederick Locker, and others. But his chief achievement was the series of coloured children's books, which began in 1878 by 'John Gilpin' and 'The House that Jack Built,' to be succeeded in the ensuing year by Goldsmith's 'Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog' and 'The Babes in the Wood.' He continued to produce two of these books annually until the Christmas before his death, when the list closed with the 'Elegy on Madam Blaize' and 'The Great Panjandrum Himself.' Strangely enough, he had not intended to make any further additions. Besides these, he contributed Christmas sheets and other illustrations (notably some excellent sketches of life at Monaco) to the 'Graphic' newspaper. In 1882 he became a member of the Institute of Painters in Water Colours, and he exhibited there and at the Grosvenor Gallery and Royal Academy. He modelled occasionally, one of his first efforts in this way being a bronze bas-relief representing a 'Horse Fair in Brittany.' At the time of his death, which took place on 12 Feb. 1886 at St. Augustine, Florida, whither he had gone to escape an English winter, he was engaged in making sketches of American life and manners for the 'Graphic.' His health, owing to the sequels of severe rheumatic fever, had long been in a critical state. Yet nothing could suppress his native cheeriness. 'The quality and quantity of his work done manfully for years under these painful conditions,' says one who knew him, 'was heroic, and to the anxious inquiries of friends he was always "quite well," although unable to mount two flights of stairs.' He was married in 1880, but left no family.

Caldecott's genius was thoroughly English, and he delighted in portraying English country and out-of-door life. He had a keen love, dating from his Chester and Whitechurch days,

for the quaint and old-fashioned in furniture and costume, and the scenes and accessories of the latter half of the eighteenth century especially attracted him. In grace and refinement he was fully the rival of Stothard, but while possessing an equal appreciation of feminine and childish beauty, he far excelled that artist in vivacious humour and sportive fancy. As may be seen from the posthumous paper published in the 'English Illustrated Magazine' for March 1886, he drew horses and dogs and the accidents of the hunting-field with the enthusiasm of a sportsman. To these qualities he added the pictorial memory of a Bewick, and he thoroughly understood the capabilities and limitations of colour-printing, by which his most successful books were produced. His skill in adapting his designs to the necessities of the process—a skill in which he was ably seconded by Mr. Edmund Evans, who printed them—and his unerring instinct for simple and effective composition, lent a special charm to his work. But this would have been of little effect without other characteristics. What was most winning in his drawings was their wholesome happy spirit, their frank joy of life, and their manly, kindly tone. Few English artists have left so large a legacy of pure and playful mirth.

[Communications from the Rev. Alfred Caldecott, M.A., Mr. Armstrong, Mr. J. D. Cooper, &c.] A. D.

**CALDECOTT, THOMAS** (1743-1833), lawyer, book collector, and Shakespearean student, was educated at New College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship and proceeded B.C.L. on 24 Oct. 1770. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple; afterwards became a bench, and was for many years a prominent member of the Oxford circuit. He published, in continuation of Sir James Burrow's 'Reports,' two volumes of 'Reports of Cases relative to the duty and office of a Justice of the Peace from 1776 to 1785' (2 vols. 1786, 1789). Caldecott died at the age of ninety, at Dartford, at the end of May 1833. He best deserves to be remembered as a book collector and Shakespearean student. He laid the foundations of his library at an early age, and at his death it was singularly rich in sixteenth-century literature. He was a regular attendant at the great book sales, and many of Farmer's, Steevens's, West's, and Pearson's books passed to him. He bequeathed to the Bodleian an invaluable collection of Shakespearean quartos, some of which cost him the merest trifle, but the bulk of his library was sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby between 2 and 7 Dec. 1833. Dr. Dibdin, the bibliographer, described the

rarest books in three papers contributed to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1834 (pt. i. p. 59, 195, 284). Caldecott had views of his own on Shakespearean editing. Dibdin describes him as 'the last of the old breed of Shakespearean commentators of the school of Johnson and Steevens,' and he certainly had characteristic contempt for Malone, Steevens, and the Shakespearean scholars of his own day. After many years' labour he published privately in 1832 a volume containing 'Hamlet' and 'As you like it,' with elaborate notes. This was intended to be the first instalment of a final edition of Shakespeare. But the compilation proved singularly feeble and was not continued. Caldecott was well acquainted with 'honest Tom Warton' and Bishop Percy, and entered heartily into the former's quarrel with Ritson, whom he styles in a letter to Percy 'that scurrilous miscreant.'

[Nichols's Illustrations, viii. 372-3; Martin's Privately Printed Books, 304; Gent. Mag. 1833, pt. i. p. 573, 1834, pt. i. pp. 59, 195, 284; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

**CALDER, JAMES TAIT** (1794?-1861), author of the 'History of Caithness,' was born at the village of Castletown, Caithness. He studied at the university of Edinburgh, and, after acting for some time as private tutor in the house of the Rev. Mr. Gunn at Caithness, became parish teacher at Canisbay. In 1842 he published at Wick 'Sketches from John o' Groat's in Prose and Verse,' which contained an interesting chapter on 'Ancient Superstitions and Customs in Caithness.' In 1846 he issued a volume of poems entitled 'The Soldier's Bride,' from the name of the largest poem in the book. His 'Sketch of the Civil and Traditional History of Caithness from the Tenth Century,' published in 1861, is a work of undoubted merit, in which he has made admirable use of the materials available, although they are less full than in the case of most other counties. He died at Elwick Bank, Shapinsay, on 15 Jan. 1864.

[Orkney Herald, 19 Jan. 1864.] T. F. H.

**CALDER, JOHN, D.D.** (1733-1815), author, was a native of Aberdeen, and educated at the university there. At an early period he obtained the patronage of the Duke of Northumberland, who employed him as private secretary both at Alnwick Castle and in London. Subsequently he for some time had charge of the library bequeathed by Dr. Williams for the special use of nonconforming clergy, and he also officiated at a meeting-house near the Tower. On resigning this charge he declined to exercise for the future

VOL. VIII.

any part of the ministerial function. When a new edition of the 'Cyclopædia' of Chambers was proposed, he was engaged as tentative editor, and besides drawing out a plan wrote some articles. One of the articles was submitted to Dr. Johnson, who excised large portions, expressing the opinion at the same time that the 'redundance' was not the 'result of inability' but of 'superfluous diligence.' In the discussion which ensued with the publisher, Calder, in the opinion of Dr. Johnson, displayed an improper degree of 'turbulence and impatience,' and, declining to accede to the wishes of the publisher, was deprived of the editorship, which was conferred on Dr. Rees. In 1776 Calder drew up a plan of a periodical work called the 'Selector.' He also projected a 'Foreign Intelligencer.' While at Alnwick he made the acquaintance of Thomas Percy, afterwards bishop of Dromore, whom he assisted in preparing a new edition of the 'Tatler,' 'Spectator,' and 'Guardian,' with notes and illustrations. When Calder removed to London, the materials collected by Percy were relinquished into his hands, and afterwards used in various editions of these works published by Nichols, especially the 'Tatler' published in 6 vols. in 1786, in which Annotator means Calder. In 1789 he translated from the French Courayer's 'Declaration of his last Sentiments on the different Doctrines of Religion,' to which he prefixed a memoir of Courayer. To the new edition of the 'Biographia Britannica' he contributed an elaborate article on the Courten family. About 1789 he removed from Furnival's Inn to Croyden, where he formed an intimacy with Dr. Apthorp, of whom he contributed to Nichols several interesting particulars which were inserted in 'Literary Anecdotes.' He formed an extensive library, especially of classical and numismatic works, and also possessed a large cabinet of Greek and Roman coins. His last years were spent at Lisson Grove, London, where he died 10 June 1815.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ix. 805, &c.; Nichols's Illustr. of Lit. iv. 799-848, &c.; Gent. Mag. lxxxv. (1815), 564.] T. F. H.

**CALDER, ROBERT** (1650?-1723), clergyman of the Scottish episcopalian church, was a native of Elgin, and was born about 1650. He was educated at the university and King's College, Aberdeen. He was presented to the parish of Neuthorn in the presbytery of Kelso in 1689, but on 13 Sept. of the same year was deprived for refusing to read the proclamation of the estates declaring William and Mary king and queen

of England, and for having prayed for King James. In 1693, according to his own account, he was for some time imprisoned in the common gaol of Edinburgh for exercising his ministerial functions. On receiving his liberty he went to Aberdeen, where he officiated in his own house, using the Book of Common Prayer. On the order shortly after the union to shut up all episcopal chapels in Scotland he was compelled to leave Aberdeen, and went to Elgin, where he officiated for some time. To obstruct his celebration of the Lord's Supper on Easter day 1707, he was summoned before the privy council at Edinburgh on Good Friday. Not complying he was sentenced to be banished from Elgin under a severe penalty should he return within twelve miles of the city. He now settled at Edinburgh, where he officiated to a congregation in Toddrick's Wynd. During his incumbency in Edinburgh he engaged in a keen controversy with the Rev. John Anderson, minister of Dumbarton, regarding whom he advertised the intention of preaching a sermon, with the view to proving that he was 'one of the grossest liars that ever put pen to paper.' He died on 28 May 1723, aged 73. He was the reputed author of 'Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence displayed,' 1693, a collection of citations intended to expose the irreverent liberties indulged in by the presbyterians in their prayers and sermons. In 1713 he published 'Miscellany Numbers relating to the Controversie about the Book of Common Prayer, Episcopal Government,' &c., forty numbers appearing successively. He was also the author of 'Three Single Sermons,' 1701; 'Reasons for Toleration to the Episcopal Clergie' (anon.), 1703; 'The Divine Right of Episcopacy' (anon.), 1705; 'Letter to a Nonconformist Minister of the Kirk,' 1705; 'The Lawfulness and Expediency of Set Forms of Prayer,' 1706; 'The Lawfulness and Necessitie of observing the Anniversary Fasts and Festivals of the Church maintained,' by R.C., 1710; 'A Letter to Mr. James Hog of Carnwarth,' 1710; 'The Countryman's Idea of a Gospel Minister,' 1711; 'The Spirit of Slander exemplified in a scandalous Pamphlet called the Jacobite Cause,' 1714; 'The Priesthood of the Old and New Testament by Succession,' in seven letters, 1716; 'The Second Part . . . or a Challenge to all that want Episcopal Ordination to prove the validity of their ministerial acts,' 1717; 'The Anti Counter-querist counter-queried,' n. d.; 'Queries to the Presbyterians,' n. d.

[Lawson's History of the Scottish Episcopalian Church since 1688; Hew Scott's *Fasti Eccles. Scot.* i. 468; Catalogue of the Library of the

Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh; *Works of Calder.*]  
T. F. H.

**CALDER, SIR ROBERT** (1745-1818), admiral, directly descended from the Calders of Muirtown in Morayshire, was the fourth son of Sir James Calder, bart., who had settled in Kent, and who in 1761 was appointed by Lord Bute to be gentleman-usher of the privy chamber to the queen. His mother was Alice, daughter of Admiral Robert Hughes. In 1759 he entered the navy on board the *Chesterfield*, with Captain Sawyer, whom he followed to the *Active*, and thus participated in the capture of the Spanish register-ship *Hermione* on 21 May 1762, probably the richest prize on record, even a midshipman's share amounting to 1,800*l.* On 31 Aug. 1762 he was made lieutenant. On 27 Aug. 1780 he was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and during the next three years successively commanded the *Buffalo*, *Diana*, and *Thalia*, all on the home station. The *Thalia* was paid off at the peace, and Calder had no further employment till the outbreak of the revolutionary war, when he was appointed to the *Theseus* of 74 guns for service in the Channel. In 1796, when Sir John Jervis was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, Calder was appointed captain of the fleet, and served in that capacity at the battle of Cape St. Vincent, after which he carried home the admiral's despatches, and was knighted, 3 March 1797. It has been positively stated, by writers in a position to know the opinions of the day, that the despatches, as first written, gave very high praise to Commodore Nelson for his conduct in the action; but that, at the instance of Calder, they were modified, and the name of Nelson left out. The story is, however, mere hearsay. Calder and Nelson were never intimate, but there does not seem to have been any bad feeling between them, nor is there any evidence that Nelson expected special notice in the '*Gazette*;' and Sir John Jervis, who had the very highest opinion of Nelson, was a most unlikely man to yield to persuasion or submit to the dictation of an inferior (NICOLAS, *Nelson Despatches*, ii. 337, vii. 120 n. 121).

On 22 Aug. 1798 Calder was made a baronet, and on 14 Feb. 1799 advanced to the rank of rear-admiral. In 1800 he hoisted his flag on board the *Prince of Wales* of 98 guns, in the Channel fleet, then commanded by Lord St. Vincent; and in February 1801 was detached in pursuit of a French squadron, which slipped down the coast into the Mediterranean, while Calder, with seven ships of the line and three frigates, followed

an imaginary chase to the West Indies. It was only at Jamaica that he learned his mistake, and he did not rejoin the fleet till June. On 23 April 1804 he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and shortly afterwards hoisted his flag, again in the *Prince of Wales*, in which he joined the fleet off Brest, under Admiral Cornwallis. In the following February he was detached off Ferrol, with five sail of the line, to keep watch over a Franco-Spanish squadron of ten ships ready for sea, and two more fitting. These, however, would not be tempted out, although Calder, notwithstanding occasional reinforcements, had never more than nine ships of the line under his command. It was not till 15 July that he was joined by the squadron from off Rochefort, bringing his numbers up to fifteen ships, with which he was ordered to stretch out to the westward of Cape Finisterre, in order to intercept the combined fleet of France and Spain on its return from the West Indies. It was understood that this consisted of sixteen ships, but when Calder fell in with it on 22 July he found it had twenty. The weather, too, was very thick, and the English fleet was to leeward; but, notwithstanding these disadvantages, Calder succeeded in bringing the enemies' fleet to action, and in cutting off and capturing two of the Spanish ships. The next day was clear; but though the combined fleet had still the advantage of the wind, Villeneuve conceived that his instructions forbade him to fight except under compulsion, while Calder was anxious to secure his prizes, to cover the Windsor Castle, which had sustained severe damage; and was, above all, nervously alive to the danger of his position if the fifteen ships in Ferrol and the five in Rochefort should come out and join the fleet with Villeneuve. On the 24th the hostile fleets lost sight of each other. On the 26th the combined fleet put into Vigo, whence Villeneuve slipped round to Ferrol, leaving behind three of the dullest sailers; and thus when on 9 Aug. Calder, with a squadron again reduced to nine ships, came off Ferrol, he found the allies there in vastly superior force, and on the point of putting to sea. In presence of such unequal numbers, his orders authorised him to retire, which he accordingly did, joining Cornwallis off Brest.

As Calder had expected, Villeneuve, with twenty-nine ships of the line, did put to sea on the evening of the 9th with the intention of carrying out his instructions and making the English Channel. It seems to be well established that till the 14th he steered a north-westerly course, but that on the 14th, being deceived by false intelligence

of an English fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, his heart failed him, and he bore up for Cadiz, where he arrived on the 21st. His retreat has been generally and erroneously attributed to the result of the action of 22 July, with which, in point of fact, it had very little connection.

On 30 Aug. Calder, with the greater part of the Brest fleet, joined Vice-admiral Collingwood off Cadiz, and while cruising off that port he learned that his conduct on 23 and 24 July had been severely commented on in England. He immediately wrote to apply for a court-martial. The admiralty had, independently, given Nelson orders to send Calder home for trial. Nelson arrived off Cadiz on 28 Sept., and sent Calder back in his own ship. 'I may be thought wrong,' he wrote, 'as an officer . . . in not insisting on Sir Robert Calder's quitting the *Prince of Wales* for the *Dreadnought*, and for parting with a 90-gun ship, but I trust that I shall be considered to have done right as a man and to a brother officer in affliction; my heart could not stand it, and so the thing must rest' (*Nelson Despatches*, vii. 56).

Calder accordingly sailed a few days before the battle of Trafalgar. The court did not assemble till 23 Dec., and on the 26th found that Calder in his conduct on 23 and 24 July had been guilty of an error in judgment, and sentenced him to be severely reprimanded. This was the end of his active career: he never served again, though he rose by seniority to the rank of admiral, 31 July 1810. He died on 31 Aug. 1818. His portrait is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. He married in May 1779 Amelia, daughter of John Michell of Bayfield in Norfolk, but had no issue. His wife survived him, but in a state of mental derangement, which rendered necessary special provision for her maintenance under the terms of her husband's will.

[*Naval Chronicle*, xvii. 89; *Gent. Mag.* (1818) lxxxviii. ii. 380, and (1819), lxxxix. i. 382; *Minutes of the Proceedings at a Court-martial*, &c. published by authority of the vice-admiral (1806, 8vo, 108 pp.); *James's Naval Hist.* (1860), iii. 356-79.] J. K. L.

**CALDERBANK, JAMES** (1769-1821). Benedictine monk, was born in the later part of 1769 in Lancashire. On attaining the canonical age he was ordained to the priesthood. He was first sent upon the mission by the vicar-apostolic of the western district, Bishop Sharrock, the congregation then entrusted to his charge being that of Weston in Somersetshire. Thence, in October 1809, he was removed to the neighbouring

mission at Bath, where, as the assistant-priest of Father Ralph Ainsworth, he took part in the religious ceremonial which transformed the old theatre on the South Parade into the catholic church of St. John the Evangelist. Upon the death of Father Ainsworth, on 5 Feb. 1814, Calderbank succeeded him as the chief pastor of the congregation. During the course of the same year he published 'A Series of Letters' (8vo, pp. 236), marked by great perspicuity and moderation, in answer to certain questions proposed by a clergyman of the church of England. He remained at Bath until July 1817, when he was succeeded by Peter Augustine Baines [q. v.] Calderbank on giving up the Bath mission withdrew to Liverpool. He died there on 9 April 1821.

[Liverpool Mercury, 13 April 1821, p. 343. Dr. Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, &c. pp. 58, 179, 258, 508-9.] C. K.

**CALDERBANK, LEONARD** (1809-1864), catholic priest and canon of Clifton, nephew of James Calderbank [q. v.], and son of Richard and Jane Calderbank, was born on 3 June 1809 at Standish, near Wigan, in Lancashire. He was educated first at a school in his native village, and afterwards became a student at Ampleforth College in Yorkshire. In December 1829 he removed from Ampleforth to Prior Park, near Bath. A few years after this Calderbank went to complete his theological studies at Rome, where, on 11 Nov. 1832, he was ordained to the priesthood. Returning to England in 1833 he went at once upon a mission in the western district. He was placed successively at Trelawny, Tawstock, Weobley, Poole, and Cannington. In April 1839 he was appointed chaplain of the convent of the Immaculate Conception, in Sion House, at Spetisbury, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire. On 9 Nov. 1849 he was recalled to Prior Park by Bishop Hendren, then vicar apostolic of the western district. For nearly a year he held at Prior Park the double position of vice-president and professor of theology at St. Paul's College. On 9 Oct. 1850 he was again, however, sent upon the mission, being appointed to the charge of the catholic congregation of St. Peter's in the city of Gloucester. Under the then newly created hierarchy he was not long afterwards installed a canon of Clifton. As missionary rector at Gloucester he contrived by his zealous exertions to build up an entirely new church and presbytery, the former of which was solemnly opened in March 1860. Calderbank died suddenly of heart disease on 24 June 1864.

[Gloucester Journal, 25 June and 2 July 1864; Dr. Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, &c. p. 258; Brady's Episcopal Succession, p. 317.] C. K.

**CALDERWOOD, DAVID** (1575-1650), ecclesiastic, historian, and theological writer, was born (as is believed) at Dalkeith, Midlothian, and educated at the college of Edinburgh, then in the vigour of its youth, and full of the enthusiasm of study. In 1604 he was ordained minister of Crailing in Roxburghshire. It was the time when King James was doing his utmost to introduce prelacy into the church of Scotland, and from the very first Calderwood showed himself one of the sturdiest opponents of the royal scheme. His first public appearance in the controversial arena was in 1608, when Law, bishop of Orkney, came to Jedburgh, ordered a presbytery to be held, and set aside an election of members to the general assembly already made, in order to substitute other representatives more in favour of the king's views. Calderwood openly protested against the jurisdiction of the bishop, for which offence he was deprived of his right to attend church courts, and required to confine himself to the limits of his parish. Silenced in this way and prevented from taking any part in public proceedings, he applied himself the more earnestly to the study of the questions of civil and spiritual authority. In 1617, when the king visited Scotland, an occasion occurred for a more open and important act of resistance. Some ministers were in the habit of meeting at that time in Edinburgh in an informal way, to discuss various matters; and when it was agreed by the lords of articles to pass a decree giving power to the king, with the archbishops, bishops, and such ministers as he might choose, to direct the external policy of the kirk, a number of the ministers met and signed a protest against the decree. Prominent among them was Calderwood. This led to his being summoned to the royal presence to give an account of his 'mutinous and seditious' deed. A singular colloquy took place between the king and the minister. The king had great confidence in his powers of argument and condescended to argue with Calderwood. Though on his knees, Calderwood replied to the king with great coolness and cleverness, baffling his royal opponent. The courtiers were shocked at his fearless style of reply, and some even of his own friends were tugging at him, to induce him to show more complaisance. Occasionally the king lost patience and scolded him as 'a false puritan' and 'a very knave.' The matter ended in Calderwood being deprived

of his charge, confined first in the prison of St. Andrews and then of Edinburgh, and finally ordered to leave the country.

Calderwood betook himself to Holland, where he remained till the death of James in 1625. Here he had a severe attack of illness, and a rumour of his death was published along with a pretended recantation of his views, and an invitation to all to accept the 'uniformity of the kirk.' A very substantial proof was given that Calderwood was alive and in full vigour by the publication of a work entitled '*Altare Damascenum*,' which, though appearing under the anagram of '*Edwardus Didoclavius*,' was at once recognised as the production of Calderwood. 'It was,' says Mr. Thomson, in his life of Calderwood, prefixed to the Wodrow Society's edition of his history, 'the great storehouse from which the prelatist arguments were subverted, and conversions to presbyterianism effected during the period of the second Scottish reformation. . . . It will only be from a correct translation of the "*Altare Damascenum*" that the public can derive a full idea of the eloquence, learning, and acute dialectic power of its author.'

After Calderwood's return in 1625 to Scotland from Holland, he remained for some time without a charge. Powerful as a controversialist, he does not seem to have been either attractive as a speaker or of winning manner. It was not till 1640 that he obtained the charge of Penceitland in East Lothian. He was employed, along with David Dickson and Alexander Henderson, in the drawing up of the 'Directory for Public Worship,' which continued to be the recognised document for regulating the service in the church of Scotland. But the great work of Calderwood was the compilation of his 'History of the Kirk of Scotland.' When he had reached his seventy-third year, the general assembly, for the purpose of enabling him to perfect his work, granted him an annual pension of eight hundred pounds Scots. The history which he compiled was thrown into three different forms. The first and largest extended to 3,136 pages; less than a half of this work is now among the manuscripts of the British Museum. The second was a digest of the first, 'in better order and wanting nothing of the substance'; this was published by the Wodrow Society in 8 vols. 8vo, 1842-9. The third, another abbreviation, was first published in a folio volume in 1678, twenty-eight years after his death. Though little attractive in a literary sense, Calderwood's history is the great quarry for information on the ecclesiastical history of Scotland 'beginning at Mr. Patrick Hamil-

ton, and ending with the death of James the Sixth.'

Calderwood does not appear ever to have been married. His papers were bequeathed to a brother's family, a member of which, Sir William Calderwood of Polton (a judge in the supreme courts, under the title of Lord Polton), presented the manuscripts of his history to the British Museum on 29 Jan. 1765. Other collections of papers were given to Wodrow, in whose possession they were at the time of his death; these papers were purchased by the Faculty of Advocates in 1792.

The following list of Calderwood's published writings is extracted from the life prefixed to the Wodrow Society's edition of his history, having been inserted there 'from the appendix to the Life of Henderson in the miscellaneous writings of Dr. McCrie': 1. 'Perth Assembly,' 1619. 2. 'Parasy-nagma Perthense,' 1620. 3. 'Defence of our Arguments against kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, impugned by Mr. Michelsone,' 1620. 4. 'A Dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus anent the urging of new Ceremonies upon the Kirk of Scotland,' 1620. 5. 'The Speech of the Kirk of Scotland to her beloved children,' 1620. 6. 'The Solution of Dr. Resolutus, his Resolutions.' 7. 'The Altar of Damascus,' 1621. 8. 'The Course of Conformitie,' 1622. 9. '*Altare Damascenum: seu Ecclesie Anglicanæ Politia*,' 1623 (the Latin work is much fuller than the English). 10. 'A Reply to Dr. Morton's general Defence of Three Nacent Ceremonies,' 1623. 11. 'A Reply to Dr. Morton's particular Defence of Three Nacent Ceremonies,' 1623. 12. 'An Exhortation of the particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland to their sister Kirk in Edinburgh,' 1624. 13. 'An Epistle of a Christian Brother,' 1624. 14. 'A Dispute upon Communicating at our confused Communions,' 1624. 15. 'The Pastor and the Prelate,' 1628. 16. 'A Re-examination of the Five Articles enacted at Perth,' 1636. 17. 'The Re-examination abridged,' 1636. 18. 'An Answer to Mr. J. Forbes of Corse, his Peaceable Warning,' 1638.

[Life of David Calderwood, by Rev. Thomas Thomson, F.S.A. Scot., in Wodrow edition of his History, 1849; Preface to vol. viii. of History, with genealogical table and notices of the family of Calderwood, by David Laing, 1849; Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., edited by David Laing, 1842; Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, 1843; Grubb's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii. 1861; Walker's Scottish Theology and Theologians, 1872. Walker says of the *Altare Damascenum*:

'The Bible, the Fathers, the Canonists, are equally at his command. It does our church no credit that the Altare has never been translated. It seems to have been more in request out of Scotland than in it. . . . Among the Dutch divines he was ever Eminentissimus Calderwood.'] W. G. B.

**CALDERWOOD, MARGARET** (1715-1774), diarist, was a daughter of Sir James Steuart of Coltness, bart., and sometime solicitor-general for Scotland. She married in 1735 Thomas Calderwood of Polton, near Edinburgh. Her sister Agnes became the wife of Henry David, tenth earl of Buchan, and the mother of Henry Erskine, lord advocate, and of Thomas Erskine, the chancellor. Her brother, Sir James Steuart, was implicated to some extent in the rebellion of 1745, and was compelled to reside abroad, and it was with a view to affording him some comfort in his exile that Mrs. Calderwood joined him at Brussels in the year 1756. From the day of her departure from home she kept a careful journal and was in constant correspondence with her Scottish friends. The substance of both letters and journals was woven by herself into a continuous narrative and widely circulated among her acquaintance; but it remained in manuscript until the year 1842, when it was privately printed for the Maitland Club, and issued to its members under the title of the 'Coltness Collections.' In 1884 Colonel Fergusson re-edited the letters and journals, and they have thus become known to a larger circle. Mrs. Calderwood was a keen observer of men and things, and her remarks are shrewd and pointed, while her writings have additional value as preserving the Scottish words and idioms prevalent in her time in educated society. She herself seems to have been a poor linguist, but it would appear that she had studied mathematics under Professor Maclaurin, the friend of Newton, and she certainly exhibited much financial ability in the management of the family estates. Evidence of this skill is to be found in the fact that in eight years she largely increased their rental by judicious outlays, and the journal of her 'factorship,' presented to the farmers with a view to encouraging their enterprise, has not yet lost its value. Less successful was her attempt at novel writing, and it would appear that her reputation has not suffered by 'The Adventures of Fanny Roberts' remaining still unprinted. Mrs. Calderwood died in 1774, eight months after the death of her husband, having had two sons and one daughter, and in the issue of the last the estate of Polton is now vested.

[Letters and Journals of Mrs. Calderwood of

Polton, edited by Lieut.-col. Alexander Fergusson, Edinburgh, 1884, 8vo; Coltness Collections, Maitland Club Publications, 1842, 4to.]

C. J. R.

**CALDERWOOD, SIR WILLIAM, LORD POLTON** (1600?-1733), lord of session, was the son of Alexander Calderwood, baillie of Dalkeith, and was admitted advocate at the Scottish bar in July 1687. After the revolution he was made deputy-sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, and some time before 1707 received the honour of knighthood. He was appointed to succeed Sir William Anstruther of Anstruther as an ordinary lord in 1711, under the title of Lord Polton. He was at the same time nominated a lord of justiciary. He died on 7 Aug. 1733, in his seventy-third year.

[Haig and Brunton's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 492.] T. F. H.

**CALDWALL, JAMES** (b. 1739), designer and engraver, born in London in 1739, was a pupil of Sherwin. He was a good draughtsman and engraved brilliantly in line, using the etching needle largely. He is chiefly known by his portraits, which include Sir Henry Oxenden, bart., Catharine, countess of Suffolk, Sir John Glynn, Sir Roger Curtis, Admiral Keppel, John Gillies, LL.D., David Hume, and Mrs. Siddons (and her son) in the tragedy of 'Isabella,' after W. Hamilton, 1783. He engraved the figures in 'The Immortality of Garrick,' after G. Carter, 1783 (landscape engraved by S. Smith), and 'The Fête Champêtre given by the Earl of Derby at the Oaks,' after R. Adams, and 'The Camp at Coxheath,' after W. Hamilton. He also engraved for Cook's 'Voyages' and Boydell's 'Shakespeare.' He exhibited one work at the Society of Artists and twenty-nine at the Free Society from 1768 to 1780. The last date on his engravings is 1783, but he survived his brother, John Caldwell, a miniature-painter of reputation, who was born in Scotland and died there in 1819.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Graves's Dict. of Artists.] C. M.

**CALDWALL, RICHARD, M.D.** (1505?-1584), physician, was born in Staffordshire about 1505 (*Tables of Surgery*). He was educated at Brasenose, graduated as B.A. in 1533 (Wood, *Fasti* (Bliss), i. 95), and became a fellow, but afterwards moved to Christ Church and thence graduated M.D. at Oxford in 1554. He was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1559, was made a censor the same day, and was elected president in 1570. With Lord Lumley he founded



a surgery lecture in the college. In 1572 he was infirm, and was excused from attendance at its meetings by the college. He wrote several works, but only one was published, and that after his death, by E. Caldwell. It is a translation of some 'Tables of Surgerie,' by Horatius Morus, a Florentine physician. Caldwell died in 1584 and was buried in St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf. Camden describes his tomb, which seems to have been an elaborate work in the later renaissance style, with many panels and borders, and adorned with surgical instruments and other appropriate devices.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, i. 60; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), i. 510; Tables of Surgerie, 1585; Camden's Annals, 1627.] N. M.

**CALDWELL, SIR ALEXANDER** (1765-1839), general, a younger son of Captain Alexander Caldwell, fifth and youngest son of Sir John Caldwell, second baronet, of Castle Caldwell, county Fermanagh, was born in 1765. He was nominated a cadet in the Bengal artillery in 1782, and on 3 April 1783, after a year's study at Woolwich, was appointed lieutenant fire-worker, and soon after arrived at Calcutta. After some garrison duty there he was ordered to Dacca in 1787 in command of a brigade of four 6-pounders, but was sent home on sick leave in 1789. He again studied at Woolwich, and after being promoted a lieutenant on 26 Nov. 1790 returned to India in 1791. In 1792 he was made commandant of the artillery at Midnapore: in the following year he was present at the reduction of Pondicherry: from 1794 to 1796 he commanded the artillery at Dinapore and Cawnpore, and on 7 Jan. 1796 he was promoted captain. In 1798 he was nominated to command the artillery of the force, which, under the command of Colonel Hyndman and the superintendence of John Malcolm, conquered and disbanded the powerful army trained for the service of the Nizam by M. Raymond. After this service he proceeded with the Nizam's contingent, which was placed under the command of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, to take part in the last Mysore war. He commanded the six guns posted on the left at the battle of Malavelly, and also the battery of artillery which supported Colonel Wellesley in his unsuccessful attack on the great 'topy' during the siege of Seringapatam. After the fall of Seringapatam Caldwell commanded the artillery and acted as field engineer with the force detached under Colonel Bowser to take the forts of Gooty and Gurrumcondah, and particularly distinguished himself at the head of the storming party which took the 'pettah' or inner fort of

Gooty. He acted in the same double capacity with the force under Colonel Desse which took Cuptal, where he was wounded in the shoulder, and received by a special resolution of General Harris the allowances of both commanding officer of artillery and of field engineer for his services in these two expeditions. In 1800 he received the Seringapatam medal and returned to Calcutta, and from 1802 to 1806 acted as aide-de-camp to Major-general George Green there, and was employed in instructing the cadets for the Bengal artillery on their arrival from England. (The cadets were no longer permitted to receive their professional education at Woolwich.) In 1806 Caldwell came to England on sick leave; in 1807 was promoted major, and in 1810 returned to Calcutta. In February 1811 he was appointed to command the artillery, consisting of detachments from the Royal, Bengal, and Madras artillery, which accompanied the expedition under Sir Samuel Auchmuty to Java, and was very instrumental in the reduction of Batavia. He was then prostrated with fever, but nevertheless insisted on reporting himself well, and was present at the battle and the storming of the lines of Cornelis on 26 Aug., when his services were especially noticed in General Auchmuty's despatch (Stubbs, *History of the Bengal Artillery*, p. 119). He was rewarded with the Java medal, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 1 March 1812. In July 1812 he commanded the artillery at Agra in the operations against Zeman Shah, and was thanked in general orders for his conduct. In 1815 he again came to England on sick leave, and on 3 Feb. 1817 was nominated a C.B. In 1819 he returned to India for the last time, and in 1821 succeeded to his off-reckonings, and retired from active service. In 1829 he was promoted colonel, and in 1837 major-general, and in the latter year he was also made a K.C.B. In 1838, when the court of directors was asked to nominate three distinguished officers of their army to be made extra G.C.B.'s on the occasion of the coronation of Queen Victoria, Caldwell was one of those selected. He died at his house in Upper Berkeley Street on 6 Dec. 1839.

[Stubbs's *History of the Bengal Artillery*; obituary notices in *Gent. Mag.* and *Colburn's United Service Mag.* for February 1840.]

H. M. S.

**CALDWELL, ANDREW**, the elder (1733-1808), Irish barrister, son of Charles Caldwell, solicitor to the customs at Dublin, was born 19 Dec. 1733. After residing about five years at the Temple, London, he returned to Dublin, where he was admitted

to the bar in 1760, but inheriting a sufficient estate he made little effort to succeed in the profession of law, devoting most of his time to the cultivation of his literary and artistic tastes. In 1770 he published, anonymously, 'Observations on the Public Buildings of Dublin,' and in 1804 printed for private circulation 'Account of the extraordinary Escape of James Stewart, Esquire (commonly called Athenian Stewart), from being put to death by some Turks, in whose company he happened to be travelling.' He died on 2 July 1808.

[Gent. Mag. lxxviii. 746; Watt's Bibl. Brit.]  
T. F. H.

**CALDWELL, SIR BENJAMIN** (1737?-1820), admiral, third son of Charles Caldwell, solicitor to the customs in Dublin, by Elizabeth Heywood, was born in Liverpool 31 Jan. 1738-9. In 1754 he was entered at the Royal Academy at Portsmouth, and in 1756 was appointed to the 50-gun ship *Isis*. In March 1759 he was removed to the *Namur*, bearing Admiral Boscawen's flag. He was in her at the defeat of *De la Clue's* squadron in Lagos Bay, 18-19 Aug., and afterwards in the defeat of *M. de Conflans* in Quiberon Bay, 20 Nov. From 1760 to 1762 he was a lieutenant of the *Achilles*; and after commanding the *Martin* sloop for three years was in 1765 posted into the *Milford* frigate. He afterwards commanded the *Rose*, and from 1775 to 1779 the *Emerald* of 32 guns on the North American station; on 25 Dec. he was appointed to the *Hannibal* of 50 guns, and in the beginning of 1781 was moved into the *Agamemnon* of 64 guns. During the summer and autumn the *Agamemnon* was in the Channel fleet under Vice-admiral Darby, and was afterwards one of the small squadron with Rear-admiral Kempenfelt [q.v.] in the Bay of Biscay, December 1781. After the affair of 12 Dec. the *Agamemnon* was detached to pick up any stragglers of the scattered French convoy, and succeeded in capturing five more of them. She returned in time to sail with Sir George Rodney for the West Indies, where she had a brilliant share in the action off Dominica, 12 April 1782. She remained on the West Indian and North American station till the peace, and was paid off in May 1783. In 1787 Caldwell commanded the *Alcide* for a short time, and for a few months during the Spanish armament of 1790 commanded the *Berwick*. On 1 Feb. 1793 he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the white, and towards the close of the year hoisted his flag in the Cumberland of 74 guns, in the fleet under Lord Howe. In April 1794 he became rear-

admiral of the red, and transferred his flag to the *Impregnable* of 98 guns, still in Lord Howe's fleet, and took part in the action of the 1st of June, in which the *Impregnable* had thirty-one men killed or wounded. Caldwell was, nevertheless, left unmentioned in the official despatches of Lord Howe (*Naval Chronicle*, xi. 8). In consequence the gold medal was withheld from him, as it was from the other flag-officers and captains who had not been specially mentioned; and though it was very quickly understood that Howe had committed a serious blunder, and that the admiralty had offered a gross insult to several deserving officers, the mischief was done. Collingwood alone had it afterwards in his power to force the admiralty to acknowledge their mistake [see COLLINGWOOD, CUTHBERT, LORD]. On 4 July 1794 Caldwell was advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue, and in the following September was sent out to the Leeward Islands, with his flag in the *Majestic*, to join Sir John Jervis. Jervis shortly afterwards returned to England, leaving Caldwell commander-in-chief. In the following June, however, he was superseded by Sir John Laforey; and as his rank fully entitled him to the command, he was apparently led to suppose that the supersession was a continuation of the same insult which had withheld the gold medal. He returned to England in the *Blanche* frigate, and neither applied for nor accepted any further appointment. His advancement to the rank of admiral, 14 Feb. 1799, came, as matter of course, by seniority. His name was markedly omitted from the honours conferred at the end of the war, and, though the connection is not obvious, it was not till after the death of George III that, in May 1820, he received a tardy acknowledgment of injustice and wrong by being nominated an extra G.C.B. Caldwell married (7 June 1784) Charlotte, daughter of Admiral Henry Osborn, by whom he had a son, Charles Andrew. He died at his son's house, near Basingstoke, in November 1820.

[*Naval Chronicle*, vol. xi., with a portrait; Charnock's Biog. Navalis, vi. 530; Ralfe's Nav. Biog. i. 384; Gent. Mag. 1820, vol. xc. pt. ii. p. 565; Burke's Landed Gentry.] J. K. L.

**CALDWELL, HUME** (1733-1762), colonel, third son of Sir John Caldwell, second baronet, of Castle Caldwell, county Fermanagh, was born there in 1733. He entered the Austrian army at an early age. While stationed at Prague he accidentally set fire to the furniture in his lodgings, and his landlord applied to have his pay sequestered to pay for the damage. The brothers of the Irish Fran-

ciscan convent came to his aid on account of the kindness with which Caldwell's father had treated his catholic neighbours (BURKE, *Peerage and Baronetage*, 1837, 'Caldwell, bart.') Caldwell served with honour throughout the seven years' war; he soon rose to the rank of colonel, and received the cross of the order of Maria Theresa from the empress-queen for his gallant conduct at the battle of Domstädtl. His greatest exploit was at the sudden attack on the fortress of Schweidnitz, by General Loudon, on 30 Sept. 1761, when he led the stormers of the Garden Fort and carried it in a quarter of an hour, for which he was specially mentioned in Loudon's despatches. He died in the following year at Schweidnitz from a wound received during a sortie from the fortress, when it was being besieged by Frederick the Great. Maria Theresa never forgot Caldwell's services; she created his elder brother, Sir James Caldwell, bart., count of Milan in the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1766, when he was passing through Vienna, she gave him a magnificently enamelled gold box to present to his mother, the Dowager Lady Caldwell.

[Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* for 1837, 'Caldwell, bart.:' Von Jankos's article in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, where he refers to Hirtenfeld's *Mil. Theresien-Ordon*, i. 82, and Hirtenfeld's *Oesterreich. Conversations-Lexikon*, i. 601.] H. M. S.

**CALDWELL, JOHN** (1628–1679). [See FENWICK.]

**CALENDAR, EARL OF**. [See LIVINGSTON, JAMES.]

**CALENIUS, WALTER** (d. 1151), is the name given by Bale to a person whom earlier writers mention only as 'Walter, archdeacon of Oxford.' There is strong reason for believing that the designation 'Calenius' was coined by Bale himself, or at all events that it was invented in the sixteenth century. Among the scholars of that period 'Calena' (a misreading for Calleva or Caleva, which occurs in Ptolemy and Antoninus as the name of a Roman station now known to have been at Silchester) was commonly understood to be a Latin name for Oxford. Thus in Elyot's *Latin-English dictionary* (3rd edition by Cooper, 1559) we find the explanation '*Calena*, a towne in Englande called Oxforde;' and in Bale's own work (*Script. Ill. Maj. Brit.*, Basle ed. 1557, pt. ii. p. 26) there is an article on Olenus Calenus, an Etruscan soothsayer who is mentioned by Pliny, and who, Bale informs us, 'is said by some to have migrated to Britain, and to have given his name to the city of Calena,

now called Oxford.' Bale also quotes from Gesner's 'Onomasticon' the statement that 'the Calena of Ptolemy is believed to have been the city which now bears the name of Oxford.' It seems therefore certain that Bale's 'Gualterus Calenius' is nothing else than a pseudo-classical rendering of 'Walter of Oxford.' Subsequently, however, Calena was identified by Camden with Wallingford, on the fancied ground that the Welsh *guall hen*, 'old wall,' was the etymon both of the Roman and the modern name. This identification led Bishop Kennet to conjecture that Walter 'Calenius' was so called on account of his having been born at Wallingford. Kennet's conjecture obtained general currency from being adopted by Le Neve, and in many modern books (e.g. in the edition of Henry of Huntingdon published in the *Rolls Ser.*) the archdeacon of Oxford is designated by the quite unwarranted appellation of 'Walter of Wallingford.'

Although the surname 'Calenius' is, as we have seen, merely a modern figment, it may be convenient to retain it for the sake of distinction, inasmuch as there were in the twelfth century two other archdeacons of Oxford who bore the name of Walter—viz. Walter of Coutances, appointed in 1183, and Walter Map, appointed in 1196. Leland confounded the subject of this article with Walter Map, and although Bale correctly distinguished between the two men, the confusion is still frequently met with.

The most important fact which is known respecting Walter 'Calenius' is that he brought over from Brittany the 'British' (i.e. either Breton or Welsh) book of which Geoffrey of Monmouth professed that his 'History of the Kings of Britain' was a translation. Geoffrey speaks of the archdeacon as 'accomplished in the art of oratory and in foreign history;' and in the course of his work he intimates that in his account of Arthur he has supplemented the statements of his British author by information which had been supplied to him by Walter himself. Ranulph Higden mentions Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, in his list of the authorities followed by him in his 'Polychronicon.' It is quite possible that Higden may have had access to some genuine work of Walter which is now lost. On the other hand, there is evidence that a recension of the 'History of the Kings of Britain' was in circulation, in which Geoffrey's connection with the work was ignored, and in which Walter himself was alleged to have translated it into the British tongue. The Welsh versions of this history, preserved in two manuscripts in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, distinctly

assign the authorship of their immediate Latin original to Walter instead of Geoffrey. Leland, however, drew from Higden's statement the inference that Walter probably wrote a history of his own time; and Bale expanded Leland's conjecture into the definite assertion that 'Calenius' was the author of a continuation ('auctarium') of Geoffrey's history and of a history of his own time, each in one book, besides a book of 'Letters to his Friends,' and 'many other works.' It may be suspected that in this case, as in many proved instances, Bale drew upon his imagination for his facts. Henry of Huntingdon, in his 'Epistola ad Walterum de Contemptu Mundi,' speaks of Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, as a distinguished rhetorician, and states that he was the successor of Alfred, who was one of the archdeacons appointed by Remigius, bishop of Lincoln. This Walter is identical with the so-called Calenius. The Walter to whom the 'Epistola' was addressed was formerly supposed to be the same person, but this is impossible, as Henry states that the friend to whom the letter was written died before it was finished, which was in 1135, whereas Walter 'Calenius' lived until 1151.

Bishop Kennet's manuscript in the British Museum (*Lansdowne*, 935) states that Walter is mentioned as archdeacon of Oxford in 1101 and 1111, but no references are given to the documents in which these dates occur. He sat as the king's justiciar at Peterborough in 1125, together with Richard Basset, and also at Winchester with Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln. The date of the last-mentioned assize is not given, but the fact that Faritus, abbot of Abingdon, appears before the court on this occasion shows that it was not later than 1118. Walter was a witness to charters of Abingdon Monastery in 1115, and also to the foundation charter of Oseney Abbey in 1129. On the foundation of Godstow Nunnery by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in 1138, Walter gave to it the tithes of his estate at Cudeslawe. He was a canon of the collegiate church of St. George within the castle at Oxford, and according to the Oseney Abbey chronicle he was successful in claiming for his own collegiate body the rights over the church of St. Mary Magdalene, the possession of which had been usurped by the prior of St. Frideswide's. This transaction, however, is somewhat obscure, as we read in the same chronicle that in 1151 the pope confirmed to the abbey of Oseney the possession of the church of St. George and its dependent church of St. Mary Magdalene, which the prior of St. Frideswide's had claimed on the ground of an illegal grant made by Walter. Bishop

Kennet states that the Oseney register (the manuscript of which has since been destroyed by fire) mentions Walter as still archdeacon in 1151. As Robert Foliot was appointed archdeacon of Oxford in 1151, it is probable that Walter died in that year.

The statement of Bale that Walter was a Welshman is probably a mere inference from the interest which he took in British antiquities.

[Leland's *Comm. de Scriptoribus*, p. 187; Bale's *Script. Ill. Maj. Brit.* (ed. Basle, 1557), p. 180; Geoffrey of Monmouth, i. 1, xi. 1, xii. 20; Chron. Mon. Abingdon (Stevenson), i. 62, 63; MS. *Lansdowne*, 935, ff. 49, 50; Henry of Huntingdon (ed. Arnold), p. 304; *Annales Monastici* (Luard), i. 218; Higden's *Polychronicon*, i. 2; Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), iv. 362; Ward's *Cat. Romances in Brit. Mus.* i. 218.] H. B.

**CALETO or CAUX, JOHN DE** (d. 1263), treasurer of England, was probably a native of the Pays de Caux. By Matthew Paris he is called John of Caen (Johannes de Cadamo), and other writers give his cognomen in the various forms De Calceto, De Caux, De Cauaz, De Caus, and De Chauce. The Peterborough chronicler, Walter of Whittlesea, who wrote in the fourteenth century, states that he was born in Normandy, of a noble family, being related to Eleanor of Provence, the queen of Henry III, and entered the monastic life when a child seven years of age. Coming over to England at an early age, he became a monk of the monastery of St. Swithun, Winchester, of which he was chosen prior in 1247. In 1249 William Hotot, abbot of Peterborough, had been accused by his monks to the bishop of Lincoln (Robert Grosseteste) of enriching his relatives at the expense of the church. The bishop threatened William with deposition, but he anticipated the sentence by a professedly voluntary resignation. It was reported to Henry III that the real motive of the hostility of the monks to William was that he was favourable to the royal cause. The king was very angry, and ordered the monks to elect John de Caletto as Hotot's successor. This they did, although Matthew Paris intimates that the new abbot was unwelcome to them both on the ground of being a Norman and on that of belonging to another religious house. The royal assent to the election of John de Caletto was signified 15 Jan. 1250 (DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, Ellis, i. 356, where '*Lansd. MS. 1086, fol. 212 b*' is quoted as the authority; the reference, however, is wrong). His administration of the abbey was zealous and wise, and he seems soon to have succeeded in overcoming his

unpopularity with the monks. One of his acts was to invite his predecessor to take up his residence at Oxney, close to Peterborough, and to assign to him during his life the portion of four monks from the cellar and kitchen of the monastery, deducting it from the allowance which he was entitled to claim for his own table. It was the custom of Henry III to appoint the heads of Benedictine houses—greatly, as Matthew Paris complains, to the detriment of the wealth of the order—to act as itinerant justices. The abbot of Peterborough was nominated to that office in 1254, and from that year to 1258 his name occurs several times at the head of the list of justices at Buckingham, Derby, Lincoln, and Bedford. In 1260, according to most of the authorities (although the chronicle of Thomas Wykes places this event in 1258), he was appointed the king's treasurer, retaining, however, his office as abbot of Peterborough. His secular employments rendered it necessary for him to be frequently absent from the monastery, but Walter of Whittlesea states that he exercised strict control over its management, so that the interests of the house did not suffer. He built the infirmary of the abbey, and presented a great bell to the church, bearing the inscription 'Ion de Caux Abbas Oswaldo contulit hoc vas.' Among many other benefactions to the abbey he gave five books, the titles of which are enumerated by Gunton 'from an old manuscript.' Bishop Patrick endeavours to prove that John de Caletto was the author of the earlier portion of the 'Chronicon Angliæ' (*Cotton MS. Claud. A. v.*) printed in Sparke's 'Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores varii.' The manuscript has on its first page a note ascribing its authorship to John, abbot of Peterborough; the handwriting of this entry is, however, only of the seventeenth century, and there is nothing to show from what source the statement was derived. The chronicle cannot in its present form have been written by John de Caletto, as it quotes Martinus Polonus, whose work was not published until after John's death. He died on 3 March 1262-3; according to Walter of Whittlesea at his own house in London, but the Dunstaple annals say that his death occurred at 'Lande,' which, if the reading be correct, probably means Laund in Leicestershire. His body was brought to Peterborough, and buried before the altar of St. Andrew. He was succeeded in the office of treasurer of England by Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely.

[Matt. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, v. 84, 85, 466; Walter de Whittlesea in Sparke, *Hist. Ang. Script.* p. 132; *Annales Monastici*

(Luard), i. 140, ii. 91, 98, 100, iii. 192, 206, 220, iv. 98, 120; *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* ii. 276, 285, 286; Gunton's *Hist. of the Church at Peterborough*, 34, 309, and the Preface by Bishop Patrick; Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), i. 356; Foss's *Judges of England*, ii. 285.] H. B.

**CALEY, JOHN** (d. 1834), antiquary, was the eldest son of John Caley, a grocer in Bishopsgate Street, London (*Gray's Inn Admission Register*; *Kent's London Directory*). At an early age he devoted himself to antiquarian pursuits, and busied himself about old books, catalogues, and manuscripts. In this way he made the acquaintance of the well-known Thomas Astle [q. v.], by whose influence he was placed in the Record Office in the Tower. Here he quickly became known as a skilful decipherer of ancient records, and his promotion was rapid. In 1787 he received from Lord William Bentinck, as clerk of the pipe, the keepership of the records in the Augmentation Office, in place of Mr. H. Brooker, deceased (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lvii. pt. ii. p. 1126); and in 1818, on the death of the Right Hon. George Rose, he was appointed keeper of the records in the ancient treasury at Westminster, formerly the chapter-house of the abbey (*ib.* vol. lxxxviii. pt. i. p. 367). Meanwhile he had entered himself at Gray's Inn, on 11 Jan. 1786, but never proceeded to the bar. When the first record commission was nominated in 1801, Caley was appointed secretary, an office which he continued to hold until the dissolution of the commission in March 1831. A special office, that of sub-commissioner, to superintend the arranging, repairing, and binding of records, was forthwith created for him, and for discharging this duty he was rewarded with a salary of 500*l.* a year, besides retaining his two lucrative keeperships. To Caley's influence were attributed many of the scandals which brought the commission into such ill repute. Everything appears to have been left to his discretion, and he did not fail to profit by such easy compliance. We have, too, the testimony of Sir Henry Cole, Mr. Illingworth, and others, that owing to Caley's systematic neglect of duty the arranging and binding of the records were executed in a most disgraceful manner, the lettering and dates being inaccurate in almost every instance. He also removed the seals from a great number of conventual leases, cartæ antiquæ, and Scotch records, many of which were of elaborate and beautiful workmanship, ostensibly for arranging the documents in volumes, but in reality for the convenience of copying them and taking casts to add to his collection at his house in Spa Fields, where were also stored, greatly to their injury, many of

the more valuable national archives entrusted to his keeping.

As a sub-commissioner Caley became a joint-editor in no less than fourteen of the works undertaken by the commission. He also printed, at the request of Dr. Burgess, the then bishop of the diocese, a few copies of the 'Ecclesiastical Survey of the Possessions, &c., of the Bishop of St. David's,' 8vo, privately printed, 1812 (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. viii. 104, 2nd ser. xi. 233-4). The following year, 1813, he engaged, in conjunction with Dr. Bandinel and Sir Henry Ellis, to prepare a new edition of Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' which extended to six volumes, the first of which appeared in 1817, the last in 1830. To this undertaking, however, he did little else than furnish documents (NICHOLS, *Illustr. of Literature*, viii. xxxviii). Caley was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in March 1786, and to the eighth volume of the 'Archæologia' (pp. 389-405) he contributed a memoir of great interest and research, 'On the Origin of the Jews in England.' His other contributions were: in 1789 an extract from a manuscript in the Augmentation Office relative to a wardrobe account of Henry VIII (ix. 243-52); in 1790 a valuation (temp. Henry VIII) of the shrine called Corpus Christi Shrine at York (x. 469-71); and in 1791 the highly curious 'Survey of the Manor of Wymbledon, alias Wimbleton,' taken by the parliamentary commissioners in November 1649 (x. 399-448). He was also a fellow of the Royal and Linnean Societies, and a member of the Society of Arts.

Caley died at his house in Exmouth Street, Spa Fields, on 28 April 1834, aged 71. His library, rich in topography and collections of reports and searches made by him as a legal antiquary during a period of fifty years, was sold by Evans in the following July. Several of his manuscripts were acquired by the British Museum (*Index to Cat. of Additions to Manuscripts in Brit. Mus.*, 1841-5, 1854-75, 1876-81).

Applicants for historical documents had to apply at Caley's private house, whither they were brought in bags by his footman. The wrong document might often be brought, and a search which would now occupy two days, free of cost, would then be prolonged through as many weeks, while the scale of payment depended entirely upon the pleasure of the already highly paid official. From the offices, described at the time as 'dirty and dark,' the public was rigidly excluded; the contents were kept in a state of the utmost disorder, the only clue to them being the

indexes in Caley's possession at his private house. No access whatever was allowed to the indexes, nor indeed to any records except those sent for to Spa Fields for the purposes of inspection.

[Gent. Mag. (1834), ii. 320-1; Commons' Report on Record Commission, 1836; Pamphlets on Record Commission in Brit. Mus.] G. G.

**CALFHILL, JAMES** (1530?-1570), bishop-elect of Worcester (called also CALFIELD), was a native of Edinburgh (STRYPE, *Grindal*, p. 54), or of Shropshire, according to various accounts. He was educated at Eton, entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1545, and in 1548 was appointed a student of the new foundation of Christ Church, Oxford. He was B.A. 1549, M.A. 1552, B.D. 1561, and D.D. 1565-6. During Mary's reign he published some Latin verses in reply to some composed by Bishop White of Lincoln, in honour of the queen's marriage. He was ordained deacon on 14 Jan. 1558-9, and in the same month instituted to the rectory of West Horsley, Surrey. He took priest's orders on 9 June 1560, and became canon of Christ Church on 5 July following. In May 1562 he became rector of St. Andrew Wardrobe, London, and was proctor both for the clergy of London and the chapter of Oxford in the convocation of 1563, where he belonged to the more advanced protestant party. On 14 Dec. 1562 he was presented by the queen to the penitentiaryship of St. Paul's and the annexed prebend of St. Pancras. On 18 Feb. 1563-4 he was appointed Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Oxford. On 4 May 1565 he was collated to the deanery of Bocking, Essex, by Archbishop Parker, and on 16 July became archdeacon of Colchester. He applied unsuccessfully to secretary Cecil for the provostship of King's College, Cambridge, in 1569. In 1570 he was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester, vacant by the translation of Edwin Sandys to London, but died in August at Bocking before consecration. He left a widow, to whom administration of his effects was granted on 21 Aug. 1570.

Calfhill is said to have been a cousin of Tobie Matthew, afterwards archbishop of York, whom he persuaded to take orders (STRYPE). He appears to have been an elegant scholar, a forcible preacher, and a staunch Calvinist. A friend of Foxe praises an eloquent sermon preached by him at St. Paul's Cross in January 1560-1, bewailing the bondage of Oxford to the 'papistical yoke.' Walter Haddon complained to Archbishop Parker in July 1564 of a very offensive sermon preached by him before the queen, and

in 1508 he preached two sermons at Bristol in defence of Calvin, against Richard Cheyney [q. v.], bishop of Gloucester, who then held Bristol *in commendam*. The bishop complains that Calhfill would not sup with him afterwards. His chief work was an 'Answer to the Treatise of the Crosse' (by John Martiall, who had dedicated his book to Queen Elizabeth upon hearing that she had retained the cross in her chapel. Martiall replied, and was answered by William Fulke), 1565. It was edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. Richard Gibbins in 1846. He also wrote: 1. 'Querela Oxoniensis academice ad Cantabrigam' (a Latin poem on the death of Henry and Charles Brandon), 1552. 2. 'Historia de exhumatione Catharine nuper uxoris Pet. Martyris' (included in a volume of pieces relating to Martin Bucer, edited by Conrad Hubert in 1562). It includes two Latin poems and two epigrams by Calhfill on the same occasion. Calhfill superintended the reinterment of Catharine Bucer's remains at Christ Church (FOXE, *Acts and Mon.* viii. 297). 3. 'Poemata varia.' He left in manuscript a 'concio' on occasion of his B.D. degree, now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and 'Sapientie Solomonis liber carmine redditus,' dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, 15 May 1559, now in the British Museum (*Royal MSS.* 2 D ii.)

[Wood's *Athenae Oxon.* (Bliss) i. 378; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Cooper's Athenae Cantab.* i. 285; *Le Neve's Fasti*, ii. 342, 424, 519, iii. 65, 518; *Newcourt's Repertorium*, i. 92, 196, 272, ii. 69; *Herbert's Ames*, pp. 925, 1619; *Parker Correspondence*, p. 218; *Cole MSS.* xii. 161, xiv. 96; *Manning and Bray's Surrey*, iii. 44; *Nichols's Progr. Eliz.* (1823), i. 230, 243; *Strype's Annals*, i. i. 262, 353, 493, pt. ii. 200; *State Papers, Dom.* (1547-80), pp. 175, 242, 278; *Boase's Register*, p. 216.]

**CALHOUN, PATRICK** (1727-1796), American settler, was born in Ireland in 1727. His father emigrated in 1733 to Pennsylvania, and several years afterwards to the western part of Virginia. When that settlement, after the defeat of Braddock, was broken up by the Indians, the family removed to Long Cane, Abbeville, in the interior of South Carolina, on the confines of the Cherokee Indians. In the war of 1759 half of the settlement was destroyed, and the remnant retired to the older settlements, but on the conclusion of peace in 1763 Calhoun and others returned. Calhoun was appointed to the command of a body of rangers for the defence of the frontiers, in which he displayed great intrepidity and skill. He was the first member of the provincial legislature elected from the upper

county of the state, and was afterwards elected to the state legislature, of which, with the intermission of a single term, he remained a member till his death. In the revolutionary war he took an active part on the patriot side. He died in 1796. By his wife, a Miss Caldwell, of Charlotte county, Va., he had several children, one of whom, John Caldwell Calhoun, became vice-president of the United States.

[Allen's *American Biographical Dictionary*; Von Holst's *Life of John C. Calhoun* (1882).] T. F. II.

**CALKIN, JAMES** (1786-1862), organist and composer, was born in London in 1786. He studied under Thomas Lyon and Dr. Crotch, and was one of the earliest members and directors of the Philharmonic Society. On the consecration of the Regent Square Church, Gray's Inn Road, Calkin was appointed organist, a post he held for thirty years. In 1846 his madrigal, 'When Chloris weeps,' gained a prize from the Western Madrigal Society. His long, uneventful life was almost entirely devoted to teaching, in which he acquired considerable reputation as a successful master. His compositions include an overture and symphony for orchestra, string quartets, and a large quantity of pianoforte music. Calkin died at 12 Oakley Square, Camden Town, in 1862.

[Information from Mr. J. B. Calkin; *Baptist's Handbook of Musical Biography*; *Musical Directory*.] W. B. S.

**CALL, SIR JOHN** (1732-1801), first baronet, of Whiteford, Cornwall, Indian military engineer, was descended from an old family which, it is said, once owned considerable property in Devon and Cornwall. His father, John Call of Launcells, Cornwall, was in respectable but not affluent circumstances. Young Call was born at Fenny Park, near Tiverton, in 1732. It is believed that he was educated at Blundell's school in that town. When about seventeen he was recommended to the notice of Benjamin Robins, the celebrated mathematician, who at that time received the appointment of chief-engineer and captain-general of artillery in the East India Company's settlements. Robins left England in 1749, and arrived at Fort William in July 1750, bringing with him eight young writers, one of whom was Call, who acted as his secretary. Robins having died in July 1751, and war having commenced with the powers on the coast of Coromandel, Call, who was appointed a writer on the Madras establishment that year (PRINSEP, *Madras*, civ), was employed in the capacity of engineer to carry on



the erection of the defensive works at Fort St. David. In the beginning of 1752 he accompanied Captain (afterwards Lord) Clive on an expedition against the French, who had possessed themselves of the province of Arcot, and were plundering up to the very gates of Madras. After the great successes achieved by Clive, the army marched back to Fort St. David, where Call received the appointment of engineer-in-chief before he had attained his twentieth year. He retained that situation until 1757, when he was appointed chief-engineer at Madras, and soon after of all the Coromandel coast. He was chief-engineer at the reduction of Pondicherry, and in various operations under Lord Pigot and Sir Eyre Coote. In 1762 he had the good fortune, when serving with General Caillaud, to effect the reduction of the strong fortress of Vellore, which ever since has been the *point d'appui* of the British in the Carnatic. During the greater part of the war against Hyder Ali in 1767-8 Call was with the army in the Mysore. In 1768 he was appointed a member of the governor's council (*ib.*), and soon after was advanced by the East India Company, in recognition of his general services, from the fourth to the third seat in council. He was strongly recommended by Clive to succeed to the government of Madras on the first opportunity, but having received news of his father's death, he determined to return home, although strongly urged by Clive to remain. In 1771 he served as high-sheriff of Cornwall. In March 1772 he married Philadelphia, third daughter and coheirress of William Batty, M.D., by whom he had six children. In 1782 Call was employed by Lord Shelburne, then prime minister, to inquire into the state of the crown lands, woods, and forests, in which office he acted conjointly with Mr. A. Holdsworth. In November 1782 they made their first report (see *Parl. Reps. on Land Revenue in Accts. and Papers*). Their work was interrupted by changes of ministry, but during the session of 1785-6 Sir Charles Middleton, Call, and Holdsworth were appointed parliamentary commissioners with ample powers to pursue the inquiry. His public duties now requiring his frequent presence in London, Call offered himself for the pocket borough of Callington, near his country residence, and on the recommendation of Lord Oxford was unanimously returned at the general election of 1784. In 1785 he purchased the famous house of Field-marshal Wade in Old Burlington Street. At the general election of 1790 he was a second time returned unanimously for the borough of Callington. In recognition of his public services he was

created a baronet on 28 July 1791. Call was a fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal Antiquarian Society, but his name does not appear as the author of any printed works. Some letters of his addressed to Warren Hastings and to Dr. Lettsom will be found in 'Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.' Call became totally blind in 1795, and died of apoplexy at his residence, Old Burlington Street, London, on 1 March 1801.

[Burke's Baronetage; Gent. Mag. (lxxi.) i. 282, 369; Prinsep's Madras Civilians; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornubiensis, i. 54; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. iv. 612; Accts. and Papers, vols. xxxvi. and xxxvii., 1787-92.] H. M. C.

CALLACHAN, KING OF IRELAND. [See CEALLACHAN.]

CALLANAN, JEREMIAH JOHN (1795-1829), Irish poet, was born in Cork in 1795. He was brought up in the country, where he acquired the knowledge of the Irish language which qualified him for his subsequent vocation as national bard and collector of popular traditions. At the earnest wish of his parents, who had devoted him to the priesthood from his cradle, he studied at Maynooth, but felt no inclination for the ecclesiastical profession, and offended his friends by deserting it. He was subsequently admitted as an out-pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin, where he remained for two years, and gained the prize for an English poem on Alexander's restoration of the spoils of Athens. Having, however, exhausted his resources, and seeing no prospect of qualifying himself for the pursuit of law or medicine, he abruptly left the college, and enlisted in the royal Irish regiment, from which he was speedily bought out by his friends. He returned to Cork, and partly supported himself by tutorship. One of his numerous brief engagements was in the school then kept by Maginn, who procured the insertion of his early poems in 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Most of his time, however, was spent in wandering about the south-west of Ireland, repaying the hospitality he received from the country people with songs, and collecting popular ballads and legends. In an unpublished letter to Crofton Croker, who had sought his assistance, he says: 'I converted what before was a matter of amusement into a serious occupation, and at every interval of leisure employed myself in rescuing from oblivion all that I could find of the songs and traditions of the south-west of Munster.' Writing on the same day to Maginn, he says: 'I am certain I could get up a good trumpet-blast or ball-cartridge volume of songs—Jacobite, love, Keenes, English Ninety-eighters—with

an ample store of forays, anecdotes of bards, drinking, fighting, and Lochinvaring, &c.' These collections seem to have been lost, and many of Callanan's own poems have perished, having never been committed to paper, though retained in his powerful memory and frequently recited by himself. At length his health failed, and he accepted a tutorship at Lisbon, where he spent the last two years of his life, dying of consumption on 19 Sept. 1829, after an ineffectual endeavour to return to Ireland.

Like most Irish poets, Callanan was a pure lyrist, with no reach or depth of thought, no creative imagination, and no proper originality, but endowed with abundance of fancy, melody, and feeling. His only sustained effort, 'The Recluse of Inchidony,' is as good an imitation of 'Childe Harold' as could well be written, but little more. His lyrical poems leave no doubt of the genuine quality of his inspiration, but only one, 'Gougane Barra,' a fine example of musical and unpassioned description, the alliance of the eye and the heart, has produced a deep impression or attained general celebrity. His versions of Irish ballads are very stirring, and his rendering of Luis de Leon's 'Vida del Cielo' is exceedingly beautiful. Some of his pieces are marked by an aversion to England, which he recanted on the passing of the Emancipation Act. His private character was amiable; he was refined and susceptible to an uncommon degree, but to no less a degree indolent, irresolute, and unpractical. His poems were collected after his death, published in London in 1830, and reprinted at Cork in 1847 and 1861.

[Bolster's Irish Magazine, vol. iii.; memoir prefixed to the edition of Callanan's poems published in 1861.] R. G.

**CALLANDER, JAMES.** [See CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES.]

**CALLANDER, JOHN** (d. 1789), of Craigforth, Stirlingshire, Scottish antiquary, was descended from James VI's master-smith in Scotland, John Callander, who purchased Craigforth of the earls of Livingston and Callander about 1603. His father was also John Callander; his mother, Catherine Mackenzie of Cromarty. He passed advocate at the Scottish bar, but never obtained a practice, and seems to have devoted his leisure chiefly to classical pursuits. He presented five volumes of manuscripts entitled 'Spicilegia Antiquitatis Græcæ, sive ex veteribus Poetis deperdita Fragmenta,' to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in 1781, shortly after he was elected a fellow. He also presented at the

same time nine volumes of manuscript annotations on Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' of which he had published those on Book I. in 1750. In 1766-8 he brought out in three volumes 'Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Southern Hemisphere during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries,' partly translated from the French of M. de Brosset, from which, however, he merely confesses to 'have drawn many helps.' In 1779 he published 'An Essay towards a Literal English Version of the New Testament in the Epistle of Paul directed to the Ephesians,' in which he gave a complete representation in English of the Greek idiom, even to the order of the words. His edition of 'Two ancient Scottish Poems, the Gaberlunzie Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with Notes and Observations,' published at Edinburgh in 1782, displays research; but, although the notes are valuable to those unfamiliar with the Scottish language, many of his etymological remarks are unsound. Callander projected a variety of other works, including 'Bibliotheca Septentrionalis,' of which he printed a specimen in 1778, and a 'History of the Ancient Music of Scotland from the age of the venerable Ossian to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century,' in regard to which he printed 'Proposals' in 1781. From the preface to 'Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Dromore, John Callander of Craigforth, Esq., and others, to George Paton,' which appeared at Edinburgh in 1830, we learn that Callander had a taste for music, and was an excellent performer on the violin, and that in his latter years he became very retired in his habits, and saw little company, his mind being deeply affected by a religious melancholy which unfitted him for society. He died, 'at a good old age,' at Craigforth on 14 Sept. 1789. By his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir James Livingstone, he had seventeen children. His eldest son, James, assumed the name of Campbell [see CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES].

In March 1818 an article on Callander's edition of Book I. of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' in which it was shown by parallel lines that much of his notes had been borrowed without acknowledgment from the annotations of Patrick Hume in the sixth edition of 'Paradise Lost' published by Jacob Tonson in 1695. On account of this article a committee of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was appointed to examine his manuscript notes of Milton in their possession, who reported that, though only a comparatively small proportion of Callander's notes were borrowed from Patrick Hume, his obligations to him were not sufficiently acknowledged.

[Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D., afterwards bishop of Dromore, John Callander of Craigforth, Esq., David Herd, and others, to George Paton, Edinburgh, 1830; Scots Mag. li. 466; Blackwood's Mag. iv. 658-62; Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, iii. pt. i. 83-91; Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica, pp. 73-4; Chambers's Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen, i. 266-7; Burke's Landed Gentry.] T. F. H.

**CALLCOTT, SIR AUGUSTUS WALL** (1779-1844), landscape painter, was born in the Mall, Kensington Gravel Pits, 20 Feb. 1779. He was brother of Dr. Callcott the musician [q. v.], and in early life exhibited a taste for music as well as for drawing, and was for six years a chorister in Westminster Abbey, earning 7*l.* a year and 3½ yards of 'coarse black baize.' He then became a student of the Royal Academy, and commenced his artistic career as a painter of portraits under the tuition of Hoppner. The first picture he exhibited was a portrait of Miss Roberts, and its success at the Royal Academy in 1799 is said to have led to his final choice of painting as a profession. His preference for landscape, including river and coast scenery, soon showed itself, and after 1804 he exhibited nothing but landscapes for many years. The skill of his execution, the elegance of his design, and the charming tone of his works caused his reputation to rise steadily. In 1806 he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy, and in 1810 a full member. The care which he bestowed upon his pictures restricted their number. From 1805 to 1810 he exhibited about four pictures a year, in 1811 ten, and in 1812 six. From that year to 1822 he exhibited but seven works in all, but among these were some of his best and largest, such as 'The Entrance to the Pool of London' (1816), 'The Mouth of the Tyne' (1818), and 'A Dead Calm on the Medway' (1820). Another important picture was 'Rochester' (1824). Though his subjects down to this time were generally taken from the scenery of his own country, he had visited France and Holland and had painted some Dutch and Flemish scenes before 1827, a date of much importance in his life, for in this year he married and went to Italy for the first time. His wife was the widow of Captain Graham, R.N., a lady who had already attained considerable literary reputation [see **CALLCOTT, MARIA, LADY**]. On their return from Italy they took up their residence at the Gravel Pits, where he resided till his death, enjoying great popularity. In 1830 he commenced to exhibit Italian compositions, and after this year the subjects of his pictures were generally foreign. Though to the last his works were marked by charm of composition and sweet-

ness of execution, those produced before 1827 are now held in most esteem.

On the accession of her majesty in 1837, Callcott received the honour of knighthood. In that year he departed from his usual class of subjects, and exhibited a picture of 'Raffaello and the Fornarina,' with life-size figures, finished with great care, which was engraved by Lumb Stocks for the London Art Union in 1843. This and 'Milton dictating to his Daughters,' exhibited in 1840, were the most important of his figure paintings, of which rare class of his work the South Kensington Museum (Sheepshanks Collection) contains two specimens, 'Anne Page and Slender' and 'Falstaff and Simple.' The museum also possesses several landscapes in oil and sketches in water colour, &c. The figures in his landscapes were often important parts of the composition, and were always gracefully designed and happily placed, as, for instance, in 'Dutch Peasants returning from Market,' one of nine examples of this master left by Mr. Vernon to the nation. In 1844 he succeeded Mr. Seguier as conservator of the royal pictures. He died in the same year on 25 Nov., and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery.

There are true artistic qualities in Callcott's work, which justified the admiration of such painters as Turner and Stothard in his day, and must always preserve for him a distinguished place among the earlier masters of the English school of landscape. As a man he was greatly esteemed for the amiability of his disposition, his generosity and want of prejudice in his profession, and his liberal patronage of younger artists.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists (1878); Redgrave's Century of Painters; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Art Journal, 1845.]

C. M.

**CALLCOTT, JOHN WALL** (1766-1821), musical composer, son of Thomas Callcott, a bricklayer and builder, by his second wife, Charlottæ Wall, was born at Kensington on 20 Nov. 1766. At the age of seven he was sent as a day-boarder to a school kept by William Young. Five years later family circumstances compelled him to leave. He had made considerable progress in the classics and in the Greek Testament. In later years he studied Hebrew and the philosophy of Locke. Callcott was originally intended for the medical profession, and studied anatomy for a year; but the extreme distaste which he displayed on witnessing an operation, coupled with the interest in music which was aroused by his visits to the organ-loft of Kensington Church, induced his father to educate him as a musician. In 1778 he was

introduced to Henry Whitney, the organist of Kensington parish church, from whom he probably acquired some little instruction, since in the following year he was able to practise alone on a spinet which his father had bought him. In 1780 he learned the clarinet, and wrote music for an amateur play performed at Mr. Young's school. In the following year the clarinet was abandoned for the oboe, and young Callcott became acquainted with the elder Sale, secretary of the Catch Club, from whom, and also from Drs. Arnold and Cooke, he derived much desultory learning. About 1782 he occasionally played the oboe in the orchestra of the Academy of Ancient Music, and in the three following years sang in the chorus of the oratorios at Drury Lane Theatre. In 1783, on the recommendation of Attwood, Callcott was appointed deputy organist, under Reinhold, of St. George-the-Martyr, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, a post he held until 1785. In 1784 he competed for the first time for the prize given by the Catch Club, but without success, though in the following year three of the four prize medals of the club were awarded to his glees. On 4 July of the same year he took the degree of Mus. Bac. at Oxford, his exercise being a setting of Warton's 'Ode to Fancy.' In the following year two more prizes were awarded him by the Catch Club, and he set an ode by E. B. Greene, which was performed in February at a concert in aid of the Humane Society. In 1787 Callcott sent in no fewer than one hundred compositions to compete for the Catch Club prizes. Out of all these only two were successful, and the society passed a resolution that in future no more than twelve compositions should be sent in by any one competitor. This rule so offended Callcott that for two years he refused to compete, though in 1789 he changed his mind, and was rewarded by carrying off all the prizes of the club, while between 1790 and 1793 he won nine more medals. In 1787 he was associated with Arnold in the formation of the Glee Club, the first meeting of which was held on 22 Dec. at the Newcastle Coffee-house. In the next year he was elected a member of the Royal Society of Musicians, and in 1789 was appointed joint organist (with C. S. Evans) of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. In the same year his well-known glee, 'When Arthur first,' was introduced in Dr. Arnold's 'Battle of Hexham' at the Haymarket. On Haydn's arrival in London in 1791 Callcott was introduced to him by Salomon, and studied instrumentation with him, writing a symphony and other works under his guidance. In the same year Callcott was married. In 1793 he was appointed

organist to the Asylum for Female Orphans, a post he occupied until 1802, when he resigned it in favour of his son-in-law, William Horsley. About this time Callcott conceived the plan of writing an extensive dictionary of music. He had bought the manuscript collections of Dr. Boyce and his pupil, Marmaduke Overend, from the widow of the latter, and with characteristic energy set to work to qualify himself for his task by laborious researches into the theoretical writings of early musicians. Though much occupied in teaching, his evenings were devoted to studying mathematics and philosophy or in epitomising musical treatises, and in 1797 he issued the prospectus of his projected work. In the following year he took part in the formation of the Concentores Society, for the practice of unaccompanied part-singing. On 18 June 1800 Callcott proceeded to the degree of Mus. Doc., on which occasion his exercise was a Latin anthem, 'Propter Sion non tacebo.' In 1801 he exerted himself successfully to form a band for the Kensington Volunteer Corps, of which he had been an officer since 1795. In the same year he published anonymously a little work entitled 'The Way to speak well made easy for Youth.' On 25 Oct. 1802 he wrote an anthem, 'I heard a Voice from Heaven,' which was performed four days later at Arnold's funeral. After Arnold's death he applied unsuccessfully for the post of composer to the king. During the next few years Callcott was principally occupied in writing his 'Musical Grammar,' which was published in 1806, and achieved great success. A second edition appeared in 1809, and a third in 1817, since when the work has been constantly reprinted. In 1806 he was appointed to succeed Dr. Crotch as lecturer of music at the Royal Institution, and in the following spring he published a pamphlet entitled 'A Plain Statement of Earl Stanhope's Temperament.' But his busy career was drawing to a close. He had already given up any idea of classifying the accumulation of notes and manuscripts he had made for his projected work, and for some time had suffered from continual restlessness. In 1807 his brain gave way, and for five years he was in an asylum. From 1812 to 1816 he recovered his reason; but after that date his malady returned, and he was never restored to health. He died near Bristol on 15 May 1821, and was buried at Kensington on the 23rd of the same month.

Callcott is best known as a glee writer of great power and fecundity. A collection of his glees, catches, and canons was published in 1824 by his son-in-law, W. Horsley, with a memoir of the composer and a portrait engraved

by F. C. Lewis from a painting by his brother, Sir Augustus Callcott, R.A. [q. v.]. In addition to these works he published six sacred trios, a collection of anthems and hymns sung at the Asylum chapel, four glees composed at Blenheim in 1799, six sonatinas for the harpsichord (op. 3), a hunting song, introduced at Drury Lane in Coffey's farce, 'The Devil to pay,' an explanation of the notes, marks, &c. used in music (1792), two curious musical settings of the multiplication and pence tables, and much other music. There is an engraved portrait of him by Meyer. Many of his manuscript compositions and his collections for a musical dictionary are preserved in the British Museum.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 297; Memoir by W. Horsley prefixed to Callcott's *Glees*, 1824; *Harmonicon* for 1831, p. 53; *Quarterly Musical Magazine*, iii. 404; *Gent. Mag.* xci. 478; *Records of Royal Soc. of Musicians*; *Catalogues of British Museum and Music School*, Oxford; *Evan's Catalogue of Engraved Portraits*, p. 53; *Add. MSS.* 27686, 27693, &c.] W. B. S.

**CALLCOTT, MARIA, LADY** (1785-1842), traveller, and author of 'Little Arthur's History of England,' born in 1785 at Papecastle, near Cockermouth, was the daughter of George Dundas, rear-admiral of the blue and commissioner of the admiralty. From an early age she read widely and took great interest in plants, flowers, and trees. Her governess had been acquainted with the Burneys, Reynolds, and Johnson, and she often visited her uncle, Sir David Dundas, at Richmond, where Rogers, Thomas Campbell, Lawrence, and others were frequent guests. Early in 1808 Maria sailed with her father for India. In the following year she married Captain Thomas Graham, R.N., and soon after she set out on a travelling tour in India. She returned to England in 1811, and lived for a while in London, where she made the acquaintance of Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Samuel Romilly. Her husband was absent on foreign service for the next few years, but he and his wife spent some time in Italy in 1819, and started for South America in the ship *Doris* in 1821. Captain Graham died off Cape Horn in April 1822. His widow proceeded to Valparaiso, where she remained as instructress to Donna Maria from 22 Nov. 1822 to January 1823. Soon afterwards she came back to England, engaged in literary work, and on 20 Feb. 1827 married Augustus Wall Callcott [q. v.], the artist. In 1828 Mr. and Mrs. Callcott started on a long Italian tour. In 1831 Mrs. Callcott ruptured a blood-vessel, and became a confirmed invalid. She died at her husband's house at

Kensington Gravel Pits on 28 Nov. 1842, and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery.

Lady Callcott wrote popular descriptions of her travels, and was also the author in later life of many successful children's books, and of translations from the French. The book by which she is best remembered is 'Little Arthur's History of England,' first published in 1835 in two volumes, under her initials M. C., and repeatedly reissued. Her other works are as follows: 1. 'Journal of a Residence in India,' 1812; 2nd ed. 1813; a French translation of this book was issued in A. Duponchel's 'Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Voyages,' 1841, vol. x. 2. 'Letters on India, with etchings and a map,' 1814. 3. A translation from the French of De Rocca's 'Memoirs of the Wars of the French in Spain,' 1815; reissued in 1816. 4. 'Three Months in the Mountains east of Rome,' 1820. 5. 'Memoirs of the Life of Poussin,' 1820. 6. 'Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and residence there during the years 1821-3,' 1824. 7. 'Journal of a residence in Chili during the year 1822, and a voyage from Chili to Brazil in 1823,' 1824. 8. 'History of Spain,' 1828. 9. A letter to the Geological Society respecting the earthquakes which Lady Callcott witnessed in Chili in 1822, together with extracts from her letter to H. Warburton, Esq., 1834. 10. A description of Giotto's chapel at Padua, being the letterpress issued with Sir A. W. Callcott's drawings in 1835. 11. 'Essays towards the History of Painting,' 1836. 12. Preface to the 'Seven Ages of Man' (a collection of drawings by Sir A. W. Callcott), 1840. 13. 'The Little Brackenburners, and little Mary's four Saturdays,' 1841. 14. 'A Scripture Herbal,' 1842.

[Information kindly supplied by Mr. I. Brunel; *Athenæum*, 4 Dec. 1842; *Gent. Mag.* 1843, pt. i. 98; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] S. L. L.

**CALLCOTT, WILLIAM HUTCHINS** (1807-1882), musical composer, a younger son of Dr. John Wall Callcott [q. v.], was born at Kensington in 1807. As a child he received some instruction from his father, and later continued his studies under his brother-in-law, William Horsley. On 4 July 1830 he was elected a member of the Royal Society of Musicians. In 1836 he published an abridgment of his father's 'Grammar,' in 1840 a collection of psalm and hymn tunes for Bickersteth's 'Christian Psalmody,' and in 1843 'The Child's own Singing Book.' In the latter work he was assisted by his wife Maria, who was the authoress of several unimportant religious stories, &c. In 1851 Callcott published 'Remarks on the Royal Albert Piano' (exhibited at the International Exhibition),

and in 1859 'A few Facts on the Life of Handel.' Callcott was for some years organist of Ely Place Chapel. In the latter part of his life he suffered much from ill-health. He died at 1 Campden House Road, Kensington, on 5 Aug. 1882, and was buried on the 9th at Kensal Green. Callcott composed several songs, glees, and anthems, but his name is principally known by his arrangements and transcriptions for the piano, which amount to many hundred pieces. A son of his, Robert Stuart Callcott, who showed great promise as an organist and musician, died in the spring of 1886 at an early age.

[Baptie's Diet. of Musical Biography; Monthly Musical Record for 1 Sept. 1882; Musical Times for September 1882; Musical Standard for 3 Feb. 1883; Records of the Royal Society of Musicians; information from Mr. J. G. Callcott; Brit. Mus. Cat.] W. B. S.

**CALLENDER, GEORGE WILLIAM** (1830-1878), surgeon, was born at Clifton, and, after education at a Bristol school, became a student of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1849, in 1852 a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and F.R.C.S. in 1855. He was house-surgeon at St. Bartholomew's, was in 1861 elected assistant surgeon, and in 1871 surgeon to the hospital. At the same time he was a laborious teacher in the medical school, was registrar (1854), demonstrator of anatomy, lecturer on comparative anatomy and on anatomy (1865), and finally (1873) lecturer on surgery. For many years he was treasurer of the medical school, and exercised great influence in all its affairs. He published a paper on the 'Development of the Bones of the Face in Man' in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1869, which led to his election as F.R.S. in 1871, and in the Proceedings of the Royal Society there are abstracts of papers by him on the anatomy of the thyroid body and on the formation of the sub-axial arches of man. He published many papers in the 'Medico-Chirurgical Transactions,' in the 'Transactions' of the Clinical Society and of the Pathological Society, in the 'St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports,' in Holmes's 'System of Surgery,' and in the medical journals, besides, in 1863, a small book on the anatomy of the parts concerned in femoral rupture, and in 1864 an address delivered to the students at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. A great master of surgery and of panegyric who knew him throughout his career thus sums up Callender's work: 'In the future history of surgery Callender will have a large share of the honour which will be awarded to those who, in the last twenty years, by greatly diminish-

ing the mortality of operations, have made by far the most important improvement in practical surgery' (*St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. xv.) Callender lived in Queen Anne Street, married, and had several children. A few years would probably have made his practice a great one, for he had reached the stage of being known to his profession, and was beginning to be known to the public. He died on 20 Oct. 1878 of Bright's disease, against which he had long struggled. His death took place at sea on his way back from America. He had gone thither for a holiday, and his illness had suddenly become 'aggravated while travelling. The extraordinary kindness with which, as a distinguished English surgeon, he was treated when taken ill in the United States deserves to be remembered to the honour of the medical profession in that country. He was buried at Kensal Green.

[Sir James Pagot, memoir in *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. xv. (MS. minutes of Medical Council of St. Bartholomew's Hospital); personal knowledge.] N. M.

**CALLENDER, JAMES THOMSON** (*d.* 1803), miscellaneous writer, a native of Scotland, in autumn 1792 published anonymously at London and Edinburgh 'The Political Progress of Britain, or an Impartial Account of the Principal Abuses in the Government of this Country from the Revolution of 1688.' This was meant to be the first of a series of pamphlets, but the project was checked by the arrest of the author on 2 Jan. 1793, on account of statements in the work. Having, as he says, 'with some difficulty made his escape,' he went to America and established himself in Philadelphia, where he republished his treatise (3rd edit. reissued 1795). It received the favourable notice of Jefferson, was translated into German (Edinburgh, Philadelphia, and London, 1797; the translator's preface is dated from Cologne, 4 June 1796), and was attacked in 'A Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats' (Philadelphia, 1795). A second part of the 'Political Progress' was published, but this was, says Jefferson, much inferior to the first. Callender also published at Philadelphia the 'Political Register' (3 Nov. 1794 to 3 March 1795), the 'American Annual Register for 1796,' 1797, and 'Sketches of the History of America,' 1798. He was a bitter writer; he was continually in want of money, and from either or both causes got into difficulties at Philadelphia, from which he 'fled in a panic.' He was afterwards at Richmond, Virginia, where he edited for some years the 'Richmond Recorder,' which became noted for the violence

of its attacks on the administrations of Washington and John Adams. It was probably at some time during his residence here that he wrote a work entitled 'The Prospect before us.' When Jefferson succeeded to power, Callender, who had obtained money from him on several occasions, wished to be appointed postmaster at Richmond. Jefferson would not consent to this, and Callender, taking 'mortal offence,' passed over from the republicans to the federalists, and bitterly attacked his former allies. Jefferson, who was very indignant at this, says his 'base ingratitude presents human nature in a hideous form,' and animadverted strongly on the scurrility of his writings. Callender was drowned while bathing in the James river at Richmond on July 1803. The 'Gentleman's Magazine' says that he 'drowned himself.'

[Advertisement prefixed to Political Progress; Drake's Dictionary of American Biography (Boston, 1872); Jefferson's Correspondence, iv. 444-449 (New York, 1854); Gent. Mag. September 1803, p. 882.] F. W.-r.

**CALLIS, ROBERT** (fl. 1634), serjeant-at-law, was born in Lincolnshire, and after being called to the bar at Gray's Inn was appointed a commissioner of sewers in his native county. He was made a serjeant-at-law on 12 April 1627. His works are: 1. 'The Case and Argument against Sir Ignoramus of Cambridg.,' London, 1648, 4to. The lawyers were greatly annoyed by the Latin comedy of 'Ignoramus,' performed before James I at Cambridge, 1615, and in this 'reading,' delivered at Staple Inn in Lent, 1616, Callis states a supposititious law case, in order to determine in which of six persons the right exists of presentation to a church, and in the argument he introduces Sir Ignoramus, a clerk, presented to it by the university of Cambridge, who is described as being 'egregiè illiteratus.' 2. 'Reading upon the Statute, 23 H. VIII, cap. 5, of Sewers,' London, 1647, 4to; 2nd edit. enlarged, 1685, 4to; 4th edit. 1810, 8vo; 5th edit., with additions and corrections by William John Broderip, London, 1824, 8vo.

[Dugdale's Origines Juridicæ, pp. 296, 334, App. 109; Croke's Reports, temp. Car. I, 71; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser., v. 134, 204; Clarke's Bibl. Legum, 20, 323, 403; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 349; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Calendar of State Papers (Dom.), Charles I (1633-4), 409; Dugdale's Hist. of Imbanking and Draining (1772), 417; Nichols's Progresses of James I, iii. 90.] T. C.

**CALLOW, JOHN** (1822-1878), artist, was born in London on 19 July 1822. He was a pupil of his elder brother William, the well-known painter in water colours, who

took him with him to Paris in 1835, where he remained studying art for several years. In 1844 he returned to England to exercise his profession as a landscape painter in water colours, and a few years later was elected a member of the New Water-Colour Society. From this society he afterwards retired to be elected into the older Society of Painters in Water Colours. In July 1855 he was appointed professor of drawing in the Royal Military Academy at Addiscombe. After holding this appointment for six years, he gave it up, and got in its place the post of sub-professor of drawing at Woolwich. Some years later he retired from his professorship, receiving a sum of money as compensation in lieu of a retiring allowance. From the date of his retirement he was constantly occupied in painting for the exhibitions, and in teaching. As a teacher he was in great request, and taught in several schools, besides having many private pupils. He married in 1861, and died of consumption at Lewisham on 25 April 1878, leaving a widow and one son.

Callow's style of painting was formed on that of his master and elder brother, William, though he devoted himself to a different range of subjects. He excelled in sea-pieces more than in landscapes. The compulsory devotion of his time chiefly to teaching impeded the development of his own powers, so that his later productions never fulfilled the promise of some of his earlier works. He painted diligently, however, and exhibited at the yearly exhibition of the Old Water-Colour Society. His style of teaching was excellent, at once simple, lucid, and logical, and he always maintained the superiority of transparent over body colour. He left a great number of studies prepared for the use of his pupils, which were sold by auction after his death. Several of these have since been printed in colours as a series of progressive lessons in the art of water-colour painting.

[Information from Mr. William Callow.]

M. M'A.

**CALTHORPE, Sir HENRY** (1586-1637), lawyer, third son of Sir James Calthorpe of Cockthorpe, Norfolk, knight, by Barbara, daughter of Mr. John Bacon of Hessel, Suffolk, was one of a family of eight sons and six daughters, and was born at Cockthorpe in 1586. He entered at the Middle Temple, and seems early to have enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. By the death of his father in 1615 he inherited considerable estates in his native county, but he continued sedulously to devote himself to his profession, and shortly after the



marriage of Charles I he was appointed solicitor-general to Queen Henrietta Maria, after whom one of his daughters was named. When in November 1627 the five gentlemen who had been thrown into prison for refusing to contribute to the forced loan applied to the court of king's bench for a writ of habeas corpus, Calthrope was counsel for Sir Thomas Darnell, being associated in the case with Noy, Serjeant Bramston, and Selden; and we are told that 'the gentlemen's counsel pleaded at Westminster with wonderful applause, even of shouting and clapping of hands, which is unusual in that place.' In the proceedings against the seven members in the spring of 1630, Calthrope was counsel for Benjamin Valentine, one of the three who held down the speaker in the chair. In the conduct of this case he seems to have shown some lack of zeal, though when his turn came to speak he defended his client with conspicuous ability, notwithstanding that his sympathies were with the court party. In December 1635 he succeeded Mason as recorder of London, the corporation having been specially requested to elect him in a letter which Charles addressed to them on his behalf.

He held the recordership only a few weeks, for in January 1636 he was made attorney of the court of wards and liveries, and resigned the other appointment. Shortly after this he was knighted, and was chosen to be reader of his inn, but he never discharged the duties of his office, '*causa mortalitatis*,' as Dugdale notes. He was now in his fifty-first year, and his path seemed clear to the highest legal preferments, but death came upon him in the full vigour of his powers in August 1637. Calthrope married Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Edward Humphrey, and by her had a family of ten children, only one of whom, Sir James Calthrope of Ampton (said to have been knighted by Oliver Cromwell), attained maturity. From him the present Lord Calthrope is lineally descended.

[Papers of Norfolk and Norwich Archæol. Soc. ix. 153; Nichols's Progresses of James I, i. 217; Foster's Sir John Eliot, i. 406, ii. 313 et seq.; State Trials, iii. 309; Dugdale's Origines, p. 220; Cal. of State Papers, Dom. 1635 and 1637; Blomefield's Norfolk, vii. 45, viii. 4.] A. J.

**CALTHROPE, SIR CHARLES** (*d.* 1616), judge, was probably one of the Calthropes of Suffolk, and was largely employed in the service of the crown in Ireland. He was made attorney-general for Ireland 22 June 1583, in succession to Thomas Snagge, and was continued in his office by James I 19 April 1603. His chief occupation was in connec-

tion with grants of forfeited lands, and in securing proper reservation of all royal rights in them. Thus, 24 Dec. 1585, he writes to Burghley that the queen gets but little by her tenures, and many frauds are practised to avoid them, and proposes the application to Ireland of the Statute of Uses and the Statute of Wills (31 Hen. VIII), and to put an end to gavelkind and Irish tenure; he repeats his complaint to Walsingham 27 Feb. 1586, and suggests that Coleman, the queen's remembrancer, is inattentive to his duties in the matter. On 15 July 1585 he is named as one of several commissioners to summon the chiefs in Connaught and Thomond, and to compound for their cesse by a fixed rent to the crown. During 1586 he acted as commissioner for all the attainted lands in Munster, visiting Dungarvan 21 Sept., and remaining eight days each at Lismore and Youghal, 'meting such lands as Sir Walter Rawley is to have.' Winter drove him back to Dublin after surveying 27,400 acres, and the work was left to be completed in December by subordinates. On 28 Jan. 1586-7 he represents to Burghley that by his good services the queen recovered 4,000*l.* owing for arrears, and accordingly his fees were augmented, and Mallow was assigned to him, not much to his satisfaction. Norreys, who had had it before, writes, 8 March 1586-7, begging to have it again, and saying the attorney-general will easily yield it up. Perhaps he felt ill required, for 14 March 1586-7 Geoffrey Fenton writes to Burghley that reforms do not progress: 'If the attorney-general were the man he ought to be, the justice (Gardener) might have help of him; but for that he is discovered here to be short of that learning and judgment which his place requireth, and to be rather a pleaser of the lord deputy than careful of the public service; and lastly, too much addicted to the Irishry, the assistance he giveth profiteth little.' On 26 April he is named in a commission to settle all differences among the undertakers in the plantations in Munster, and he held an inquisition at Youghal in the same year on the death of Conohor O'Mahowne, late of Castle Mahowne, a rebel with the Earl of Desmond, and again in 1588 (10 June) he holds an inquisition with others as to the lands of O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and of O'Connor Sliggaghe of Sliggaghe, Connaught (MORRIN, *Irish Patent Rolls*, ii. 145). In 1594 he was in the commission for putting in execution the acts concerning the queen's supremacy (*id.* 27 Nov. 1594). As attorney-general of Leinster his salary was now 78*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* He was in a commission of 1604 appointing justices for Connaught, and after being confirmed in his office by James he was

knighted at Dublin with Sarsfield, chief justice of the common pleas, on 24 March 1604, and was named with others in a commission to examine Sir Denis O'Roughan, a priest. On 19 July 1605 he was again named in a commission to survey, accept surrenders of, and re-grant lands in Ireland. By patent of 29 May 1606 he was raised to the bench of the common pleas as second puisne judge, in succession to Mr. Justice John Ady, the solicitor-general, Sir John Davis succeeding him as attorney-general. The promotion gratified him, but not the stipend, for as attorney-general his salary had been 159*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; as judge only one half of that sum. But Sir Arthur Chichester writes to the king that he will help him in other ways without charge to the crown, and he appears in 1611 to have been in receipt of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* from the crown, and the same in addition by concordatum during pleasure. He died 6 Jan. 1616.

There was published in London in 1635 'The Relation betweene the Lord of a Mannor and the Coppyholder his Tenant . . . Delivered in the learned readings of [Charles] [Calthrope].'

[Hamilton's Irish State Papers; Russell and Prendergast's State Papers; Carew's State Papers; Smith's Law Officers of Ireland; Eek's Irish Patent Rolls, pp. 35, 156, 183.]

J. A. H.

**CALVELEY, SIR HUGH** (d. 1393), a distinguished soldier, was the son of David de Calvelegh, and his first wife Joan, of Lea in Cheshire, and was the brother, it is thought, of Sir Robert Knolles. Both are celebrated in the pages of Froissart. Calveley was one of the soldiers of fortune engaged in the war of succession between the partisans of the widow of Jean de Montfort and the wife of Charles de Blois, which lasted with varying fortune from 1341 to 1364. In 1351 Robert de Beaumanoir sallied from his garrison at Château-Josselin to attack the town and castle of Ploërmel, which was held for Montfort by Sir Robert Bamborough, who is sometimes identified with Sir Richard Grenacre of Merley. He is called Brembo in the Breton Chronicles, and it may be noticed that there is a Bromborough in Cheshire, to which county two, at least, of his knightly followers belonged. As the garrison did not care to leave their stronghold, Beaumanoir proposed a joust of two or three with swords and spears. To this Bamborough replied by suggesting that each side should select twenty or thirty champions who should fight in earnest on the open plain. The bargain having been made, sixty warriors repaired to a level tract near a midway oak, and there

fought the famous Bataille de Mi-Voie, which has since been chronicled both in prose and verse. Thirty knights on each side, having dismounted, fought until both sides were exhausted and a rest was called, when four French and two English knights lay dead upon the field. The fight was renewed with great ferocity, and when Beaumanoir, grievously wounded, was leaving the field to quench his thirst, he was recalled by the fierce exclamation, 'Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off.' Despairing of breaking the solid phalanx of the English combatants, one of the French knights mounted his horse, and spurred his steed with great impetuosity against their ranks, which were thus broken. Sir Robert Bamborough was slain with eight of his men, while the others, including Calveley and Sir Robert Knolles, were taken prisoners to Josselin. A memorial cross was erected, which is engraved in the 'Archæologia' (vol. vi.) In 1362 he is named with Peter of Bumbury and others in a warrant of pardon for felonies committed in Chester. This pardon had already been commanded on 18 Jan., 27 Edward III., and letters of pardon were accordingly granted, 35 Edward III. In 1364 was fought the decisive battle of Auray, which ended the struggle for the duchy of Brittany. When asked to take command of the rear-guard, Calveley begged that another post might be assigned to him. Sir John Chandos protested with tears that no other man was equal to the post. Calveley accepted, and by his steadiness of discipline kept the army firm during a desperate charge of the foe. At the conclusion of the Breton war he and some of his freelances enlisted in the service of Henry of Trastamare in his struggle with Pedro the Cruel of Castile; but the Prince of Wales having joined the opposite party, feudal loyalty, it may be surmised, led Calveley to change sides, and he is honourably mentioned by Froissart as fighting under Sir John Chandos at the battle of Navarete on 3 April 1367. We next hear of him as the leader of two thousand freebooters, making disastrous war in the territories of the Earl of Armagnac. He became deputy of Calais in 1377, and one of his exploits was a foray to Boulogne, where he burnt some of the ships in the harbour, destroyed part of the town, and returned with a rich booty. He also recovered the castle of Marke on the same day it was lost, and soon after the Christmas of 1378 'spoiled the towne of Estaples the same day the fair was kept there. The sellers had quick utterance, for that that might be carried awaie the Englishmen laid hands upon.' In the following year, when he, with Sir Thomas Percy, as admi-

itals of England, conveyed the Duke of Brittany to a haven near St. Malo, the galleys laden with property were attacked by the French after the armed ships had entered; but Calveley, with his bowmen, forced the shipmaster to turn the vessel against his will to the rescue. 'Through the manfull prowess of Sir Hugh the galleys were repelled, for, according to his wonted valiancie, he would not return till he saw all other in safetie.' In July 1380 he was preparing to go abroad as part commander with Sir John Arundell of an expedition against Brittany. Twenty vessels, with Arundell and a thousand men, were lost in a storm. Calveley, with seven sailors only of his ship, was dashed upon the shore. He was now governor of Brest, and went with the Earl of Buckingham on his French expedition. The crusade undertaken against the adherents of Pope Clement did not commend itself to his judgment, but when his counsel was overruled, he fought vigorously for the policy adopted, and his successes lent it strength, until his troops were surprised in Bergues by the army of the French king in numbers so overpowering as to make resistance hopeless, and he withdrew. The dissatisfaction on the return to England at the failure of the expedition did not include any blame of Calveley. He had the patronage of the Duke of Lancaster, was governor of the Channel Islands, and had the enjoyment of the royal manor of Shotwick. The estate of Lea in Cheshire devolved upon him, 35 Edward III. His paternal estate, the profits of his various offices, and the booty produced by the kind of warfare in which he was long engaged, must have resulted in great wealth. He devoted a portion of his plunder to works of piety. In conjunction with his supposed brother, Sir Robert Knolles, and another famous freelance, Sir John Hawkwood, he is said to have founded a college at Rome in 1380. Six years later he obtained a royal license for appropriating the rectory of Bunbury, which he had purchased, for the foundation of a college with a master and six chaplains. The building was in progress in 1385, and was probably finished at the date of the founder's death on the feast of St. George in 1393. He was buried in the chancel of his college, and his effigy in complete armour may still be seen on one of the finest altar-tombs in his native county. It is engraved in Lysons and in Ormerod. A tablet is suspended against the north wall, opposite to the monument of Calveley, recording a bequest by Dame Mary Calveley of 100*l.*, the interest to be given to poor people frequenting the church on the condition of their cleaning the monument and chancel.

Fuller states that Calveley 'married the queen of Arragon, which is most certain, her arms being quartered on his tomb.' On this it is only necessary to remark that the arms of Arragon are not quartered on the tomb, and Lysons has shown that there was no queen of Arragon whom Calveley could well have married. 'It is most probable,' says Ormerod, 'that he never did marry, and it is certain that he died issueless.'

[Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (ed. Helsby), ii. 766-9, 263; Fuller's *Worthies of England* (Cheshire); Lysons's *Magna Britannia* (Cheshire), 446, 542; Froissart's *Chronicles* (ed. Johnes), i. 371, 651, 666, 694, 734; *Archæologia*, vi. 148; *Holinshed's Chronicles*; W. H. Ainsworth's *Ballads* contain a translation of a Breton *lai* on the fight of the thirty published by J. A. C. Buchon in his *Collection des Chroniques*. Buchon first published Froissart's narrative of the battle in 1824, and afterwards included it in his edition of Froissart.] W. E. A. A.

**CALVER, EDWARD** (*fl.* 1649), poet, was a puritan; the inscription under his portrait describes him as a 'Gent. of Wilbie, in the county of Suffolk.' It is said that he was a relation of Bernard Calver, or Calvert, of Andover, who went from Southwark to Calais on 17 July 1620, and back again the same day. His works are: 1. 'Passion and Discretion, in Youth and Age,' London, 1641, 4to. The work is divided into two books, the second of which is preceded by a prose epistle to his friend and kinsman, Master John Strut. The work is written in a plain and serious style, and abounds in pious and moral reflections on the passions, expressed in tame and prosaic language. The copy in the Grenville library has four appropriate plates, by Stent, which are rarely met with. 2. 'Divine Passions, piously and pathetically expressed, in three books,' London, 1643, 4to. 3. 'Englands Sad Posture; or, A true Description of the present Estate of poore distressed England, and of the lamentable Condition of these distracted times, since the beginning of this Civill and unnaturall Warr. Presented to the Right Honourable, Pious, and Valiant Edward Earle of Manchester,' London, 1644, 8vo. With portraits of the Earl of Manchester, engraved by Cross, and of the author, engraved by Hollar. 4. 'Calvers Royal Vision; with his most humble addresses to his majesties royall person,' in verse, London, 1648, 4to. 5. 'Englands Fortresse, exemplified in the most renowned and victorious, his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. Humbly presented unto his Excellency by E. C., a lover of peace,' a eulogium in verse, London, 1648, 8vo. 6. 'Zion's thankful Echoes from the Cliffs of Ireland.' Or

the little Church of Christ in Ireland, warbling out the humble and gratefull addresses to her elder sister in England. And in particular to the Parliament, to his Excellency, and to his Army, or that part assigned to her assistance, now in her low, yet hopeful condition,' London, 1649, 4to.

[Addit. MSS. 19122 f. 107, 19165 f. 199, 24492 f. 26; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), iii. 106; Bromley's Cat. of Engr. Portraits, 77; Corser's Collect. Anglo-Poetica, iii. 237-42; Bibl. Anglo-Poetica, 433; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Bibl. Grenvilliana, ii. 82.]

T. C.

**CALVERLEY, CHARLES STUART** (1831-1884), poet, was born on 22 Dec. 1831 at Martley in Worcestershire. His father, the Rev. Henry Blayds, was a descendant of the ancient Yorkshire family of Calverley. His mother was the daughter of Thomas Meade of Chatley, Somersetshire. The old name, which had been changed to Blayds in the beginning of the century, was resumed in 1852. Calverley, after being educated by private tutors and for three months at Marlborough, was admitted at Harrow on 9 Sept. 1846. He was in the sixth form from January 1848 to July 1850. He read little, affected no interest in other than school studies, and was famous for athletic feats, especially in jumping. His sweet temper and keen wit made him a charming companion; while he already showed extraordinary powers of verbal memory and of Latin versification. A copy of Latin verses turned off almost as an improvisation won for him the Balliol scholarship, to which he was admitted on 25 Nov. 1850. At Oxford he won the chancellor's prize in 1851 for a Latin poem which confirmed his high reputation. Offences against discipline proceeding from mere boyish recklessness caused his removal from Oxford in the beginning of 1852, and in the following October he entered Christ's College, Cambridge. Taking warning by his previous experience, he kept upon good terms with the authorities, and became widely popular. He won the Craven scholarship in 1854, the Camden medal in 1853 and 1855, the Browne medal (Greek ode) in 1855, and the members' prize for a Latin essay in 1856. He was second in the classical tripos for 1856, and two years later was elected fellow of Christ's. His academical success was the more remarkable because his constitutional indolence and love of society prevented regular work. His friends had to drag him out of bed by force, or lock him into his rooms to secure intellectual concentration. He had become the friend of many well-known members of his college, including Professors Seeley, Skeat, and Hales, Mr. Walter Besant,

and Dr. Robert Liveing. His social talents were rapidly developing; he could draw clever caricatures, he had a good ear for music and a sweet voice, and a singular facility for all kinds of light composition. Among his best known *facetiae* at this time was the examination paper on *Pickwick* at Christmas 1857 (printed in 'Fly Leaves'). The prizes were won by Mr. Walter Besant and Professor Skeat. His parodies and other humorous verses had already made him famous amongst fellow-students when his talents were first made known to the world by the publication of 'Verses and Translations' in 1862.

Calverley resided for a time in Cambridge, taking pupils and giving lectures in college. He then studied law, and was called to the bar as a member of the Inner Temple in 1865, having vacated his fellowship by a marriage with his first cousin, Miss Ellen Calverley of Oulton, Yorkshire. He joined the northern circuit, liked his professional studies, and made a good impression. In the winter of 1866-7 he fell upon his head while skating at Oulton Hall, and received a concussion of the brain. The injury was neglected at the time, and symptoms were soon developed which forced him to abandon his profession. The result was a gradual incapacitation for all serious work, though he continued to write occasional trifles. He also suffered from Bright's disease and great consequent depression, although his mental powers were scarcely impaired till the end. He died on 17 Feb. 1884, and was buried at Folkestone cemetery.

Calverley's almost unique powers of imitation are shown by his translations from and into English. The same power, combined with his quick eye for the ridiculous, made him perhaps the best parodist in the language. His intellectual dexterity, his playful humour and keen wit place him in the front rank of modern writers of the lighter kinds of verse. He shows more intellectual affinity to the author of the 'Rape of the Lock' than to the author of the 'Excursion.' Thackeray, as Professor Seeley says, was his favourite among moderns. Calverley's wit was refined common sense; he was no mystic, and directed his good-humoured mockery against the stilted, the obscure, and the morbidly sentimental. The affectionate recollections of his friends show that what Professor Seeley calls his 'elfish' mockery was the exuberant playfulness of a powerful mind and a tender and manly nature. His verses have the peculiar charm of a schoolboy's buoyancy combined with the exquisite culture of a thorough scholar.

His works are: 1. 'Verses and Translations,' 1862. 2. 'Translations into English and Latin,' 1866. 3. 'Theocritus translated into English verse,' 1869. 4. 'Fly Leaves,' 1872.

[Literary Remains, with Memoir by Walter J. Sendall. The memoir contains recollections by Dr. Butler, Professor Seeley, and Mr. Walter Besant. See also Payn's *Literary Recollections*, pp. 180-4.] L. S.

**CALVERLEY, WALTER** (d. 1605), murderer, was son and heir of William Calverley, by his wife Katherine, daughter of John Thorneholme of Haysthorpe, Yorkshire. The Calverleys had been lords of the manors of Calverley and Pudsey, Yorkshire, since the twelfth century, and in addition to these manors Walter inherited from his father, who died while he was a boy, lands at Burley-in-Wharfedale, Bagley, Tarsley, Eccleshall, Bolton, and Seacroft. After his father's death a relative of Lord Cobham became Calverley's guardian. He was educated at Cambridge, where he entered as scholar of Clare Hall 5 May 1579, and was matriculated on 1 Oct. following. He took no degree, and apparently soon left the university. Being left to his own devices at home in Yorkshire, he affianced himself to the daughter of a humble neighbour. Subsequently coming to London, his guardian insisted on his breaking this engagement and on his marrying Philippa, daughter of Sir John Brooke, son of George, lord Cobham. This marriage took place and proved Calverley's ruin. He withdrew to Calverley Hall with his wife, whom he detested, and sought distraction in drinking and gambling; he soon squandered his large fortune, mortgaged all his lands, and spent his wife's dowry. On 23 April 1605 news was brought him that a relative, a student at Cambridge, had been arrested for a debt for which he himself was responsible. In a drunken frenzy he straightway rushed at his two eldest children, William and Walter, the former four years old and the latter eighteen months (baptised at Calverley on 4 Oct. 1603) and killed them both; at the same time he stabbed his wife, but not fatally. Immediately afterwards he rode off to a neighbouring village where a third infant son, Henry, was out at nurse, with a view to murdering him, but he was stopped on the road and taken before Sir John Savile, a magistrate, who committed him to prison at Wakefield. After some delay he was brought to trial at York in August following; he declined to plead, and was therefore pressed to death in York Castle (5 Aug.) His estates thus escaped forfeiture and descended to his surviving son Henry. The widow remarried Sir Thomas Burton of Sto-

kerston, Leicestershire. Calverley's position gave his crime wide notoriety. On 12 June Nathaniel Butter published a popular tract on the subject, which was followed on 24 Aug. by an account of Calverley's death. A ballad was also issued by another publisher, Thomas Pavyer or Pauier, at the same time. But more interesting than these productions is the play entitled 'The Yorkshire Tragedy,' which is a dramatic version of Calverley's story. It was first published by Thomas Pavyer or Pauier in 1608, and bears the title 'The Yorkshire Tragedy—not so new as lamentable and true: written by W. Shakspeare.' A new edition appeared in 1619. Although conceived in the finest spirit of tragedy, there is no substantial ground for attributing the play to Shakespeare, and it was probably first associated with his name by the enterprising publisher to create a sale for it. It was included in the third and fourth folios of Shakespeare's works (1664 and 1685). The theory that makes Thomas Heywood the author has much in its favour.

**HENRY CALVERLEY**, Walter's heir, was a sturdy royalist, and was mulcted in a composition amounting to 1,455*l.* by the sequestrators under the Commonwealth. He was the last of the family to reside regularly at Calverley Hall. He married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore of Grantham; secondly, Joyce, daughter of Sir Walter Pye. He died on 1 Jan. 1660-1, and was succeeded by a son Walter, who was knighted by Charles II in consideration of his father's loyalty.

[Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmet*, pp. 289, &c., where an account of Calverley's crime from a rare contemporary tract is printed at length; *Memoirs of Sir W. Blackett*, with a pedigree of the Calverleys (1819), p. 16; *Arber's Stationers' Register*, iii. 292, 299; *Knight's Shakespeare—Doubtful Plays*, 239; *Stow's Chronicle*, sub anno 1605; *Collier's Dramatic Poetry*, ii. 438-9; *Cooper's Athenæ Cantab.* iii. 10 (unpublished).]

S. L. L.

**CALVERT, CAROLINE LOUISA WARING** (1834-1872), generally known as **LOUISA ATKINSON**, an Australian author, was born at Oldbury, Argyle County, New South Wales, on 25 Feb. 1834. Her father, James Atkinson, formerly principal clerk in the colonial secretary's office, Sydney, wrote 'An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales,' with coloured plates, London, 1826, 8vo, and was an early settler on the Hawkesbury. Her mother had some reputation as a writer of educational works for the young. Their daughter being of delicate health, the family removed early to Kurradjong. She described

the impression produced on her by the grand scenery and beauty of the flora of the district in 'A Voice from the Country,' a series of papers in the 'Sydney Morning Herald,' which secured her many literary friendships, and in several popular tales: 'Gertrude the Emigrant,' &c., with numerous engravings, Sydney, 1857, 8vo.; 'Cowanda, the Veteran's Grant,' Sydney, 1859, 8vo., a story of a runaway Manchester clerk; and 'Tom Hillicker,' all illustrated by herself. She afterwards published 'Narratives and Sketches' in the 'Sydney Mail' and 'Town and Country Journal.'

During her residence at the Kurrangong she collected and prepared valuable botanical specimens for Baron Ferdinand von Müller, the government botanist, who was then producing, in conjunction with George Bentham, 'Flora Australiensis,' 7 vols. London, 1863, 8vo., and 'Fragmenta Phytographiæ Australiae,' 4 vols. Melbourne, 1858-64, 8vo. One genus, *Atkinsonia*, was named after her, as was the species *Epacris Calvertiana* at a later period. Müller speaks very kindly of her botanical contributions from the Blue Mountains. On leaving the Kurrangong with her mother, she resided in her native district with her brother, James Atkinson, J.P., and there married, 1870, James Snowden Calvert [q. v.] She died suddenly on 28 April 1872. A tablet in Sutton Fields Church, and another (by subscription) in St. Peter's Church, Richmond, tell the story of her pious labours and scientific researches. Her funeral sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Woold, has been printed. Her husband, an Englishman of 'the Borders,' settled early in Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, and emigrated in 1840. Meeting on the voyage to Australia with Dr. Leichardt, he formed a lasting friendship with him, and four years afterwards joined him, with his own outfit and horses, on the first and successful expedition to Queensland. His name is well known in connection with various European exhibitions.

[Barton's Lit. of New South Wales, pp. 111-12; Heaton's Australian Dictionary, p. 32; Baron von Müller's Botanical Works; Atkinson's Agriculture, &c., 1826.] J. W.-G.

**CALVERT, CHARLES** (1785-1852), landscape-painter, born at Glossop Hall, Derbyshire, on 23 Sept. 1785, was the eldest son of Charles Calvert, agent of the Duke of Norfolk's estate. He was apprenticed to the cotton trade, and began business as a cotton merchant in Manchester, but against the wishes of his friends he abandoned commerce for art and became a landscape-painter. He was one of those instrumental in the

foundation of the Manchester Royal Institution (which has since become the City Art Gallery), and he gained the Heywood gold medal for a landscape in oil, and the Heywood silver medal for a landscape in water colour. Much of his time was necessarily devoted to teaching, but all the moments that could be spared from it were passed in the lake districts. Even in his later years, when confined to his bed by failing health, he occupied himself in recording his reminiscences of natural beauty. He died at Bowness, Westmoreland, on 26 Feb. 1852, and was buried there.

The father of the landscape-painter, **CHARLES CALVERT** the elder, was an amateur. He was born in 1754; died on 13 June 1797, and is buried in St. Mary's churchyard, Manchester; a younger brother, **RAISLEY CALVERT**, who died in 1794, was a sculptor, and is well known as the friend and admirer of Wordsworth, to whom he bequeathed 900*l*. Another son of Charles Calvert the elder, Frederick Baltimore Calvert, is separately noticed. Two other sons, Henry and Michael Pease, were both painters.

[Art Journal, 1852, p. 150 (the same notice appears in the Gent. Mag. June 1852 new ser. xxxvii. 630); Nodal's Art in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1884.] W. E. A. A.

**CALVERT, CHARLES ALEXANDER** (1828-1879), actor, was born in London on 28 Feb. 1828, and educated at King's College School. On leaving it he spent some time in the office of a London solicitor and in a mercer's business in St. Paul's Churchyard; but before long he was drawn to the stage, having derived a first impulse towards it from the plays of Shakespeare produced at Sadler's Wells Theatre by Phelps, from whom Calvert afterwards modestly declared that he had learnt all his art. He first entered into an engagement as an actor in 1852, at Weymouth Theatre, under the management of Sothorn, the famous Lord Dundreary of later days. Then he played leading parts at Southampton and in South Wales, till about 1855 he joined the company of Messrs. Shepherd and Creswick at the Surrey Theatre in London, where he played leading youthful parts of a 'legitimate' type. A year after his arrival in London he married Adelaide Ellen Biddles, who, as Mrs. Calvert, attained to a good position on the stage. They had several children, of whom five (three sons and two daughters) have followed their parents' profession. In 1859 Calvert became stage-manager and principal actor in the Theatre Royal, Manchester. In this town he was to make his name; but it was not till

1864 that as manager of the newly built Prince's Theatre he began the series of Shakespearean 'revivals' which were the chief efforts of his professional life. Convinced that Shakespeare could be 'made to pay,' he consistently produced the plays which he presented with elaborate attention to scenery, costume, and every other element of stage effect. Moreover, he aimed in these matters at historical correctness, thereby earning the recognition of J. R. Planché, the real originator of a reform on the merits of which the Kemble family were divided. The Shakespearean plays 'revived' by Calvert were the following: 'The Tempest' (1864), with which the Prince's Theatre opened, and which proved a signal success; 'Antony and Cleopatra' (1866); 'The Winter's Tale' (1869); 'Richard III' (1870); 'The Merchant of Venice,' with Arthur Sullivan's music (1871); 'Henry V' (1872); 'Twelfth Night' (1873); 'The Second Part of Henry IV' (1874). From a draft in his handwriting it appears to have been his intention, had his connection with the Prince's Theatre continued, to crown the series by an arrangement of the three parts of Henry VI together with Richard III in three plays, under the title of 'The Houses of York and Lancaster.' During his management he produced, after a less elaborate fashion, some other Shakespearean plays, as well as Byron's 'Manfred' (1867), and other dramas. He generally had a good 'stock' company, in which several actors and actresses of mark received their training; and he showed a commendable freedom from pettiness in occasionally associating with himself on his own stage London actors of great reputation and popularity. Financially the prosperity of the speculation with which he was associated seems to have varied; in 1868 the Prince's Theatre passed into the hands of a company, for which it was rebuilt as the prettiest theatre in England; afterwards he had for a short time a proprietary interest in it; in 1875 his connection with it ceased altogether. Shortly before this Calvert had visited New York, where he produced Henry V with very great success. After quitting the Prince's Theatre he produced, at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, in 1877, 'Henry VIII.' He and his accomplished coadjutor, Mr. Alfred Darbyshire, regarded the stage directions forming part of the text of this play as justifying their views about the stage setting of such plays. Calvert's acting edition of Henry VIII has accordingly an interest of its own. He also brought out with great splendour Byron's 'Sardanapalus' at Liverpool and at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, and superintended

a 'replica' at Booth's Theatre in New York. His last years were migratory, and spent at the head of a travelling company which appeared in Manchester and at other places. In 1871 he had been much interested in the scheme for establishing a subsidised 'Shakespeare Memorial Theatre' in London, which came to nothing. His last years must have brought him much disappointment and little rest. Towards the end the state of his health, which had given way four years previously, disquieted his friends, and ultimately he sought retirement at Hammersmith, where he died on 12 June 1879. The genuine admiration felt for him at Manchester had been shown on the occasion of his first departure for New York by a public banquet (4 Jan. 1875). His funeral at Brooklands cemetery, near Sale in Cheshire, was made the occasion of a popular demonstration. Later in the year (1 and 2 Oct.) friendship commemorated his worth in a performance of 'As you like it' at Manchester for the benefit of his family. Calvert was a true enthusiast, whose career, 'provincial' as it was in its principal portion, has an enduring interest for the history of the English stage. As an actor he was, in the opinion of some, best fitted for the so-called domestic drama; but his ambition took a higher flight, and, though his physical advantages were few, his intelligence and reading, together with a certain breadth and strength of style, qualified him even for heroic parts such as Brutus and Henry V. His elocution was excellent, and his declamation at times masterly. He was a careful student of Shakespeare, and his acting editions of nearly all the Shakespearean plays mentioned above form a pleasing memorial of his zeal and his good sense. Personally he was much respected as well as liked, and his private correspondence shows him to have thought with courage, but without immodesty, on the highest of themes.

[Private information and personal knowledge.]  
A. W. W.

**CALVERT, EDWARD** (1799-1883), artist, was a native of Appledore in Devonshire, where he was born on 20 Sept. 1799. The first years of his life were passed near Starcross. His father, Roland Calvert, who had been in the army, died when Edward was twelve years old. He early entered the navy and served as midshipman under Sir Charles Penrose. While on board he saw his dearest shipmate killed at his side during an action. He soon after left service to devote himself to the arts. He studied under James Bull and A. B. Johns, the latter a landscape-painter of repute at Plymouth. After his



marriage with Miss Bennell of Brixton he removed to London and attended the Royal Academy schools. Before long he made the acquaintance of William Blake, and joined a little band of artists who revered Blake as their chief, including Samuel Palmer, Linnell the elder, and George Richmond. Blake's designs exercised considerable influence over Calvert. He was one of the few friends who attended Blake's interment in 1827. His first exhibited picture was at the Royal Academy in 1825. It was called 'Nymphs,' and excited much warm admiration. At the same gallery he exhibited in 1827 his picture 'A Shepherdess.' In 1829 he sent 'Morning' to the exhibition of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street. Another poetic landscape with the same title was exhibited by him at the Royal Academy in 1832, and a third in 1835. His last contribution to the Academy exhibition was in 1836, when his picture illustrated Milton's 'Eve.' Calvert produced many woodcuts and plates of singular beauty, which were privately printed by himself at his successive residences in Brixton and Puddington. He was extremely fastidious, and, though incessantly at work, was always dissatisfied with the result and destroyed some of his blocks and plates. Of his woodcuts the 'Christian Ploughing the last Furrow of Life' and the 'Cider Press' are described as very like Blake's. Calvert was a thorough student of anatomy, and also spent some time in St. Thomas's Hospital during the cholera of 1830. He was an enthusiast for Greek art, and once visited Greece, returning with many sketches. Among his intimate friends were Derwent Coleridge and Francis Oliver Finch, the landscape-painter. In honour of the latter he wrote an éloge, which is printed in the 'Memorials' of that artist published in 1865.

Calvert died at Hackney on 14 July 1883, in his eighty-fourth year, and was buried at Abney Park cemetery.

[Athenaeum, 18 and 25 Aug. 1883, the latter notice by George Richmond, R.A.; Gilchrist's *Life of W. Blake*, 1880, i. 343, 407; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*, 1760-1880; Royal Academy Catalogues; private information through Mr. John Richmond.] C. W. S.

**CALVERT, FREDERICK**, seventh LORD BALTIMORE (1731-1771), eldest son of Charles, sixth lord, by Mary, youngest daughter of Sir Theodore Janssen, was born in 1731. In 1753 he married Diana Egerton, youngest daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater. In 1768 he was tried at Kingston on a charge of rape, but acquitted (Report of trial in *Gent. Mag.* xxxviii. 180-8).

He died at Naples on 14 Sept. 1771, without legitimate children. His remains were brought to England in order to be interred in the family vault at Epsom, and for some time lay in state in Exeter Exchange, Strand. The moment his body was removed the populace plundered the room where it had lain (*ib.* xlii. 44). The title became extinct on his death, and by his will he bequeathed the province of Maryland, in America, to Henry Harford, a child, and the remainder of his estates in fee to his younger sister. Carlyle, in his 'Life of Frederick the Great,' refers to Baltimore as 'something of a fool, to judge by the face of him in portraits, and by some of his doings in the world,' and Winckelmann characterises him as 'one of those worn-out beings, a hipped Englishman, who had lost all moral and physical taste.' He was the author of a 'Tour in the East in the years 1763 and 1764, with Remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks. Also Select Pieces of Oriental Wit, Poetry, and Wisdom,' regarding which Lord Orford declared it 'no more deserved to be published than his bills on the road for post-horses.' In 1769 he printed at Augsburg ten copies of a book entitled 'Gaudia Poetica Latina, Anglica, et Gallica Lingua composita.' It forms a volume of 120 pages, beautifully printed, and richly decorated with head and tail pieces. It consists of a Latin poem translated into English and French, with some smaller pieces, and several letters which had passed between him and Linnaeus, to whom he had dedicated the volume. Linnaeus had been so much flattered by the dedication that he refers to the book in extraordinary terms of eulogy, and designates it an 'immortal work.' Baltimore also published 'Caelestes et Inferi,' Venice, 1771, 4to.

[Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors* (Park), v. 278-82; Morris's *The Lords Baltimore*, 52-61.] T. F. H.

**CALVERT, FREDERICK BALTIMORE** (1793-1877), actor and lecturer on elocution, son of Charles Calvert, steward of the Duke of Norfolk, at Glossop Hall, Derbyshire [see under CALVERT, CHARLES], was baptised on 11 April 1793, and entered Manchester school on 12 Jan. 1804. Thence he was sent to the Roman catholic college at Old Hall Green, Hertfordshire, with a view to receiving holy orders; but he took to the stage, and in the course of his career alternated leading parts with the elder Kean, Macready, and the elder Vandenhoff. In 1824 he published 'A Defence of the Drama,' which had an extensive circulation, and was read by John Fawcett to the members of the

Theatrical Fund at their annual dinner in that year. In 1829 he became elocutionary lecturer of King's College, Aberdeen, and gave lectures on oratory, poetry, and other literary subjects in the large towns of England. He afterwards proceeded to America, where he lectured on the English poets, and on returning to England gave evening discourses at the leading atheneums on what he had seen during his visit to the western hemisphere. About 1846 he was appointed master of the English language and literature in the Edinburgh Academy. In the winter of 1847-8 he gave readings of the English poets in connection with the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. Some years after he became lecturer on elocution to the free church colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow. He died at his residence, 2 West Newington, Edinburgh, 21 April 1877. He was a man of great literary refinement, and had an extensive acquaintance with the literature of Greece and Rome, as well as with that of England and France. He married, in 1818, Miss Percy of Whitby, by whom he had a numerous family; his youngest son, Michael Talbot Calvert, made a reputation as a tragic actor, under the stage name of Henry Talbot. Calvert was the author of: 1. 'A Defence of the Acted Drama,' in a letter to T. Best, Hull, 1822. 2. 'Principles of Elocution,' by T. Ewing, thoroughly revised and greatly improved by F. B. Calvert, 1852; another edition, 1870. 3. A Letter to the Very Rev. Dean Ramsay, Edinburgh, on 'The Art of Reading and Preaching distinctly,' 1869. 4. 'The De Oratore of Cicero,' translated by F. B. Calvert, M.A., 1870. 5. 'An Ode to Shakespeare.'

[Smith's Manchester School Reg. ii. 233, iii. 334; The Era, 6 May 1877, p. 13.] G. C. B.

**CALVERT, FREDERICK CRACE** (1819-1873), chemist, was born in London on 14 Nov. 1819, and was the son of a Colonel Calvert. At the age of sixteen he left London for France, where he remained till 1846. One result of this long stay abroad was that till the end of his life he spoke English with a French accent, and was, in consequence, frequently taken for a foreigner. After studying at Rouen under Gerardin, and in Paris at the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, and the École de Médecine, he held for a short time the post of manager of Messrs. Robiquet & Pelletier's chemical works, but this post he vacated on being appointed assistant to the eminent chemist, Chevreul. It was under Chevreul (his old master as he would always call him) that Calvert's serious chemical work began, and it was the influence of Chevreul which directed his researches

towards those branches of industrial chemistry in which he acquired his reputation. In 1846 he returned to England and was appointed professor of chemistry at the Royal Institution in Manchester, where he had settled in practice as a consulting chemist. He now devoted himself almost entirely to questions of industrial chemistry, tanning, the desulphurisation of coke, the protection of iron ships from rust, the manufacture of chlorate of potash, iron puddling, calico-printing, &c. A few years later he took up the manufacture of coal-tar products, especially of phenic or carbolic acid, which he was the first to manufacture in a pure state in this country. Its use as a disinfectant and for therapeutic purposes is due, it may be said, entirely to him. The manufacture of carbolic acid was commenced by him on a small scale in 1859, and in 1865 he established large works at Manchester for its production. He contributed largely to scientific literature, both English and French; his papers are to be found in the 'Comptes Rendus,' the 'Royal Society's Proceedings,' the 'Annales de Chimie,' the 'Philosophical Magazine,' the 'British Association Reports,' the 'Journal of the Society of Arts,' and elsewhere. A full but not complete list of the papers, and unfortunately without references, is given in the biographical notice prefixed to the second edition of his work on 'Dyeing and Calico-printing.' He delivered five courses of 'Cantor' lectures at the Society of Arts on applied chemistry. His death was the result of an illness contracted at Vienna, whither he had gone to serve as a juror at the International Exhibition of 1873. He died at Manchester 24 Oct. 1873.

[A life is given in the Soc. of Arts Journal, xxi. (1873) 919; a very full account of Calvert's scientific work is given as an introduction to the second edition of his Dyeing and Calico-printing, Manchester, 1876; short notices appear in Journ. Chem. Soc. xxvii. 1198; Chem. News, xxviii. (1873) 224. For scientific writings see Royal Soc. Cat. Scientific Papers s. v. Crace-Calvert.]

H. T. W.

**CALVERT, GEORGE**, first LORD BALTIMORE (1580?-1632), statesman, son of Leonard Calvert and Alice, daughter of John Crosland of Crosland, was born at Kipling in the chapelry of Bolton in Yorkshire about 1580. In the Oxford University register of matriculations, Calvert, who matriculated from Trinity College on 12 July 1594, is entered as 'annos natus 14.' He obtained the degree of B.A. on 23 Feb. 1597, and was created M.A. on 30 Aug. 1605, during the visit of King James to Oxford. After leaving Oxford he travelled for a time, and on his

return became secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, 'being then esteemed a forward and knowing person in matters relating to the state' (Wood). On 10 July 1606 Calvert was granted the office of clerk of the crown in the province of Connaught and county of Clare (*Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1603-6, p. 565). In January 1608 he was appointed one of the clerks of the council (Lodge, *Illustr. of English Hist.* iii. 256), and entered parliament as M.P. for Bossiney in October 1609. In January 1612 he is mentioned as assisting the king in the composition of his discourse against Vorstius, and in June of the following year, during the vacancy of the secretary of state's place, the charge of answering the Spanish and Italian correspondence was entrusted to him (*Court and Times of James I*, i. 134-76). In 1613 Calvert was one of the committee sent to Ireland to examine into the grievance of the catholics and the complaints made against the lord deputy (*Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1611-14, Commission, p. 436, Report of Commissioners, pp. 426, 438). His different services were rewarded in 1617 by knighthood (29 Sept.), and in February 1619 he became secretary of state. 'The night before he was sworn,' writes Chamberlain to Carleton, 'the lord of Buckingham told him the king's resolution; but he disabled himself various ways, but specially that he thought himself unworthy to sit in that place, so lately possessed by his noble lord and master' (*Court and Times of James I*, i. 142). The trial of the Earl of Suffolk in the Star-chamber was the first business of importance on which Calvert was engaged, and his letters to Buckingham during that trial, particularly one in which he excuses himself for his 'error in judgment' in consenting to too light a sentence on the delinquent, show how much he depended on the favourite's influence (*Forbes Papers*, p. 98; HOWARD, *Collection of Letters*, p. 57). On 2 May 1620 the king granted Calvert a yearly pension of 1,000*l.* on the customs (CAMDEN, *James I*). In the parliament of 1621 he with Sir Thomas Wentworth represented Yorkshire; their election, which was obtained through an unscrupulous exertion of Wentworth's influence, though called in question, was voted good by the House of Commons. It was Calvert's duty as secretary to lay the king's necessities before the house and press for a supply for the defence of the Palatinate. He would not have our king, he said, 'trust entirely to the king of Spain's affection. It is said our king's sword hath been too long sheathed; but they who shall speak to defer a supply seek to keep it longer in the scabbard' (*Proceedings and Debates*, ii. 213; vide also i. 48).

As intermediary between the king and the commons in the disputes which arose during the second session, the secretary had a very difficult part to play. To him James, on 16 Dec. 1621, addressed the remarkable letter in which he explained his answer to the remonstrance of the commons, but he could not succeed in preventing the drawing up of the protestation by which the commons replied (*ib.* ii. 339). The house did not trust him; he was suspected of communicating to the king intelligence of their proceedings, to the detriment of the leading members. Allusions to this were made in the debates, and the charge is directly brought against him by Wilson, with special reference to this remonstrance (WILSON, *Life of James I*, p. 71). A few days earlier, when he had attempted to explain the commitment of Sir E. Sandys, and asserted that he was not committed for anything said or done in parliament, a member moved that the statement should be entered in the journals, and the note-taker adds, 'the house will scarce believe Mr. Secretary, but thinketh he equivocateth' (*Proceedings and Debates*, ii. 200). At the same time Calvert possessed no great influence with the king. The French ambassador, Tillières, in a letter dated 25 Nov. 1621, describes the secretary as an honourable, sensible, well-intentioned man, courteous to strangers, full of respect towards ambassadors, zealously intent for the welfare of England, but by reason of these good qualities entirely without consideration or influence (RAUMER, *Illustrations of the History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ii. 263). As the most efficient of the two secretaries of state the conduct of foreign affairs was principally in Calvert's hands, and he shared at the time the unpopularity of his master's policy. He was accused of being sold to Spain, and of an undue devotion to the interests of catholicism, a charge to which his subsequent conversion gave some colour. Nevertheless, says Mr. Gardiner, 'it is quite a mistake to suppose that because Calvert afterwards became a catholic he was ready to betray English interests into the hands of the Spaniards. Expressions in favour of a more decided policy in Germany than that adopted by the king are constantly occurring in his correspondence with Carleton' (*Spanish Marriage*, ii. 295). But the failure of the Spanish marriage scheme was still a blow to him, both as a statesman and a catholic. A correspondent of Roe's describes him as never 'looking merrily since the prince his coming out of Spain' (Roe's *Letters*, p. 372). In the council he was one of the nine members who opposed a breach with Spain (14 Jan. 1624) and in the following January he resigned his office

and declared himself a catholic. Goodman, who describes him as having been converted by Count Gondomar and Count Arundel (whose daughter Calvert's son had married), states that for some time he had made no secret of his views. 'As it was said, the secretary did usually catechise his own children, so as to ground them in his own religion; and in his best room having an altar set up, with chalice, candlesticks, and all other ornaments, he brought all strangers thither, never concealing anything, as if his whole joy and comfort had been to make open profession of his religion' (*Court of King James*, p. 376). Calvert resigned on 12 Feb. 1625 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom.), being allowed to sell his office to Sir Albert Morton for 6,000*l.*, and obtaining also the title of Baron of Baltimore in the county of Longford in Ireland (16 Feb. 1625). Large estates in that district had before been granted to him; these were now confirmed to him by a fresh grant (12 Feb. 1625). On the accession of Charles I, Baltimore made objections to taking the oath offered to him as a privy councillor, and was consequently excluded from the council. He returned to Ireland bearing a letter to the lord deputy, in which the king recommended him as one who 'parted from us with our princely approbation and in our good grace' (29 May 1625). Except that he was summoned to court in February 1627 to consult on the terms of the proposed peace with Spain, he took henceforth no part in state affairs. For the rest of his life he devoted himself to what one of his biographers terms 'that ancient, primitive, and heroic work of planting the world.' As early as 1621 Calvert had despatched Captain Edward Wynne to Newfoundland, where he established a small settlement named Ferryland. In 1622 another ship, under Captain Daniel Powell, was sent to carry on the work (*Letters of Wynne and Powell*; OLDMIXON, *British Empire in America*, i. 9). Finding their reports favourable, Calvert now obtained a charter for the colony under the name of the province of Avalon (*Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 7 April 1623), so called, says Lloyd, 'in imitation of old Avalon in Somersetshire, where Glastonbury stands, the first-fruits of christianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America' (LLOYD, *State Worthies*). 'Mr. Secretary Calvert,' wrote Sir William Alexander two years later, 'hath planted a colony at Ferryland, who both for building and making trial of the ground have done more than was ever performed of any in so short a time, having on hand a brood of horses, cows, and other bestials, and by the industry of his people he is beginning to draw back yearly some bene-

fits from thence already' (*An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 25). Nevertheless, in 1627 Baltimore found it necessary either to go over and settle the colony in better order, or to lose the fruit of all his exertions (*Strafford Correspondence*, i. 39). He arrived at Newfoundland in July 1627, but remained there merely a few weeks; in the following spring, however, he returned again with his family, and continued to reside there until the autumn of 1629. During this second visit Baltimore successfully repulsed the attacks of some French privateers, and took six prizes, but dissensions arose in the colony in consequence of the presence of the priests whom he brought with him, and a puritan denounced him to the home authorities for allowing the practice of catholicism and the saying of masses (*Cal. State Papers*, Col. 93, 94). A more serious difficulty was the climate, and on 19 Aug. 1629 Baltimore wrote to the king complaining that the winter lasted from October to May, that half his company had been sick, and ten were dead, and begged for a grant of lands in a more genial country (*ib.* 100). Without waiting for the king's reply he set sail for Virginia, but directly he landed at Jamestown was met with the demand that he should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and a refusal to allow him to establish himself there except on that condition (*ib.* 104). Baltimore returned to England and endeavoured to obtain a patent for a new colony. In February 1631 he was on the point of securing a grant for a district south of the James River, but the opposition of the members of the late Virginia Company obliged him to abandon it (NEILL, p. 19). He now sought instead for a similar grant in the region north and east of the Potomac, but the same influences interposed to delay its completion, and he died on 15 April 1632, before the patent had passed the great seal. He was buried in the church of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in Fleet Street (Wood). The charter of Maryland was finally sealed on 20 June 1632 (*Cal. State Papers*, Col.), and Cecilus, second lord Baltimore, founded the colony which his father had projected. The name it received was given it by Charles I, in honour of his queen, and the provisions of the charter were copied from the charter of Carolana, granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1629 (NEILL, pp. 20-24). The question whether Baltimore designed the colony to be a stronghold for persecuted Romanism, or intended to base it on the principle of toleration for all sects, has been much discussed. But the clause requiring that all churches and places of worship in Maryland should be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of

the church of England refutes the former theory, and proves that the church of England was to be regarded as the sole established religion. Certainly Baltimore sought the free exercise of his own religion, and was prepared to practise the toleration he demanded, but no legal provision for toleration was made until the laws of 1649. The power of the proprietor and the composition of the colony were sufficient to secure it. Baltimore married Anne, daughter of George Wynne of Hertingfordbury, Hertfordshire. He was succeeded by his son Cecil; a second son, Leonard [q.v.], was the first governor of Maryland.

Baltimore's works are: 1. 'Carmen funebre in D. Hen. Untonum,' in an Oxford collection of verses on Sir Henry Unton's death, 1596, 4to. 2. 'The Answer to Tom Tell-Troth, the Practice of Princes, and the Lamentations of the Kirk,' a quarto pamphlet printed in 1642, and said to be 'written by Lord Baltimore, late secretary of state.' This is a justification of the policy of King James in refusing to support the claim of the Elector Palatine to the crown of Bohemia, or to support by arms his restoration to his hereditary dominions. 3. 'He hath also written something concerning Maryland, but whether printed or not I cannot tell' (Wood). 4. Letters in various printed collections, viz. four letters in the 'Strafford Papers,' five in the 'Clarendon State Papers,' four in Leonard Howard's 'Collection of Letters,' 1753, eleven letters in the 'Fortescue Papers' (Camden Society, 1871), three in the 'Relations between England and Germany in 1618-19' (Camden Society, 1865), two letters in the 'Court and Times of James I,' and others in the 'Calendar of Domestic State Papers.' Manuscript letters are to be found, six in the 'Tanner MSS.,' fifteen among the 'Harleian MSS.' (1580), and in 'MSS. Cotton. Julius,' iii. fol. 126-30.

[Calendar of Domestic, Colonial, and Irish State Papers; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*; Lloyd's *State Worthies*; Goodman's *Court of James I*; Court and Times of James I and Charles I, 4 vols. 1848; Gardiner's *History of England*; Doyle's *The English in America*; Neill's *Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, Baltimore, 1869*; Kennedy's *Discourse on the Life and Character of Sir G. Calvert, Baltimore, 1845*; the Reply to Kennedy and the Review of Reply to Kennedy's *Life of Sir George Calvert*; the London Magazine for June 1768 contains an account of the Baltimore family.] C. H. F.

**CALVERT, GEORGE** (1795-1825), surgeon, obtained the Jacksonian prize of the London College of Surgeons three years in succession. One of the essays, 'On Hæmor-

rhoids, Strictures,' &c., was expanded and published in 1824. The 'Medico-Chirurgical Review' described it as 'the best in the English language,' April 1825, p. 297. Calvert also revised Collyn's translation of Bichat's 'General Anatomy,' 1824. He showed great promise, but died on 14 Nov. 1825, aged 30. [Gent. Mag. 1825, November, p. 475.]

G. T. B.

**CALVERT, SIR HARRY** (1763?-1826), baronet, general, was eldest son of Peter Calvert, of Hampton Court, a partner in the brewing firm (*d.* 1810), by his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Reeve, M.D., and grandson of Felix Calvert of Oldbury Park. He was christened in March 1763 (BERRY, *Hertfordshire Genealogies*, p. 21). He was educated at Harrow, and at the age of fifteen was appointed to the 23rd royal Welsh fusiliers, his commission as second lieutenant therein bearing date 24 April 1778. In the following spring he joined his regiment, then at New York, with General Clinton, and became a first lieutenant on 2 Oct. 1779. He served with the regiment at the siege of Charleston, and throughout the subsequent campaigns under Lord Cornwallis, and was present at the surrender at York Town on 17 Oct. 1781. He remained a prisoner of war in America from 1781 until the peace of 1783, and returning home with his corps early in 1784, received permission to spend the remainder of the year on the continent. In October 1785 he purchased a company in the 100th, and reverting to the 23rd as captain en second a month later continued to serve with it at home until 1790, when he exchanged from the 23rd to the Coldstream guards, as lieutenant and captain. In February 1793 he embarked for Holland with his battalion, forming part of the brigade of guards under Lake, and, after the arrival of the troops before Tournay, was appointed aide-de-camp to the Duke of York, in which capacity he was present in the principal engagements during the campaigns of 1793-4. Having returned home with the Duke of York in December 1794, he was despatched in April 1795 on a confidential mission to Brunswick and Berlin, the object of which was to induce the King of Prussia to take the initiative in placing the Duke of Brunswick at the head of the allied armies. In December of the same year Calvert became captain and lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstreams, and in 1796 was appointed deputy adjutant-general at headquarters. He became brevet lieutenant-colonel in 1797, and in 1799 exchanged as lieutenant-colonel to the 63rd foot, retaining his staff appointment. On 8 June 1799 he married the second daughter of Thos. Hammersley of Pall Mall,

and niece of Mr. Greenwood, of the firm of Cox & Greenwood, army agents. By this lady, who died in 1806, he had two sons and three daughters. About the time of his marriage, Calvert was advanced to the post of adjutant-general of the forces, in succession to Sir W. Fawcett. He was made colonel of the (old) 5th West India regiment in 1800, and became a major-general in 1803. In 1806 he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 14th foot, which during the latter part of the French war had the unusual number of three battalions, and was thence dubbed 'Calvert's Entire.' Its country title was altered from Bedfordshire to Buckinghamshire at his request (CANNON, *Hist. Record 14th Foot*). In 1818 Calvert, who had attained the rank of lieutenant-general in 1810, and had been made a G.C.B. and a G.C.H. later, received, on vacating the post of adjutant-general, a baronetcy in further recognition of his services. He was appointed lieutenant-governor of Chelsea Hospital in 1820, and attained the rank of general in 1821.

Rumour alleged that Calvert's advancement to the post of adjutant-general about the time of his marriage was partly due to heavy obligations which the Duke of York was said to be under to the firm of Cox & Co. However this may have been, the appointment was amply justified by the results, as during his long tenure of the office Calvert proved himself a true soldier's friend, and an able instrument in giving effect to many valuable improvements in the administration and discipline of the army. Among these were the better organisation of the medical department and army hospitals, and of the chaplains' department; the introduction of regimental schools; the development of the military colleges at High Wycombe and Marlow, since united at Sandhurst; the founding of the Royal Military Asylum for Soldiers' Orphans, better known as the Duke of York's School, and various other measures for the benefit of the service. One of his immediate subordinates wrote of him, long afterwards: 'Such was the kindness of his look and demeanour, and courtesy of his manner, that it was impossible to offer him any disrespect, and with whatever sentiments a gentleman might have approached him, he could only retire with those of regard and esteem.'

Calvert died suddenly of apoplexy on Sunday, 3 Sept. 1826, at Claydon Hall, Middle Claydon, Buckinghamshire, where he was on a visit with his family. He was buried at West or Steeple Claydon, where the church spire was erected as a memorial of him. His son, the second baronet, took the name of

Verney instead of Calvert on succeeding to the Verney estates.

Calvert's journals and letters during the Flanders campaigns, together with memoranda relating to his Berlin mission and to the defensive arrangements against invasion at the beginning of the present century, have been published by his son under the title, 'Journals and Correspondence of Sir H. Calvert, Bart.,' London, 1853.

[Berry's County Genealogies, Herts; Army Lists; Cannon's Hist. Record 23rd R. W. Fus.; Graham's Life of Gen. S. Graham, 1862; Cannon's Hist. Record 14th (Buckinghamshire) Foot; Sir H. Verney's Journals and Correspondence of Sir H. Calvert, Bart.; Gent. Mag. vol. xcvi. pt. ii. p. 371.] H. M. C.

**CALVERT, JAMES SNOWDEN** (1825-1884), Australian explorer, was born on 13 July 1825, and received his schooling in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and London, where his family successively resided after leaving the border. Having friends in New South Wales, Calvert and a brother decided to go out thither in 1840, and on the voyage, in the ship *Sir Edward Paget*, contracted a lasting friendship with Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, the well-known explorer, afterwards lost in the bush, who was their fellow-passenger. The result was that Calvert agreed to accompany Dr. Leichhardt on his first expedition, providing his own horses and outfit. The party left Moreton Bay settlement (Brisbane) in 1844 for Port Essington, on the north coast, and after many hardships and difficulties, including numerous conflicts with the blacks, accomplished their mission and returned to Sydney late in 1845. Full particulars of the expedition will be found in Dr. Leichhardt's subsequently published narrative of the journey. Calvert was an exhibitor at the earlier exhibitions in London and Paris, and at the London Exhibition of 1862 was awarded a silver medal for his collection of Australian paper-making materials. Soon after the arrival of Sir Wm. Denison as governor he was placed on the commission of the peace at Sydney. He married the well-known Australian authoress, Miss Laura Atkinson [see CALVERT, CAROLINE LOUISA WARING, *née* Atkinson], and after that lady's sudden death in 1872 he led a retired life. He died in New South Wales 22 July 1884.

[Heaton's Dict. Australian Biog.; Exhibition Reports; Leichhardt's Journal of an Overland Journey (London, 1847).] H. M. C.

**CALVERT, LEONARD** (d. 1647), governor of Maryland, America, was the second son of George Calvert, first lord Baltimore

[q.v.], and the brother of Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, who received a charter for the colony from Charles I on 20 June 1632. At the request of his brother, Leonard Calvert set sail with the expedition from Cowes on 22 Nov. 1633 in the two ships the Ark of Avalon and the Dove. The emigrants consisted of two hundred persons of good families and of the Roman catholic persuasion; but although the colony was designed to be a refuge for English catholics, religious toleration was from the beginning proclaimed for all christians. The name Maryland was bestowed on the colony by Charles I in honour of his queen, Henrietta Maria. They

had an interview with Captain Clayborne, who had established a trading station on Kent Island, Chesapeake Bay, and intimated to him that the settlement would be considered part of the Maryland colony. He also met an Englishman, Captain Henry Fleet, who had spent several years among the Indians, and through whose influence the chief was induced to go on board the governor's vessel, and to forego all objections to the settlement of the colony. For the first ten years of the existence of the colony there is an hiatus in the information, the records having been seized in 1646 by one of Clayborne's men and carried to England. Clayborne in 1635 resorted to force, but was defeated and fled to Virginia. For some years Calvert was in England, but returned to Maryland in August or September 1644 with a new commission from the lord proprietary. Meanwhile Clayborne had possessed himself of Kent Island, and finally he drove Calvert to Virginia; but in 1646 Calvert returned and surprised and routed the rebels. He then proceeded to reduce Kent Island, and after its submission, 16 April 1647, pardon was granted to all offenders. He died on 9 June in the same year. It is not known whether he was married or had any children.

[A narrative of the voyage of the colonists was written in Latin by Frank White, one of the jesuit missionaries who accompanied the colony. Of this pamphlet a translation was published in Force's Tracts, and the Latin version, with a new translation and notes by the Rev. Dr. Dalrymple, in the Proceedings of the Maryland Historical Society. There is also a contemporary account of its settlement in A Relation of Maryland, together with a Map of the Country, the condition of Plantation, and his Majesty's charter to the Lord Baltimore,

translated into English, London, 8 Sept. 1635. For lives of Calvert see Belknap's American Biography, ii. 372-80; Sparks's American Biography, xix. 1-229; Morris's Lords Baltimore (1874), pp. 36-41.] T. F. H.

**CALVERT, MICHAEL** (1770-1862), author of a history of Knaresborough, was born in that town and baptised at the parish church on 2 Feb. 1770. His parents' names were Richard and Barbara. He was by calling a chemist. In 1808 and 1809 he filled the office of churchwarden, and in the latter year repaired the chancel of the church. Among other public objects in which he took an interest was the Knaresborough Spa, a

Harro-  
guese and  
He  
mineral

qualities and virtues of the waters. His 'History of Knaresborough, comprising an accurate and detailed account of the castle, the forest, and the several townships included in the said parish,' was published in 1844 in duodecimo. He died on 3 Dec. 1862, at the age of 92, in the town where he had spent all his life.

[Boyd's Yorkshire Library, 1869, p. 142; Grainger's Hist. of Harrogate, 1871, p. 261; information supplied by Mr. Charles Powell, Knaresborough.] C. W. S.

**CALVERT, THOMAS** (1606-1679), divine, a native of York, was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. He became chaplain of Sir Thomas Burdet in Derbyshire, and was afterwards vicar of Trinity Church in the King's Court at York. During the Commonwealth he held one of the four preacher-ships endowed by the crown at the minister, besides the living of Allhallows, York. He was ejected from his living in 1662, was banished from York by the Five Mile Act, and 'withdrew to the good Lady Berwicks, near Tadcaster.' Later he returned to York, where he died in March 1679, aged 73. He had a son by whose extravagances he was much troubled, but found a congenial companion in his nephew James Calvert, and corresponded with the chief scholars of the time. He was well read in Hebrew. His works were: 1. 'The Blessed Jew of Marocco, a Blackmoor made White,' York, 1648. To this work, which is a translation (through the Latin) of the testimony of Rabbi Samuel, a converted Jew, to the truth of christianity, Calvert contributes annotations and a long diatribe on the mediæval history of the Jews and the wretchedness of their present condition. 2. 'Heart-Salve for a wounded Soule: or Meditations of Comfort for Relief of a soul



sick, of delayed prayers, and the hiding of God's countenance' (a sermon on Ps. cxliii. 7), and 'Eye-Salve for the blinde world' (a sermon on Isaiah lvii. 1), York, 10 Oct. 1647. 3. 'The Wise Merchant; or the peerless pearl, set forth in some meditations delivered in two sermons upon Matt. xiii. 45, 46, to the company of merchants in the city of York,' London, 1660. Calamy and Palmer enumerate many other sermons, including one preached at the funeral of Lady Burdet, and a translation of Gerard's 'Schola Consolatoria.'

[Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, iii. 458-9; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

**CALVERT, THOMAS** (1775-1840), theologian, was born at Preston in 1775. His father, whose name was Jackson, sent him to Clitheroe free grammar school, of which the master was then the learned Rev. Thomas Wilson, B.D. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and was fourth wrangler. He was B.A. in 1797, M.A. in 1800, B.D. in 1807, and D.D. in 1823. The last-named degree was taken in the name of Calvert, which he assumed on the death of a friend belonging to an old Lancashire family, who, although unconnected by blood, left him about 1819 a large fortune. He was fellow of his college in 1798, tutor in 1814, and Norrisian professor of divinity from 1814 to 1824, in which year he resigned the post of Lady Margaret's preacher, which he had held since 1819. Having been appointed king's preacher at Whitehall, he attracted the attention and admiration of Lord Liverpool, who appointed him to the rectory of Wilmslow. Although the crown claimed the patronage, it was ultimately decided that the right vested in the ancient family of the Traffords of Trafford, who for more than two centuries have been Roman catholics. Calvert had his consolation in the college living of Holme, Yorkshire, in 1822, and in the wardenship of the collegiate church of Manchester, conferred unsolicited on the recommendation of his admirer, Lord Liverpool. He was installed on 8 March 1823. He married Juliana, daughter of Sir Charles Watson of Wratting Park, Cambridgeshire, and had three sons.

He wrote: 1. 'The Disinterested and Benevolent Character of Christianity, a Sermon,' Cambridge, 1819. 2. 'The Rich and Poor shown to be of God's appointment and equally the objects of His regard, two Sermons at Whitehall,' Cambridge, 1820. 3. 'Christ's Presence a source of Consolation and Courage, a Sermon,' London, 1823. 4. 'Help in Time of Need, a Sermon,' London, 1826. 5. 'Infidelity Unmasked, a Sermon,' Manchester, 1831. 6. 'An Established

Church the best means of providing for the Care of a Christian Community, a Sermon,' Manchester, 1834. 7. 'A Sermon preached before the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy in St. Paul's Cathedral' (? 1837). 8. 'On the Duty of Bridling the Tongue, a Sermon,' 1840. This was written for a volume made up of contributions by thirty-nine divines towards a fund for St. Andrew's Schools, Manchester. Calvert was constitutionally diffident, and did not take much part in public affairs except in his opposition to catholic emancipation. His serene manners and gentle deportment made him very popular. He died after a short illness in his house at Ardwick on 4 June 1840, and was followed to the grave by the whole body of the Manchester clergy.

[Raines's Lives of the Wardens of Manchester (Chetham Society), 1885; Baker-Mayor's History of St. John's College, Cambridge, p. 311.] W. E. A. A.

**CAMBELL or CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (1570-1642), lord mayor of London, was the grandson of Robert Cambell of Foulsham, Norfolk. His father, Sir Thomas Cambell (d. 1613), was alderman successively of Bridge Without (15 Nov. 1599), of Broad Street (23 April 1610), and of Coleman Street (11 Oct. 1611); sheriff of London (24 June 1600); lord mayor (29 Sept. 1609); and twice master of the Ironmongers' Company (1604 and 1613). Sir Thomas, who was knighted at Whitehall (26 July 1603), married Alice, daughter of Edward Bright of London (*Harl. MS.* 1096, f. 13). The son James followed his father's trade of ironmonger. He was elected sheriff of London in 1619, alderman of Billingsgate ward, 24 May 1620, whence he removed to Lion Street, 14 May 1625, and lord mayor in 1629. Thomas Dekker, the dramatist, arranged and wrote the pageant 'London's Tempe' for Cambell's installation (*FAIRHOLT, Lord Mayor's Pageants* (Percy Soc.), part ii. 35-60). During his mayoralty Cambell was knighted (23 May 1630), and he presented an elaborate cup to the king at the christening of Prince Charles (15 June 1630). Cambell was thrice master of the Ironmongers' Company (1615, 1623, and 1641). He died at his house in Throgmorton Street, 5 Jan. 1641-2, and was buried (8 Feb.) at St. Olave's Jewry. His wife Rachel survived him, but he had no children. By his will he left a large number of legacies to relatives and friends, and made several charitable bequests to the London hospitals and the Ironmongers' Company, for 'redemption of poor captives from Turkish slavery,' 'for erecting of a free school at Barking in Essex,' and

for pious uses. The total sum distributed amounted to 48,967*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Edward Browne, Cambell's clerk, to whom he left 20*l.*, published (May 1612) an elaborate panegyric, entitled 'a rare laterne of justice and mercy, exemplified in the many notable and charitable legacies of Sir James Cambel.' The tract includes an engraved portrait of Cambell and a drawing of his tomb. The original of the former is now at St. Thomas's Hospital. Lady Cambell died in January 1656-7. Robert Cambell, Sir James's brother, was also an alderman of London, and was master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1631.

[Nicholl's Ironmongers' Company (1866), pp. 272, 536; Overall's Remembrancer, pp. 72, 498; Stow's Survey, ed. Strype, i. 274-5 (where the will is printed); Metcalfe's Knights, 151, 195; Cal. State Papers, 1629-41 (where several of Cambell's official letters as lord mayor and alderman are printed); Browne's tract.]

S. L. L.

**CAMBRENSIS, GIRALDUS.** [See GIRALDUS.]

**CAMBRIDGE, JOHN.** [See CANTEBRIG, JOHN DE.]

**CAMBRIDGE, DUKE OF (1774-1850).** [See ADOLPHUS, FREDERICK.]

**CAMBRIDGE, EARL OF (d. 1415).** [See PLANTAGENET, RICHARD.]

**CAMBRIDGE, RICHARD OWEN** (1717-1802), poet, was born in London on 14 Feb. 1717. His family came originally from Gloucestershire. His father, who had been a Turkey merchant, died soon after his birth, and he was left to the care of his mother and his maternal uncle, Thomas Owen. He was educated at Eton, where he seems to have distinguished himself rather by facility than application. In 1734 he entered as a gentleman-commoner of St. John's College, Oxford, and one of his first poetical efforts was a poem on the marriage of Frederick, prince of Wales, which was published in 1736 among the 'Oxford Congratulatory Verses.' In the following year, having left the university without taking a degree, he became a member of Lincoln's Inn. His legal studies were but languid, and in 1741 he married Miss Trenchard, daughter of George Trenchard of Wolverton in Dorsetshire, and granddaughter of the Sir John Trenchard who had been secretary of state to William III. After this he removed to his family seat at Whitminster in Gloucestershire, on the banks of the Severn, where he led the life of a country gentleman whose tastes lay rather in letters and landscape-

gardening than farming and field sports. At the death of his uncle in 1748, he received a large addition to his income, and quitted Whitminster. For a short time he resided in London, but in 1751 he removed to Twickenham, where he purchased a villa, standing, says Lysons, 'in the meadows opposite Richmond Hill.' At Twickenham he lived during the remainder of his long life, which closed 17 Sept. 1802. His widow survived him four years, dying 5 Sept. 1806.

Cambridge was a man of considerable wit, great conversational powers, and much literary taste, and his pleasant house at Twickenham, which he delighted in decorating and beautifying, was the resort of many contemporary notabilities. Gray, Lyttelton, Soame Jenyns, Pitt, Fox, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, James Harris, Lord Hardwicke, Admiral Boscawen, Lord Anson, and a host of others were among his acquaintances or intimates. There are traces of him in Boswell's 'Johnson,' in the letters of Walpole, and the journals of Miss Berry. His character was drawn by another friend, Lord Chesterfield: 'Cantabrigius drinks nothing but water, and rides more miles in a year than the keenest sportsman, and with almost equal velocity. The former keeps his head clear, the latter his body in health. It is not from himself that he runs, but to his acquaintance, a synonymous term for his friends. Internally safe, he seeks no sanctuary from himself, no intoxication for his mind. His penetration makes him discover and divert himself with the follies of mankind, which his wit enables him to expose with the truest ridicule, though always without personal offence. Cheerful abroad, because happy at home; and thus happy because virtuous' (*World*, No. xcii.)

While residing in his Gloucester home he had written the work most generally associated with his name, 'The Scribleriad,' a mock-heroic poem in six books, and in the Pope couplet. It was not published until 1751, when it appeared with frontispieces to each book, chiefly by P. L. Boitard. Its hero is the Scriblerus of Swift and the rest, and its object is the ridicule of false science and false taste. The versification is still elegant and finished, but the interest of the satire has evaporated. Even in its author's day a long preface was needed to explain its intention. This was prefixed to the second edition. In 1752 Cambridge published 'A Dialogue between a Member of Parliament and his Servant,' in imitation of Horace, Sat. ii. 7. This was followed in 1754 by 'The Intruder,' another imitation of Sat. i. 9; and the 'Fable of Jotham.' In 1756 came 'The Fakeer,' and 'An Elegy written in an empty

Bath Assembly Room.' The last three of these are printed in the sixth volume of Dodsley's 'Collection of Poems.' There are others in the 4to edition of the author's works published by his son, the Rev. G. O. Camden, in 1803. His prose writings consisted of a 'History of the War upon the Coast of Coromandel,' 1761, a contribution to the chronicles of India only superseded by the more important work of Orme. He was also the author of twenty-one papers in Edward Moore's 'World,' 1753-6. They are among the best in that collection. It is with respect to this periodical that one of the few recorded witticisms of this once famous conversationalist is related. 'A note from Mr. Moore requesting an essay,' says his son, 'was put into my father's hands on a Sunday morning as he was going to church; my mother, observing him rather inattentive during the sermon, whispered, "What are you thinking of?" He replied, "Of the next World, my dear."'

[Works of R. O. Camden, by his son, G. O. Camden, M.A., Prebendary of Ely; a sumptuous 4to, with several fine portraits, published in 1803.] A. D.

**CAMDEN, EARL OF (1713-1793).** [See PRATT, CHARLES.]

**CAMDEN, MARQUIS (1759-1840).** [See PRATT, JOHN JEFFREYS.]

**CAMDEN, WILLIAM (1551-1623),** antiquary and historian, was born in the Old Bailey in London on 2 May 1551. His father was Sampson Camden, a native of Lichfield, who in early life came up to London to follow the profession of a painter, and was a member of the Guild of Painter-Stainers. In the inscription on a cup which his son bequeathed to the guild he was described as 'Pictor Londinensis,' which, as Gough observes, may apply either to his profession or his company. Camden's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Giles Curwen of Poulton Hall, Lancashire, and came of the ancient family of Curwen of Workington in Cumberland, a descent of which he speaks with modest pride in his 'Britannia.' At an early age he was entered at Christ's Hospital, probably as a 'town child' or 'free scholar,' but the year is unknown. His biographer, Dr. Smith, infers, from the fact of the hospital having been founded for the benefit of orphans, that he had then already lost his father; and Bishop Gibson disregards the story of his admission. But Degory Wheare, his contemporary, presumably had good authority for stating the fact; and he also seems to imply that Camden's father had the care of his early training. In the registers of St. Augustine's

Church, London, is entered the marriage of Sampson Camden and Avis Carter, 4 Sept. 1575. This might be a second marriage of Camden's father, but more probably a brother is referred to (see CHESTER, *Westm. Abbey Registers*, p. 122). In 1563, at the age of twelve, the boy was attacked by the plague at Islington ('peste correptus Islingtoniæ,' *Memorabilia*), but there is no evidence for Anthony Wood's addition that there 'he remained for some time, to the great loss of his learning.' On his recovery he was sent to St. Paul's School, where he remained until 1566, when he went up to Oxford, being then in his fifteenth or sixteenth year.

Without patrimony, his introduction to the university was under the patronage of Dr. Thomas Cooper, fellow of Magdalen College and late master of the school, afterwards successively dean of Christ Church (1567) and bishop of Winchester [q. v.] Camden's position at Magdalen is uncertain. Wood says that 'in the condition of a chorister or servitor he perfected himself in grammar learning in the free school adjoining;' Degory Wheare, less definite, is content with 'tirocinium primum exegit et logices rudimenta celerime deposuit inter Magdalenenses.' Bishop Gibson adopts the suggestion of his service as chorister. Failing to obtain a demyship at his college, he was taken by the hand by Dr. Thomas Thornton, on whose invitation he was admitted to Broadgates Hall (Pembroke College). Here among his fellow-students were the two Carews, Richard and George, the latter of whom was afterwards created Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totnes, whose tastes, like his own, led them to antiquarian research. Other associates were Sir John Packington, Sir Stephen Powel, and Sir Edward Lucy. It is recorded that certain short graces, composed by him in Latin, were used in hall for many years after he had left. His residence there lasted three years, when, on Thornton's promotion to a canonry at Christ Church, he followed his patron thither; and during the rest of his Oxford life he was supported by this generous friend. Next he appears as a candidate for a fellowship at All Souls, but in this attempt he was frustrated by the popish party. Although scarcely of the age of twenty, Camden had made enemies by taking part in religious controversy. Writing in after years (1618) to Ussher, he refers to this defeat 'for defending the religion established' (ep. 195). Thus disappointed of obtaining the means of living in the university, he supplicated in June 1570 for the degree of bachelor of arts; but nothing on this occasion appears to have followed, for afterwards, in March 1573, he again applied for the same

degree, which was granted, but he failed to complete it by determination. In fact it seems doubtful whether Camden ever actually fulfilled the requirements for the first degree, although in June 1588, describing himself as B.A. of Christ Church, he supplicated for that of master of arts, and that 'whereas he had spent sixteen years, from the time he had taken the degree of bachelor, in the study of philosophy and other liberal arts, he might be dispensed with for the reading of three solemn lectures' (Wood). He did not, however, obtain the master's degree on this occasion; but it was afterwards offered to him in 1613, when he visited Oxford to attend Sir Thomas Bodley's funeral, and then, according to Wood, he refused it as an unprofitable honour at that advanced period of his life.

In 1571 Camden left Oxford and returned to London. He had no regular employment, and for the next few years he was free to pursue his antiquarian studies. He now began to amass the materials which laid the foundation for his future work, the 'Britannia.' In the address 'ad Lectorem,' which he added to the fifth edition of that work, Camden has himself given us an interesting sketch of the way in which his studies were directed to antiquarian subjects, and how the 'Britannia' grew under his hand. From his earliest days, we are told, his natural inclination led him to investigate antiquity; as a boy at school, and afterwards as a young man at Oxford, all his spare time was given to this favourite pursuit. He specially mentions the encouragement he had from his fellow-student at Christ Church, Sir Philip Sidney. Much of his leisure after leaving the university was passed in travelling through the kingdom and noting its antiquities. But his collections at this time were not made with any view to publication.

Camden's patrons at this period were Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, and his brother Godfrey; and it was by the dean's interest that he was appointed in 1575 to the second mastership in Westminster School under Dr. Edward Grant. A schoolmaster's life still left him free in holiday time to make occasional journeys of inquiry. In 1578 he surveyed the country of the Iceni in Norfolk and Suffolk (*Corresp. of Ortelius*, ed. J. H. Hessels, ep. 78). He has noted in his biographical 'Memorabilia' in 1582 a journey through Suffolk into Yorkshire, returning by way of Lancashire. His reputation as an antiquary and topographer was now established, and he became known to scholars of other nations. He notes under the year 1581, the commencement of his friendship with Brisson, the distinguished French jurist, who, being on

an embassy in England, singled out the poor Westminster master, the 'umbraticus vir et pulvere scholastico obitus' (SMITH), for special attention; and still earlier, in 1577, a visit of Abraham Ortelius, the 'universæ geographiæ vindex et instaurator,' to England brought the two men together. Camden, urged and encouraged by his new friend, undertook the systematic preparation of the 'Britannia.' For this work Camden's labours were enormous. Among other things, he tells us that he had to get some knowledge of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon languages, to read and read again both native and other historians, many of whose works still remained in manuscript, and to ransack and select from the public records; and to all this, be it remembered, was added the 'laboriosissimum munus' of teaching (see some of the original collections for the work in *Cotton MSS.* Titus F. vii-ix, and Cleopatra A. iv).

After ten years' toil the 'Britannia' was completed, and appeared with a dedication to Lord-treasurer Burghley, dated 2 May 1580, the day on which Camden completed his thirty-fifth year. Its success was great; nothing of the kind had been attempted since the days of Leland, and by him only in briefer outline. In the space of four years it passed through three London editions, besides a reprint at Frankfort in 1590; a fourth edition came out in 1594. All these editions had the supervision of the author, and the last was more fully illustrated with genealogical matter. In 1589 Camden travelled into Devonshire, where he had been presented early in the year (6 Feb.) by Dr. Piers, bishop of Salisbury, with the prebend of Ilfracombe, a preferment which he held for life, although a layman. In the next year he was in Wales in company with Dr. Francis Godwin, soon afterwards bishop of Llandaff (1601), and then of Hereford (1617). The expenses of these journeys are said to have been defrayed by his old friend Godfrey Goodman. In October 1592 a quartan ague fastened upon him, and clung to him persistently for months. It was not till June 1594 that he could write down 'febrè liberatus.'

Meanwhile Dr. Grant, the head-master of Westminster, resigned his post in February 1593, and in the following month he was succeeded by Camden. In 1596 Camden visited Salisbury and Wells, returning by way of Oxford, 'where he visited most, if not all, of the churches and chapels for the copying out of the several monuments and arms in them, which were reduced by him into a book written with his own hand' (Wood). But the next year he fell seriously ill again, and removed to the house of one Cuthbert Line,

by the careful nursing of whose wife he recovered. In 1597 also he published his Greek grammar for the use of Westminster School, 'Institutio Græcæ Grammatices Compendiaria,' which was based on an earlier one ('Græcæ Linguae Spicilegium') by his predecessor, but cast in a more convenient form (see a portion of the manuscript in *Cotton MS. Vespasian E. viii*). It became very popular, and has gone through numberless impressions, having continued in use down to a recent date.

About this time he was offered a mastership of requests, which he refused; but in September of the same year (1597) the office of Clarenceux king-of-arms fell vacant, and on 23 Oct. Camden was appointed to the place, having been created Richmond herald for a single day as a formal step to the higher rank. He owed the appointment to Sir Fulke Greville [q. v.], afterwards (1621) Lord Brooke, without any personal solicitation. If we may believe Smith, Lord Burghley was offended that Camden had not made interest personally with him, but was appeased when he found that Greville had acted on his own motion. Camden was thus released from the routine of a schoolmaster's life. Of his work in the school we have but few details. In his letter to Ussher (ep. 195) in 1618, he makes some reference to his success as a teacher, but only to illustrate his constant obedience to the English church. He writes: 'At my coming to Westminster I took the like oath, where (*absit jactantia*) God so blessed my labours that the now bishops of London, Durham, and St. Asaph, to say nothing of persons employed now in eminent places abroad, and many of especial note at home of all degrees, do acknowledge themselves to have been my scholars—yea, I brought there to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, O'Railly, Shees . . . and others bred popishly and so affected' (see an account of some of Camden's distinguished pupils in Gough's *Britannia*, 1806, i. xxvii). A few records of Camden's connection with the chapter have been found in the chapter books of Westminster (see CHESTER, *Westm. Abbey Registers*, p. 121). Among certain regulations, under the date of 16 May 1587, respecting the college library, 'Mr. Camden, usher for the tyme present,' is appointed 'keper of the said librarie,' with a yearly salary of twenty shillings. On 2 Dec. 1591 he had the lease of 'a little tenement in the Close for the term of his life.' On 29 Jan. 1594 he and another 'have their diet allowed them at our common table;' and after receipt of 'hir Ma<sup>ties</sup> letters in favor of Mr. Camden, a patent for his manes die'

during the life of the said Mr. Camden' was granted to him on 13 June 1594.

Camden's appointment as Clarenceux had given offence, for it was mainly a feeling of jealousy that prompted the public attack opened upon him in 1599. His antagonist was Ralph Brooke (or Brookesmouth) [q. v.], York herald, who is said to have also aspired to the post which Camden had obtained. Taking the fourth edition of the 'Britannia' of 1594, Brooke had set himself to examine the pedigrees of illustrious families therein set forth, and produced the errors in a book entitled 'A Discoverie of certain Erroures published in print in the much commended "Britannia," 1594,' and without date. It has been stated that Brooke had been preparing his attack from the time of the publication of the fourth edition. In his prefatory address 'to Maister Camden' he does not give him the title of Clarenceux. On the other hand, it seems hardly probable that the address, published in 1599, would have been issued as written two years earlier. Brooke more probably abstained from recognising as a king-of-arms one whom he was attacking for his shortcomings as a herald. Besides, Camden had written with some lightness of the opinions of heralds, and Brooke's professional jealousy was touched. Besides accusing Camden generally of errors in genealogy, Brooke charges him with pillaging from Glover, from whom he had gleaned 'not handfuls, but wholesheaves,' and claims for Leland the honour of having anticipated Camden 'as the first author and contriver of this late-born "Britannia." The style of the attack is personal and coarse, but Brooke recognised Camden's wide reputation as a scholar 'of rare knowledge and singular industry;' and yet no man, he fairly adds, 'is so generally well seen in all things but an inferior person in some one special matter may go beyond him.' Camden's biographers have made the most of Brooke's bad qualities. He appears to have been a man of ability, but of a quarrelsome temper, and constantly at war with his brother heralds.

In the latter part of the year 1600 Camden travelled into the north as far as Carlisle with his friend Robert (afterwards Sir Robert) Cotton, in order to survey the northern counties, and returned in December. Meanwhile, he had prepared a fifth edition of the 'Britannia,' and published it in this same year, appending to it an address 'ad Lectorem,' in which he replied to Brooke's strictures. In this document Camden is at pains to show how Brooke had himself blundered, and he injudiciously introduces much personal matter. The strong point of his defence is that the 'Britannia' was a topographical and

historical work, rather than heraldic and genealogical. For the rest, he shifts many of his faults on to his predecessor, Clarenceux Cooke, whose papers he had used. He confesses he had copied Leland, but not without acknowledgment; and argues that while Leland had spent five years, he had passed six times that number in the study of antiquity. Camden would have been to blame had he not made use of his predecessor. How much he improved upon him is too manifest to need proof (see Gough's edition, in which, under Dorsetshire, the passages taken from Leland are printed in italics). As Bishop Gibson remarks, a perusal of Leland's 'Itinerary' is Camden's best defence.

Brooke wrote a 'Second Discoverie,' in which he charges Camden with having originally rejected friendly offers of correction on the appearance of his fourth edition, and complains that his 'First Discoverie' was interrupted and cut short by the influence of Camden's friends, and he 'stayed by commandment of authority to proceed any farther.' He presented this second part of his work to King James in 1620, but was not allowed to publish it (NOBLE, *College of Arms*, p. 243; but see also NICOLAS, *Memoir of Augustine Vincent*, 1827, p. 26), and it was not till a century later (in 1723) that it appeared in print, from the manuscript in the possession of John Anstis the elder [q.v.], with an appendix showing the corrections which Camden made, in the points in dispute, in his fifth edition of 1600.

In 1600 Camden also 'diverted himself among the ancient monuments' (GIBSON), and published his account of the monuments, or rather list of the epitaphs, in Westminster Abbey, entitled 'Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti,' a work which he enlarged and issued again in 1603 and 1606. In 1601 he was again stricken with fever, but recovered under the care of his friend William Heather, afterwards doctor of music and founder of a music lecture at Oxford; and in 1603, on an outbreak of the plague in London, he removed to his friend Cotton's house at Connington in Huntingdonshire, where he stayed till Christmas. In the latter

had accordingly to content himself with putting forth this volume of chronicles and smaller works, dealing with particular periods, as the account of the Norman invasion which he gave in his edition of the 'Britannia' of 1607, and his annals of Queen Elizabeth. Camden's edition of the chronicle of Asser [q.v.] is famous from the fact of its containing the interpolated passage regarding the foundation of Oxford University by King Alfred. The same account had already appeared in his 'Britannia' of 1600. Conclusive evidence on the point is lost by the disappearance of the manuscripts of Asser, but it is now admitted that the passage is a late forgery. The circumstance of its interpolation in Camden's publications has naturally cast some suspicion upon his honesty in the matter; but, as Gough says, Camden had no special reason for glorifying Oxford, and his character for truthfulness stands too high to be impeached on imperfect evidence. The composition of the passage has been attributed to Sir Henry Savile (see PARKER, *Early Hist. of Oxford*, Oxford Hist. Soc. 1884-5, pp. 39 sqq.) At this same time Camden was also preparing for the press his 'Remains,' or commonplace collections from his 'Britannia,' 'the rude rubble and outcast rubbish of a greater and more serious work,' as he styles it. The book was brought out in 1605, with a dedication to Sir Robert Cotton, signed only with the letters M. N., the last letters of Camden's two names, and passed through as many as seven editions in the course of the seventeenth century. He had originally intended to dedicate it to Sir Fulke Greville, but did honour to that patron by the dedication of his collection of chronicles in its place. On the discovery of the Gunpowder plot Camden was for the first time called upon to write in the public service, and instructed to translate into Latin the account of the trial of the conspirators. Accordingly in 1607 appeared his 'Actio in Henricum Garnetum, Societatis Jesuiticæ in Anglia superiorem, et cæteros.'

On 7 Sept. 1607 Camden had injured his leg so severely by a fall from his horse that he was kept to his house for nine months, only leaving it at length to attend the fune-

nica, Hibernica, a veteribus scripta,' and a dedication to Sir Fulke Greville. This book originally grew out of his preparatory labours on the 'Britannia.' He had also conceived the idea of writing a general history of England in Latin, but the vastness of the scheme compelled him to abandon the project. He

hand to his "Britannia" which gained him the titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pausanias of Britain in the writings and letters of learned men' (GIBSON); and published during 1607 an edition in folio, which was a considerable enlargement on those which had preceded. As his own memoranda

prove, he did not to the last give up thoughts of a still further edition, and as late as 1621 he was making researches for the purpose (*Apparat. Annal. Jac. I.*, p. 70).

Under date of 1608 Camden enters in his 'Memorabilia' the words 'Annales digerere cœpi:' he began to digest the material for a history of Elizabeth's reign which he had contemplated for some years. As far back as 1597 he had been urged to the work by his patron, Lord Burghley; but the death of the latter in the following year had probably been one of the principal reasons for laying it aside. He now resumed his preparations, but was interrupted by a severe illness which seized him on his birthday, 2 May 1609. The fear of the plague, which broke out in his neighbourhood at the same time, drove him to his friend Heather's house in Westminster, where he recovered under the treatment of Dr. John Giffard. When convalescent he removed to Chislehurst in August, and remained there till the close of the following October.

It was at this period that an attempt was made to carry out a plan, devised by Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, to found a college at Chelsea for a certain number of learned men who were to be employed in writing against the errors of the church of Rome. The king nominated a provost (Dr. Sutcliffe himself), seventeen fellows, and two historians. One of the latter was Camden, whose appointment was dated 10 May 1610. The scheme fell through for lack of funds, and the site of the building, which was actually begun, was finally used for the present Chelsea Hospital.

At length, in 1615, Camden published his annals brought down to the end of the year 1588, 'Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha, ad annum Salutis MDLXXXIX.' The book was received generally with high praise. Smith and other biographers of Camden specially quote Selden's eulogy, who singles out Camden's 'Annals' and Bacon's 'History of Henry VII' as the only two books of their kind which reach a high standard of excellence, for, except them, 'we have not so much as a publique piece of the history of England that tastes enough either of the truth or plenty that may be gained from the records of the kingdom' (Letter quoted in VINCENT'S *Discoverie of Errours*, 1622). But Camden's impartiality was afterwards impugned in certain points, and particularly in the contradictions which appeared between his own account of the events in Scotland and concerning Mary Queen of Scots, and the information which he was said to have

supplied to the French historian De Thou on the same subject. Gough points out that Camden writing in England could not use the same freedom as De Thou writing abroad. But, as a matter of fact, there is really no evidence to show that Camden supplied De Thou with the information which has been attributed to him. Their correspondence began at a date when the second part of the French historian's work was already in the press, and there is nothing in their letters to show that any such information had passed (see SMITH, *Vita*, p. 54; BAYLE, *Dictionary*, English ed. 1726, iv. 64, 65). On the contrary, in his first letter to Camden, February 1605-6 (ep. 54), De Thou, telling him that the book is being printed, asks his advice how he may best avoid giving offence in treating of the affairs of Scotland. But there was then no time to alter the whole complexion of his account, however he may have modified anything on Camden's suggestion of moderation; and, in fact, he apologises for doing so little in this direction in the letter which accompanied the gift of his work, August 1606 (ep. 59). Camden wrote a paper of 'Animadversiones in Jac. Aug. Thuani Historiam, in quâ res Scoticæ memorantur' (printed with the 'Epistolæ'); and, although this was done by James's order, Camden could hardly have thus criticised work for which he was himself partly answerable. At a later period De Thou was greatly indebted to Camden's assistance. There is extant (*Cotton MS. Faustina F. x.*, f. 254) a memorandum by the latter: 'The cōpye of this story of Queen Elizabeth, from 1583 to 1587, not transcribed for myself as yett, but sent into France to Tuanus.' The transcript was no doubt sent to De Thou in continuation of Sir Robert Cotton's 'Commentaries,' which, as far as the year 1582, had been placed at his service in 1613 (*De Thou to Camden*, ep. 99). De Thou refers to it in his letter of July 1515 (ep. 111), in which he also asks for the rest of the annals of Elizabeth's reign, and, if possible, the continuation to 1610.

As to the theory that Camden smoothed down his original account to please James, or even that the king himself made alterations, we are able to go to the manuscripts themselves for evidence. Camden's drafts and transcripts (unfortunately imperfect) of his 'Annals' are in the Cottonian Library (*Faustina F. i-x*). In the first part of the work these manuscripts contain a portion of the first drafts, a first fair copy, which was further revised, and, from this revision, a second fair copy, which, after receiving further corrections and insertions, presents,



with slight variations, the text of the printed work. The first copy ends with the year 1582, and no doubt it was the rest of this transcript that was sent to De Thou. The second copy breaks off in the middle of 1586. Throughout the work there is no alteration of the main lines on which the history was first laid down. The latter part (1586-8), where the transcripts fail, and especially the account of Mary's trial and execution, is supplied by the drafts, a perusal of which clearly indicates that the revision which they underwent was exactly of the same nature as that which is seen in the transcripts of the earlier portion. The second transcript appears to have been finally revised in 1613, and the text thus received the form in which it was published before it was submitted to the king.

Camden's biographers, from Smith downwards, tell us that on account of these censures he determined that the second part of his 'Annals' should not see the light during his lifetime. However, it appears from one of his letters (ep. 287), written on the submission of the manuscript to the king, that at that time his feelings were neutral. While careless as to the publication of the Latin original, he was decidedly opposed to the appearance of an English translation: 'As I do not dislike that they should be published in my lifetime, so I do not desire that they should be set forth in English until after my death, knowing how unjust carpers the unlearned readers are.' He finished the compilation in 1617, and, keeping the original, he sent a copy to his friend, Pierre Dupuy, the historian, who undertook to publish it after the author's death. It was accordingly issued at Leyden in 1625, and in London in 1627.

The materials from which Camden compiled his 'Annals' exist to the present day in great part in the Cottonian Library. Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, once a pupil of Camden's at Westminster, and nephew of his old friend the dean, asked for such materials as a legacy, but Camden had already bequeathed them to Archbishop Bancroft, on whose death he transferred the bequest to the succeeding primate, Abbot. Bishop Gibson has suggested that the papers so bequeathed were only such as more immediately concerned ecclesiastical matters. Whatever they may have been, it is supposed that they were lost on the pillage of Laud's library, as Sancroft could find no trace of them.

Camden continued to write short memoranda of events in the course of the reign of James I: 'a skeleton of a history, or bare

touches to put the author in mind of greater matters, had he lived to have digested them in a full history' (WOOD), which were printed by Smith at the end of his 'Camdeni Epistolæ.' Wood is the authority for the story of the original manuscript having been carried off, after Camden's death, by John Hacket, afterwards (1601) bishop of Lichfield, 'who, as I have been divers times informed, did privately convey it out of the library of the author.' It is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Camden spent the latter years of his life in retirement at Chislehurst. He describes himself to Ussher, in July 1618 (ep. 195), as 'being retired into the country for the recovery of my tender health, where, *portum anhelans beatitudinis*, I purposed to sequester myself from worldly business and cogitations;' and, constant to his place of retreat, he declined the invitation, made in 1621 by Sir Henry Savile, to take up his quarters in his house at Eton, where, says his friend, 'you might make me a happy man in my old age without any discontent' (ep. 251). In February 1620 he had a severe vomiting of blood (*Memorabilia*), and remained ill till the following August, his constitution rallying, however, even after further blood-letting by Dr. Giffard.

During 1619 his letters show that he had some dispute with his brother kings-of-arms, Garter and Norroy, concerning his appointment of deputies to serve on his visitations (see a list of counties visited by his deputies in *The Visitation of co. Huntingdon*, Camd. Soc., 1849, p. vi). Indeed, down to the very time of his death this matter continued to cause him trouble, there being still extant (*Cotton MS. Julius C. iii. f. 151 b*; *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, Camd. Soc. p. 126) on this subject a letter signed, with painful effort, 22 Oct. 1623, after he had received the stroke which shortly preceded his death. In another letter, dated simply 26 Oct., probably 1623, he refers to the office of Clarenceux having been given to another, and continues that 'they proposed to leave me 600*l.* presently, and an hundred mark a year' (*Cotton MS. Faustina E. i. f. 131*).

Early in 1621 he was summoned to court to exercise his office of king-of-arms on the creation of Lord-chancellor Bacon as Viscount St. Albans; and in June of the same year he was present at the degradation of Sir Francis Mitchell (*Apparat. Annal. Jac. I*, pp. 65, 72).

At the end of August 1621 he had a return of the blood-vomiting. He had long had the design of founding a history lectureship at Oxford, and now he executed a deed of gift,

5 March 1622, and sent it down to the university, where it was published in convocation on 17 May. The endowment was provided out of the manor of Bexley in Kent, which Camden had purchased of Sir Henry Spelman. The rents, valued at 400*l.* per annum, were settled on William Heather and his heirs for a term of ninety-nine years, dating from the time of Camden's death, and during this term the annual stipend of 140*l.* was to be paid to the professor of history. The first professor, appointed by Camden himself, was Degory Wheare.

Within a few weeks of this foundation Camden records, in the last entry in his 'Memorabilia,' a night of illness on 7 June 1622. Little more than a year after (18 Aug. 1623) he fell from his chair, stricken with paralysis, which for the moment deprived him of the use of his hands and feet (*Apparat. Annal. Jac. I.*, p. 82). This was followed by an illness which put an end to his life, 9 Nov. 1623. His body was brought up to his house at Westminster, and on the 19th of the month was thence carried to burial in the abbey, and laid, in the presence of a large company, in the southern transept (see a copy of his funeral certificate, which gives the names of persons who attended, printed in *The Visitation of co. Hunt.*, Camd. Soc., 1849, p. xi). His monument of white marble, which is affixed to the wall above his grave, represents him at half length, his left hand resting on a closed book, on which is the word 'Britannia.' It is curious that in the inscription his age is wrongly stated to have been seventy-four. Smith (p. 75) tells an apparently absurd story, on the faith of gossip of Charles Hatton, that the nose of the effigy was wilfully damaged by a young man, one of whose relatives had been reflected on by Camden. Another and more probable account of the mischief is that the cavaliers or independents who broke into the abbey at night to deface the hearse of the Earl of Essex (1646) 'used the like uncivil deportment towards the effigies of old learned Camden, cut in pieces the book held in his hand, broke off his nose, and otherwise defaced his visignomy' (*Perfect Diurnal*, 23-30 Nov. 1646, quoted in Stanley's *Memoirs of Westm. Abbey*, 1876, p. 290). The damages were repaired at the cost of the university of Oxford. An oration in Camden's honour, which was delivered by Zouch Townley, deputy-orator, and another ('Parentatio Historica') by Degory Wheare, together with various copies of complimentary verses composed by members of the university, were published in 1624 under the title of 'Camdeni Insignia.'

During his long service at Westminster School, Camden had laid by sufficient means to content him. By his will, which was proved 10 Nov. 1623, William Heather being executor, and which was printed by Hearne (*Curious Discourses*, ii. 390), he left a number of small sums to various friends and dependents. His cousin John Wyatt, painter, of London, receives the largest bequest of 100*l.* A piece of plate is left to Sir Fulke Greville, lord Brooke, 'who preferred me *gratis* to my office.' The two city guilds of Painters and Cordwainers also received each a piece of plate, with directions to have it inscribed as the gift of 'Guil. Camdenus, filius Sampsonis pictoris Londinensis.' With regard to his books and manuscripts Camden directs that Sir Robert Cotton 'shall have the first view of them, that he may take out such as I borrowed of him,' and then bequeaths to him all except heraldic collections and ancient seals, which were to pass, at a valuation, to his successors in the office of Clarenceux. The printed books, however, were diverted to another use; for on the building of the new library attached to the abbey, Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln and dean of Westminster, 'laid hold of an expression in the will that was capable of a double meaning' (GIBSON), and removed the books thither. Sir Henry Bourghchier, in his letter to Ussher (*PARK, Life of Ussher*, p. 302), says: 'His library, I hope, will fall to my share, by an agreement between his executors and me; which I much desire, partly to keep it entire, out of my love to the defunct.'

Camden appears to have been of a peculiarly happy temperament. His gentleness of disposition made and kept him many friends. He was active in body, of middle height, of a pleasant countenance, and as his portraits, taken when he was well advanced in life, present him, of a ruddy complexion. He was careless of ordinary personal distinction, and refused knighthood. 'I never made suit to any man,' he writes in his letter to Ussher in 1618 (ep. 195), 'no, not to his majesty, but for a matter of course, incident to my place; neither, God be praised, I needed, having gathered a contented sufficiency by my long labours in the school.' And again, his own words, 'My life and my writings shall apologise for me' (ep. 194), might have been adopted as his motto.

Among his intimate friends Smith enumerates Sir Robert Cotton, Bishop Godwin, Matthew Sutcliffe, Sir Henry Savile, Sir Henry Wotton, Archbishop Ussher, Sir Henry Bourghchier, Sir Henry Spelman, and John Selden. In addition, his printed correspondence connects him with Thomas Savile, who

died early (1592), Degory Wheare, John Johnstone of St. Andrews, Sir William Beecher the diplomatist, and many other Englishmen; and with Ortelius, James Gruter, the librarian of the Elector Palatine, the historian and statesman, Jacques de Thou, Casaubon, Peter Sweerts, Peiresc, Jean Hotman, once Leicester's secretary, and others. Of his friendship with De Thou he seems to have been especially proud, as he enters in his 'Memorabilia,' as he had done in the case of Brisson, a note of their first acquaintance in 1606.

Camden's 'Britannia, sive Florentissimum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium ex intimâ antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio,' was first published, in 8vo, in 1586. Anthony Wood (ii. 343, ed. Bliss) has erroneously stated that editions appeared in 1582 and 1585. Camden himself has fixed the true date in his 'Memorabilia,' in 1586, 'Britanniam edidi.' The second edition, which besides other additions is distinguished by an index, was issued, in the same size, in 1587. The third edition, also 8vo, followed in 1590; a facsimile of it being also published at Frankfort, and again issued in 1616. The fourth edition, in 4to, is dated 1594. The fifth, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, also in 4to, was published in 1600, and is the first edition which treats of coins, of which it has six plates, besides four maps and a view of Stonehenge. The sixth edition, the last issued in Camden's lifetime, appeared in 1607, in folio, and has large additions. It is dedicated to James I, and has maps of several counties by Saxton and Norden. It was reprinted as the fourth part of Jansson's 'Novus Atlas' in 1659; and two editions of an epitome were published in Holland in 1617 and 1639.

The 'Britannia' was first translated into English by Philemon Holland, apparently under Camden's own direction. Two editions were issued, in 1610 and 1637. Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln (1716), and of London (1723), published the first edition of his translation, in folio, in 1695; the second, in two vols. folio, in 1722. The latter was reprinted in 1753; and again, with a few corrections, by Gibson's son-in-law, George Scott, in 1772. The last translation was by Richard Gough, who issued it, with very large additions, in three vols. folio, in 1789. A second edition, in four vols. (the first alone being revised by the editor), was issued in 1806. The Ashmole MS. 849 contains an English translation by Richard Knolles, which was found in Camden's study after his death, having probably been presented to him by the translator.

The first part of the 'Annales' was published in 1615, in folio. The second part appeared (with a reprint of the first part) at Leyden in 1625 in 8vo, and independently, but uniform with the 1615 edition of the first part, in London in 1627. Further editions of the complete work were issued at Leyden in 8vo in 1639 and 1677. The most perfect edition is that printed by Hearne from Dr. Smith's copy, which had received corrections from Camden's own hand, collated with a manuscript in the Rawlinson collection, three vols. 8vo, 1717.

A French translation of the first part was published by Paul de Bellegent in London, 1624, 4to, and of both parts in Paris, 1627. This translation of the first part was turned into English by Abraham Darcie, or Darcy, in 1625, 4to. The second part of the 'Annals' was translated into English by Thomas Browne, in 1629, 4to. An English version of the whole work, by R. N[orton], appeared in 1635. English editions were also issued in 1675 and 1688, folio. The work was also incorporated in White Kennet's 'Complete History,' 1706.

Camden's correspondence was published by Dr. Thomas Smith: 'V. cl. Gulielmi Camdeni et Illustrum Virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolæ,' London, 1691, 4to. (The original letters to Camden are contained in *Cotton MS. Julius C. v.*) The volume also includes a Latin life of Camden; Zouch Townley's oration on his death; his notes of the reign of James I, 'Regni Regis Jacobi I Annalium Apparatus'; a single leaf of autobiographical 'Memorabilia de seipso'; and a few smaller pieces. An English version, with some omissions, of his 'Notes of the Reign of James' was incorporated in White Kennet's 'Complete History,' 1706.

Several of Camden's short papers on heraldic or antiquarian subjects, which he seems to have written for a Society of Antiquaries of which he was a member (see Spelman's 'Original of the Terms,' in Gibson's *Reliq. Spelmanianæ*, 1723, p. 69), are printed in Hearne's 'Collection of Curious Discourses,' 1771. Specimens of his power in Latin verse composition are to be seen in some small pieces printed by Smith, and in his 'Marriage of Thame and Isis' in the 'Britannia' (Oxfordshire).

We learn from Smith that it was at the request of Peiresc and other friends that Camden had his portrait taken. The artist was Marc Geerarts, and two of the three extant authentic portraits are from his hand. The first came to the hands of Degory Wheare, who presented it to the History School at Oxford. It is now in the gallery of the

Bodleian Library. The second belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, and remained until recently with his library in the British Museum. It is now in the National Portrait Gallery. A third portrait, taken by stealth, when Camden was on his deathbed, belonged to Lord-chancellor Clarendon. It still forms part of the Clarendon Gallery (see LADY THERESA LEWIS'S *Friends of Clarendon*, 1852, iii. 284). Two other portraits, in possession of the College of Arms and the Painter-Stainers' Company, perished in the fire of London. A copy of one of the originals was made for Sylvan Morgan, who also set up a second, much decorated, as a sign before his door.

The engraved portraits of Camden are as follows: 1. Oval, by J. T. de Bry, in Bois-sard's 'Bibliotheca sive Thesaurus Virtutis et Gloriæ,' 1628, sm. 4to. 2. Small oval (by J. Payne?), bearing the name of G. Humble as publisher; the plate afterwards used, Humble's name being cleaned off, in the 1637 edition, and again, retouched, in the 1657 edition of the 'Remains,' sm. 4to. 3. Small square, by W. Marshall, in Fuller's 'Holy State,' 1648, folio. 4. In a herald's coat, very unlike all the others, and perhaps copied from Morgan's 'sign,' by J. Gaywood, in Morgan's 'Sphere of Gentry,' 1661, sm. folio. 5. An adaptation of 2 by R. White, in the 'Remains,' 1674, 8vo. 6. Another, larger, by White, representing Camden at fifty-eight years of age, A.D. 1609, in the 'Epistole,' 1691, 4to. 7. In a herald's coat, also by White, large, in Gibson's 'Britannia,' 1695, folio. 8. The Bodleian portrait, engraved by Basire for Gough's 'Britannia,' 1789, folio. 9. A small head-piece, by G. Vertue, for Wise's ed. of Asser, 1722. In addition, there are a few modern copies, including one after the Clarendon portrait.

Camden's house at Chislehurst passed, in the last century, into the hands of the family of Pratt, barons Camden, who took their title from the property. To the present generation it is known as the place of retirement of the French emperor, Louis-Napoleon.

[Camden's *Memorabilia de seipso*, his *Jac. I. Annalium Apparatus*, and his correspondence, all in Smith's *Camdeni Epistolæ* (1691); his address ad *Lectorem* in the 1600 ed. of the *Britannia*; Degory Wheare's *Parentatio Historica* (1624); *Camdeni Vita*, by Smith (1691); *Life* in Gibson's *Britannia*; *Life* in Gough's *Britannia*; *Life* in Bayle's *Dictionary* (1736); *Life* in the *Biographia Britannica*; *Life* in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (ed. Bliss), vol. ii.; *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camd. Soc. 1843); *Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers* (1875)].

E. M. T.

**CAMELEAC.** [See CIMELLIAUC.]

**CAMELFORD, LORD** (1737-1793). [See PITT, THOMAS.]

**CAMERON, SIR ALAN** (1753-1828), general, the head of a branch of the great clan Cameron, was born at Errach, Inverness-shire, in 1753. He won a great athletic reputation in his native glens, and on the outbreak of the war of the American revolution volunteered for service in America, and received a commission in one of the provincial regiments. In 1782 he was taken prisoner when on a mission to organise a force out of the Indian tribes, and was imprisoned for two years in the common gaol at Philadelphia as an abettor of Indian atrocities. In an attempt to escape he broke both his ankles. In 1784 he was released and returned to Errach, and was put upon half-pay. On 17 Aug. 1793 letters of service were issued to him to raise a corps of highlanders, of which he was appointed major-commandant. His immense popularity in the highlands made this an easy task, although he had no bounty to grant. In January 1794 a fine body of a thousand men, raised by him and officered by old half-pay officers of the American war, was inspected at Glasgow and named the 79th, or Cameron Highlanders; Cameron was nominated lieutenant-colonel commandant. From 1794 to 1795 the new regiment served in Flanders, and in 1796, in which year he was gazetted a lieutenant-colonel in the army, it was ordered to the West Indies and engaged at the recapture of Martinique. In 1797 the men of the regiment, which had been decimated by disease, were drafted into the 42nd Highlanders, and Cameron and the officers returned to Scotland, where in a few months they had raised a new regiment under the same designation, fit to be ordered on active service. Accordingly, in 1799, the new 79th regiment was ordered to form part of the expedition to the Helder; it was one of the regiments in Moore's brigade, and particularly distinguished itself in the battle of 2 Oct., in which Cameron was wounded. After recruiting to supply its losses, the 79th was ordered to form part of Sir James Pulteney's expedition to Ferrol, and then to join Sir Ralph Abercromby in the Mediterranean. In the army which landed at Aboukir Bay on 8 March 1801 and won the battle of Alexandria the 79th formed part of Lord Cavan's brigade, and was not much engaged. In 1804 Cameron was permitted to raise a second battalion, which he did in six months, and on 1 Jan. 1804 he was gazetted a colonel in the army and colonel of the 79th. He commanded both battalions in Lord Cathcart's expedition

to Denmark in 1807, and was appointed to take military possession of Copenhagen after the siege. In the following year he was, at Sir John Moore's especial request, made a brigadier-general, with the command of one of the brigades in Moore's army. He accompanied Moore to Sweden and then to Portugal, where he arrived just after the battle of Vimeiro. When Sir John Moore made his famous advance to Salamanca, Cameron was left behind with his brigade to command in Lisbon, but when he was superseded in that capacity by the arrival of Major-general Cradock, he at once moved forward by that general's order to join Moore. On reaching Almeida he heard of Moore's retreat, and occupied himself in collecting the stragglers; these he formed into two battalions, each a thousand strong, which did good service at the battle of Talavera, and were known as the 1st and 2nd battalion of Detachments. He then fell back on Santarem, and made every preparation for covering Lisbon under the direction of Major-general Cradock. When Wellesley landed to supersede Cradock, he told off Cameron's strong brigade to cover the passes into Portugal from the east, while he drove Soult from Oporto, and then coming south ordered Cameron to lead the advance of the army into Spain. At the battle of Talavera Cameron's brigade was posted on the left of the first line and was hotly engaged, and the general had two horses shot under him, but he continued to command his brigade until after the battle of Busaco, when he was promoted major-general on 25 July 1810, and obliged to come home from ill-health. He saw no more service. His regiment served at Fuentes de Onoro, where his eldest son, Lieutenant-colonel Philip Cameron, was killed at its head, and throughout the Peninsular war. In 1814 he received a gold medal and clasp for the battles of Talavera and Busaco, and in January 1815 was made a K.C.B. on the extension of the order of the Bath. On 12 Aug. 1819 he was promoted lieutenant-general. He died at Fulham on 9 March 1828.

[Sketches of the Manners, Character, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland, with details of the Military Services of the Highland Regiments, by Colonel David Stewart, 2 vols. 1822; and *Gent. Mag.* April 1828.] H. M. S.

**CAMERON, ALEXANDER, D.D.** (1747-1828), catholic bishop, was born at Auchindrine, in Castleton of Braemar, Aberdeenshire, on 28 July 1747. After spending four years in the seminary at Scaln, in Glenlivet, he entered the Scotch college at Rome on 22 Dec. 1764. On his return to Scotland

in 1772 he was appointed to the mission of Strathaven, and in 1780 he became rector of the Scotch college at Valladolid. He was nominated coadjutor to Bishop Hay in 1797; was consecrated bishop of Maximianopolis, in Palæstrina Secunda, on 28 Oct. 1798, at Madrid; returned to Scotland in 1802; succeeded as fifth vicar-apostolic of the Lowland district on the resignation of Bishop Hay in 1806; resigned his vicarial functions in 1825; died at Edinburgh on 7 Feb. 1828, and was buried there in St. Mary's Church, on which occasion the funeral service of the catholic church was, for the first time since the Reformation, publicly performed with the proper ceremonial in Scotland.

[J. Gordon's *Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 458 (with portrait); *Gent. Mag.* xviii. (i.) 272; *Catholic Directory* (1885), p. 61; *Fox's Hist. of James II.*, pref. pp. xxvii, xxviii.] T. C.

**CAMERON, SIR ALEXANDER** (1781-1850), general, a younger son of Alexander Cameron of Inverallort, Argyllshire, was born there in 1781. On 22 Oct. 1797 he received a commission as ensign in the Breadalbane Fencibles, and in 1799 he volunteered to serve with the 92nd Highlanders in the expedition to the Helder, and received an ensigncy in that regiment. In 1800, when the rifle brigade, then known as the 95th regiment, was raised, Cameron volunteered, and was promoted lieutenant in it on 6 Sept. 1800. In the same year he was present at the battle of Copenhagen, and in 1801 he volunteered to serve with his former regiment, the 92nd Highlanders, in Egypt, and was severely wounded in the arm and side in the battle of 13 March. He then returned to England, and rejoined the rifles, and was trained with the other officers in the camp at Shorncliffe by Sir John Moore, who secured his promotion to the rank of captain on 6 May 1805. He served with his battalion in Lord Cathcart's expedition to Hanover in 1805, and in the expedition to Denmark, and was present at the action of Kioge. In 1808 he was ordered to Portugal with Anstruther's brigade, and was present at the battle of Vimeiro. During the retreat of Sir John Moore he was continually engaged with the rest of the reserve in covering the retreat. He especially distinguished himself at the affair of Cacabelos and the battle of Corunna, at both of which he commanded two companies of his battalion. In May 1809 he was again ordered to Portugal, and on reaching Lisbon his battalion was brigaded, with the 43rd and 52nd regiments, into the celebrated light brigade, under the command of Robert Craufurd, which made its famous forced

march in July, and joined the main army the day after the battle of Talavera. From January to June 1810 Craufurd's advanced position on the Coa was one of extreme danger, and Cameron distinguished himself in many emergencies, and in the action, 24 June 1810, held the bridge with two companies against the French army until Major Macleod of the 43rd came to his assistance. In the retreat on Busaco he commanded the rear companies of the light brigade, which covered the retreat. He commanded the outposts during the time when Masséna remained at Santarém, and in the pursuit after that marshal succeeded to the command of the left wing of the rifles, after the fall of Major Stuart at Foz d'Aronce, and twice led it into action at Casal Nova and at Sabugal. The light brigade had during the occupation of the lines of Torres Vedras become the light division by the addition of two regiments of Portuguese caçadores, and as a wing of the rifles was attached to each brigade, Cameron's command was of proportionate importance, and he was specially recommended by Lord Wellington for a brevet majority, to which he was gazetted on 30 May 1811. During the siege of Almeida and at the battle of Fuentes de Onoro he commanded a detachment of two hundred picked sharpshooters and half a troop of horse artillery, with the special duty of preventing supplies from entering the place, and during the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo he commanded the left wing of the rifles at the outposts and the covering party during the storm on 18 Jan. 1812. At the siege of Badajoz he was specially thanked in general orders, with Colonel Williams of the 60th, for repulsing a sortie, and on the night of the assault he again commanded the covering party. On the death of Major O'Hare he succeeded to the command of the battalion, and led it into the city. He received a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy and the vacant regimental majority on 27 April and 14 May 1812. He then succeeded to the command of the 1st battalion, which was again united, on the 2nd battalion rifles joining the division, and kept it in such perfect condition that it became a model to the whole army (see anecdote in Cope's *History of the Rifle Brigade*, p. 127). This battalion he commanded at the battle of Salamanca, and in the advance to Madrid, and with it covered Hill's retreat along the left bank of the Tagus. He had the mortification of being superseded in his command of the battalion by the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Norcott in May 1813, and so was only present at the battle of Vittoria as a regimental major, where he was so severely wounded that he had to return to England. Towards the close of 1813 he was

selected for the command of a provisional battalion of rifles, which was sent to Flanders to serve in Sir Thomas Graham's expedition, and he commanded it at Merxem, when he was thanked in the general orders and mentioned in despatches, and before Antwerp. At the conclusion of peace he received a gold medal and two clasps for having commanded a battalion at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca, and was made a C.B. When war again broke out in 1815, he accompanied the 1st battalion rifles to Belgium as regimental major, and commanded the light companies of Kempt's brigade of Picton's division at Quatre Bras, and his battalion at the battle of Waterloo, from the period of Barnard's wound until the close of the day, when he was himself wounded in the throat. Cameron saw no more service, and his latter years are marked only by promotions and honours. In October 1815 he was made a knight of the Russian order of St. Anne; in 1830 he was promoted colonel; in 1832 he was appointed deputy-governor of St. Mawes; in 1838 he was promoted major-general, and made a K.C.B.; in 1846 he received the colonelcy of the 74th regiment, and on 26 July 1850 he died at Inverallort in Argyllshire. He was one of the very best officers of light troops ever trained by Moore and employed by Wellington.

[Royal Military Calendar; Cope's *History of the Rifle Brigade*.] H. M. S.

**CAMERON, ARCHIBALD** (1707–1753), Jacobite, was the fourth son of John Cameron, eighteenth of Lochiel, by his wife, Isabel, daughter of Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, and the younger brother of Donald Cameron [q. v.], who took a prominent part in the rising of 1745. He was born in 1707, and was originally intended for the bar, but preferred medicine to law, and, after completing his studies at Edinburgh and Paris, settled at Lochaber among his own people, devoting his whole attention to their general welfare, and exercising among them as much the functions of a philanthropist as a physician. In the rebellion of 1745 he was present with his clan, 'not from choice,' as he alleged, 'but from compulsion of kindred,' and chiefly in the character of physician, although apparently holding also the rank of captain. After the defeat of the highlanders at Culloden, 16 April 1746, Cameron took an active part in concealing Prince Charles, being always in constant communication with him, and sending information to him, when in the 'cage' at Benalder, of the arrival of two vessels at Loch-nanuaigh to convey him and his friends to France. Escaping with the party, which

included also his brother, Cameron obtained an appointment as physician and captain in Albany's regiment, to which his brother had been appointed colonel, and on his brother's death in 1748 he was transferred to a similar position in Lord Ogilvie's regiment. In 1749 he came over to England to receive money contributed by the Pretender's friends for the support of his adherents, and in 1753 he paid a visit to Scotland on a similar errand, when, word being sent to the garrison of Inversnaid of his arrival in the neighbourhood, he was on 12 March apprehended at Glenbucket, whence he was brought to Edinburgh Castle, and after a short confinement was sent up to London. On 17 May he was arraigned before the court of king's bench upon the act of attainder passed against him and others for being concerned in the rebellion of 1745, and not surrendering in due time, and was condemned to be hanged and quartered. Notwithstanding the frantic efforts of his widow to save him by petitioning the king, and the more influential of the nobility, the sentence was carried out on 7 June, Cameron bearing himself with undaunted composure. The execution, after hostilities had so long ceased, of a gentleman of so humane a disposition, who during the rebellion had exercised his skill as a physician among both friends and foes, is explained by the general suspicion prevailing among political circles that he was an emissary of King Frederick of Prussia, who, it was said, purposed to send over 15,000 men to aid a new Jacobite rising (*WALPOLE, George II, and Letters to Horace Mann*). The execution of Cameron provoked, according to Boswell, a caustic invective against George II, from Dr. Johnson, when on a visit to Richardson. By his wife Jean, daughter of Archibald Cameron of Dungallon, Cameron left two sons and a daughter.

[Life of Dr. Archibald Cameron, London, 1753; Scots Magazine, xv. (1753), 157, 200, 250-1, 278-280, 305, 657, 659; Gent. Mag. xxiii. (1753), 198, 246, 257-8; State Trials, xix. 734-46; Mackenzie's Hist. of the Camerons, 214, 222, 233, 239, 241-3, 251-3, 261-78; Carlyle's Frederick the Great, bk. xvi. ch. xiii.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, CHARLES DUNCAN** (d. 1870), British consul in Abyssinia, was son of an old Peninsular officer, Colonel Charles Cameron, 3rd Buffs. He entered the army, by purchase, as ensign in the 45th foot on 19 May 1846, and served therein until July 1851. He was attached to the native levies during the Kaffir war of 1846-7. Having settled in Natal on his retirement from the 45th, he was employed by Mr. (afterwards Sir B. C.) Pine, then lieutenant-governor of that colony, on diplomatic service in the

Zulu country, and acted as Kaffir magistrate in the Klip river district of Natal. He commanded the Kaffir irregulars sent from Natal to the Cape Colony overland during the war of 1851-2. At the outbreak of the war with Russia he was appointed to the staff of Sir Fenwick Williams, her majesty's commissioner with the Turkish army, receiving the local rank of captain in Turkey while so employed. He was placed in command of the fortifications in course of erection at Erzeroum, and after the fall of Kars was detached on special service to Trebizond until September 1856. For his military services he received the Kaffir and Turkish war medals, and the Turkish medal for Kars. He passed an examination before the civil service commissioners, and obtained an honorary certificate on 10 June 1858. He was appointed vice-consul at Redout Kale in April 1858, and was removed to Poti in 1859. He was appointed British consul in Abyssinia to reside at Massowah in 1860, and left for his new station in November 1861, arriving there on 9 Jan. 1862. He accompanied the Grand Duke of Saxe-Cobourg during a visit to the interior in that year. Cameron afterwards left Massowah for Gondar, to deliver to King Theodore of Abyssinia a royal letter and presents from Queen Victoria, and arrived at Gondar on 23 June 1862. He was imprisoned by King Theodore, on charges of interfering with the internal politics of the kingdom, from 2 June 1864 until 17 Aug. 1866, when he was handed over to Mr. Rassam, assistant political agent at Aden, who had been sent on a special mission to Abyssinia to obtain his release. He was reimprisoned by King Theodore, together with Mr. Rassam and others, at Amba Magdala from 12 July 1866, until released, with the other prisoners, on the appearance of the British army before Magdala, 11 April 1868. Cameron returned to England in July 1868, and retired on a pension in December of the same year. He died at Geneva on 30 May 1870. His account of his captivity and the correspondence relating thereto, and to the Abyssinian expedition, will be found among 'Parl. Printed Papers,' 1868-9. He was elected fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1858.

[Army Lists; Foreign Office Lists; Parl. Papers, Accounts and Papers, 1868-9; Hozier's Narrative of the Expedition to Abyssinia (London, 1869); Journal R. Geog. Soc., London, xli. p. cliii.] H. M. C.

**CAMERON, CHARLES HAY** (1795-1880), jurist, was born on 11 Feb. 1795. He was the son of Charles Cameron, governor of the Bahama Islands, by Lady Margaret Hay, daughter of the fourteenth Earl of Erroll.



His grandfather, Donald Cameron, was the younger son of Dr. Archibald Cameron [q. v.] Charles Hay Cameron erected a monument to his great-grandfather in the Savoy Chapel. It was injured by a fire in 1864, when Mr. C. L. Norman, Cameron's son-in-law, replaced it by a painted window. Cameron was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1820. He was a disciple, and ultimately perhaps the last surviving disciple, of Jeremy Bentham. He was employed upon various commissions. His report upon 'judicial establishments and procedure in Ceylon,' the result of a mission with Colonel Colebrooke, is dated 31 Jan. 1832. He was also a commissioner for inquiring into charities, and prepared a report upon the operation of the poor laws in April 1833. By the act of 1833 a fourth member was added to the Supreme Council of India (previously the Council of Bengal), and a law commission was constituted, one member of which was to be appointed from England. Cameron was the first member so appointed, and went to India in the beginning of 1835. In 1843 he was appointed fourth member of council, and became president of the Council of Education for Bengal, of which he had been a member from his arrival in India. Cameron took an important part in the work of codification begun by Macaulay, and was Macaulay's chief adviser and co-operator in the preparation of the penal code (TREVELYAN, *Macaulay*, i. 427, 443, 463). He took a great interest in the introduction of English education among the natives of India. A public meeting of natives was held at Calcutta on 22 Feb. 1848, upon his departure for England, to thank him for his exertions, and request him to sit for his portrait. His views are explained in an 'Address to Parliament on the duties of Great Britain to India in respect of the education of the natives and their official employment, by C. H. Cameron' (1853), in which he advocates a more liberal treatment of the Hindoo population.

Cameron took no further part in active life after his return to England. He lived successively in London, Putney, and at Freshwater in the Isle of Wight. In 1875 he went to Ceylon, where his sons were established. After a visit to England in 1878, he died in Ceylon on 8 May 1880.

Cameron was a man of cultivated intellect, well read in classical and modern literature, and intimate with many distinguished men of his day, especially Sir Henry Taylor, Lord Tennyson, and H. T. Prinsep. He married, in 1838, Julia Margaret Pattle [see CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET], by whom he had five sons and a daughter, Julia (d. 1873), married to Charles Lloyd Norman.

[Academy, 26 June 1880; Sir H. Taylor's Autobiography, ii. 48-55, 184; Mackenzie's History of the Camerons, 1884; information from the family.] L. S.

**CAMERON, DONALD** (1695?-1748), generally known as GENTLE LOCHIEL, was of mature age at the time of the rebellion of 1745. He was born at Achnacarrie, Lochiel, Inverness-shire, but the date of his birth is not known. His father, Colonel John Cameron of Lochiel, who was attainted and forfeited for his share in Mar's rebellion of 1715, and had retired to the continent, was son of Sir Ewen [q. v.] On the death of his grandfather in 1719, and during his father's exile, Donald succeeded as chief of the clan Cameron, and like his ancestors was loyal to the Stuarts. His mother was Isabel, daughter of Alexander Campbell of Lochnell.

Early in 1745 James Stuart (the elder Pretender) opened up negotiations with Cameron. The young Pretender, Charles Stuart, landed at Borodale, Lochnanuagh, and threw himself on the loyalty of the highlanders on 28 July 1745. The undertaking was apparently so desperate that Cameron sent his brother Archibald, the physician [q. v.], to reason with the prince. At a subsequent conference Cameron advised the prince to hide in the highlands until supplies arrived from the French court. 'Stay at home and learn from the newspapers the fate of your prince!' was the taunt that stung Cameron beyond endurance. 'No!' was the answer, 'I will share the fate of my prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me power.' Had Cameron held back, no other highland chief would have declared for the Pretender. The mustering of the clans was to be at Glenfinnan on 19 Aug.; Cameron arrived with eight hundred clansmen. Charles Stuart at once declared war against the elector of Hanover, and was proclaimed sovereign of the empire, 'James VIII.' The prince stayed a few days at Cameron's house at Achnacarrie, where an agreement was formally drawn up and signed by all concerned.

The prince commenced his daring march at the head of twelve hundred men, two-thirds being Camerons. On crossing the Forth the highlanders were intent on plunder, but a summary act of justice by Cameron on a marauder, coupled with his just and humane orders as to discipline, gave his miscellaneous army an honourable character for forbearance. The insurgents were unopposed in their march to Edinburgh. Some leading citizens were returning from a mission to the prince, and as they were entering the West Port in a coach,

Cameron poured in his men, disarmed the guards, and captured the city on the morning of 17 Sept. Other successes followed, mainly due to Cameron. When a question of precedence was raised before the affair of Prestonpans, he waived his claim in favour of the Macdonalds, 'lords of the isles.' At Prestonpans the Camerons distinguished themselves, striking at the horses' heads with their claymores, taking no heed of the riders. The expedition in two divisions, passing southwards, met at Derby. There it was decided to return, and by 20 Dec. Scotland was reached. Falkirk was taken by Cameron, who was wounded there; Stirling Castle was besieged but not taken; and desultory fighting filled up the months of January and February. Throughout the campaign Cameron's prudence, courage, and clemency are generally praised. He was a principal leader at Culloden, 16 April 1746; but it was in direct opposition to his counsel that the attempt was made of a night surprise of Cumberland's army. Charles rode off the field, but Cameron was severely wounded, and was borne off by his clansmen.

Cameron was attainted and forfeited, 1 June, but found a refuge in his native district for two months; then returned to the borders of Rannoch, and lay in a miserable hovel on the side of Benalder to be cured of his wounds, his cousin, Cluny Macdonald, bringing him his food. One day (30 Aug.) he and his few attendants were about to fire on an approaching party of men taken for enemies, when Cameron discovered them to be Prince Charles and Archibald Cameron, with a few guides. Soon after two French vessels arrived, and the prince, Cameron, his brother, and a hundred other refugees embarked, and safely reached the coast of Brittany, 29 Sept.

When fully recovered Cameron received command of the regiment of Albany in the French service, Prince Charles being Count of Albany. In the French chronicles of the time we read of Cameron attending the 'young chevalier' on his visit to Versailles as his 'master of the horse.' His father died at Nieuport in Flanders, after a long exile of thirty-three years, in 1748. In the same year Cameron died. By his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir James Campbell, fifth baron Auchinbreck, he had three sons and four daughters: John, who succeeded to his father's Albany regiment, and was afterwards captain of Royal Scots in the French service, died 1762; James, captain of Royal Scots in the same service, died 1759; Charles, who succeeded to his father's highland claims, held from the British crown leases of some of the estates on easy terms, and a commis-

sion in the 71st Highlanders, to which he added a company of clansmen of his own raising. On the regiment being ordered on foreign service while he was ill in London, the Camerons refused to march without him. Hastening to Glasgow to appease them, his strength was exhausted, and he died soon after. His descendant, Donald Cameron, late M.P. county Inverness, is the representative of the house of Camerons of Lochiel. Of the four daughters of Cameron, Isabel and Harriet married officers in the French service; Janet became a nun; and Donald's daughter died young.

Bromley, in his 'Catalogue of Engraved Portraits,' mentions a portrait of Cameron, 'whole-length in a highland dress,' but omits the names of artist and engraver. When Sir Walter Scott was in Rome in 1832, he visited the Villa Muti at Fiescati, which had been many years the favourite residence of the Cardinal of York, who was bishop of Tusculum. In a picture there of a fête given on the cardinal's promotion Scott discovered a portrait like a picture he had formerly seen of Cameron of Lochiel, whom he described as 'a dark, hard-featured man.'

[Culloden Papers, 1815; Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, i. 328; Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, c. 75; Chambers's History of the Rebellion; Boswell's Tour to the Western Isles; Lockhart Papers, ii. 439, 479; Scots Mag. 1746, pp. 39, 174; Bromley's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, p. 303; Notes and Queries, 4th series, vii. 334; Lockhart's Life of Scott, p. 747; various Histories of Scotland, under date A.D. 1746-6.] J. W.-G.

**CAMERON, SIR EWEN** or **EVAN** (1629-1719), of Lochiel, highland chief, was descended from a family who were able to trace their succession as chiefs from John, surnamed Ochtery, who distinguished himself in the service of King Robert I and King David. He was the seventeenth in descent from John Ochtery, being the eldest son of John M'Allan Cameron, and Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Campbell, then of Glenfalloch, afterwards of Glenurchy, grandfather of John Campbell, eighth earl of Breadalbane [q.v.] He was born in the castle of Kilchurn, the seat of Sir Robert Campbell, in February 1629. His father having died in his infancy, the first seven years of his life were passed with his foster-father, Cameron of Latter-Finlay, after which he was taken in charge by his uncle. Having in his twelfth year been placed in the hands of the Marquis of Argyll as a hostage for the behaviour of the Camerons, he attended the school at Inverary. The marquis had intended him to study at Oxford, but the unsettled state of the country prevented them

proceeding further south than Berwick. While with the marquis during the meeting of the parliament at St. Andrews in September 1646, Cameron found an opportunity, without the knowledge of the marquis, of visiting Sir Robert Spotiswood, then a prisoner in the castle, under sentence of death, whose conversation is said to have had a powerful effect in attaching him to the royal cause. His life at Inverary became irksome, and in his eighteenth year he privately told his uncle of his wish to return home. The principal gentlemen of the clan Cameron addressed the marquis on his behalf, who complied with their request, and young Cameron was conducted to his territory of Lochaber with great pomp by the whole body of the clan, who went a day's journey to meet him. After his return he spent a great part of his time in hunting in his extensive forests, and especially in destroying the foxes and the wolves which still tenanted the highlands. In 1680 he is said to have killed with his own hand the last wolf that was seen in the highlands. Few in the highlands were his equal in the use of the weapons of war or of the chase. In stature he was 'of the largest size,' and his finely proportioned frame manifested a perfect combination of grace and strength. Lord Macaulay styled him 'the Ulysses of the Highlands,' and the title at least indicates not inaptly the peculiar combination of gifts to which he owed his special ascendancy. Shortly after his return to his estates he found an opportunity of manifesting something of his mettle in chastising Macdonald of Keppoch and Macdonald of Glengarry, both of whom had refused to pay him certain sums of money they owed him as chief of the Camerons. After the execution of Charles I he responded to the act for levying an army in behalf of Charles II, but the backwardness of his followers, or his distrust of Argyll, delayed him so much, that when, with about a thousand of his followers, on the way to join the king's forces at Stirling, he was intercepted by Cromwell, and compelled to turn back. He was, however, the first of the chiefs to join Glencairn in the northern highlands in 1652, bringing with him about seven hundred of his clan. Having received the appointment of colonel, he distinguished himself on numerous occasions, especially in defending the pass of Tulloch, at Braemar, against the whole force of the English, when Glencairn on retreating had neglected to send orders for him to fall back. For his conduct he received a special letter of thanks from King Charles, dated 3 Nov. 1653. Cameron persevered in his resistance to Gene-

ral Monck, the English commander, for a considerable time after Glencairn had come to terms with him, and continued pertinaciously to harass the English troops stationed on the borders of his territory, notwithstanding the efforts of Monck to win him over by the offer of large bribes. To hold Cameron in check, Monck resolved to establish a military station at Inverlochry, at the foot of Ben Nevis, and by ship transported thither two thousand troops, with material and workmen for the erection of the fort. On learning of their arrival Cameron hurried down with all his men, but already found the defence so strong as to render a direct attack hopeless. Dismissing the bulk of his men to drive the cattle into places of greater security, and to find provisions for a more lengthened stay in the neighbourhood, he withdrew with thirty-two gentlemen of the clan and his personal servants to a wood on the other side of the loch, where he lay in concealment to watch events. Obtaining information by spies that a hundred and fifty men were to be sent across to the side of the loch where he was concealed to forage for provisions and obtain supplies of timber, he resolved, notwithstanding their numbers were four to one, to attack them in the act of pillaging. Some of the gentlemen having objected, lest no successor to the chieftain should be left, he tied his brother Alan to a tree to reserve him as the future head of the clan. In the desperate conflict which ensued an Englishman covered Cameron with his musket, and was about to pull the trigger, when his brother Alan—who had persuaded the boy in charge of him to cut the cords which bound him to the tree—appeared upon the scene, in the nick of time to save the chief's life by shooting down his opponent. The onslaught of the highlanders was so sudden and furious that the Englishmen were soon in flight to their ships. In the pursuit Cameron came up with the commander of the party, who remained in wait for him behind a bush. After a desperate struggle, Cameron killed his opponent by seizing his throat with his teeth. The combat formed the model for Sir Walter Scott's description of the fight between Roderick Dhu and Fitz-James in the 'Lady of the Lake.' In various other raids against the garrisons Cameron made his name a word of terror, but when the other chiefs had all withdrawn, he received a letter from General Middleton advising him to capitulate. Cameron thereupon captured three English colonels in an inn near Inverary, and retaining two of them as hostages, despatched the third to General Monck with overtures of submission. Satisfactory terms were soon arranged, and were

confirmed by Monck 5 June 1658, no oaths being required of the Camerons but their word of honour, and permission being granted them to carry their arms as formerly. Reparation was also made to Cameron for the wood cut down by the garrison at Inverlochy, and for other losses, as well as indemnity for all acts of depredation committed by his men. When Monck marched south to London with the design of restoring Charles II, he was accompanied by Cameron, who was present when Charles made his entry into London. He was received at court with every mark of favour, but his services on behalf of the royal cause met with little substantial recognition. Through the influence of the Duke of Lauderdale his claims on certain of the forfeited lands of Argyll were not only disregarded, but a commission of fire and sword was used against him as a rebellious man who held certain lands in high contempt of royal authority. The chief of the Macintoshes who undertook to execute this commission was easily worsted by Cameron. Though Charles on one occasion facetiously alluded to Cameron in his presence as the 'king of thieves,' it does not appear that Lauderdale received from Charles much countenance in his procedure against him, which proved practically fruitless. In 1681 Cameron visited Holyrood to solicit the pardon of some of his men, who, by mistake, had fired with fatal effect on a party of the Atholl men. His request was immediately granted, and he received the honour of knighthood.

The restoration of Argyll to his estates in 1689 was not more distasteful to any other of the highland chiefs than it was to Cameron, who had taken possession of a part of his forfeited lands. It was at Cameron's house in Lochaber, an immense pile of timber, that, in answer to the summons of the fiery cross, the clans gathered in 1690 under Dundee, and although overtures were made to him from the government promising him concessions from Argyll, and even offering him a sum of money to hold aloof from the rebellion, he declined to return to them any answer. His influence was of immense importance to Dundee, who at a council of war proposed a scheme for bringing the clans under similar discipline to that of a regular army, but Cameron on behalf of the chiefs strongly opposed it. It was chiefly owing to his advice that Dundee resolved to attack General Mackay as he was entering the pass of Killiecrankie. 'Fight, my lord,' he said, 'fight immediately; fight if you have only one to three. Our men are in heart. Their only fear is that the enemy should escape. Give them their way, and be assured that they will either perish or win

a complete victory.' These words decided Dundee. Cameron strongly advised Dundee to be content with overlooking the arrangements and issuing the commands, but without success. When the word was given to advance, Cameron took off his shoes and charged barefooted at the head of his clan, Mackay's own foot being the division of the enemy which by the impetuous rush of the Camerons were driven into headlong flight. After the death of Dundee, Cameron, in order to prevent the coalition of the clans from breaking up, was strong for energetic action against Mackay, and on his advice being disregarded by General Cannon, he retired to Lochaber, leaving his eldest son in command of his men. Shortly afterwards General Cannon was defeated at Dunkeld, and the highlanders returned home. A gathering of the clans was planned for the following summer. Cameron was then in bed from a wound at first believed to be mortal, which he had received in endeavouring to prevent a combat. When Breadalbane endeavoured to induce the clans to give in their submission, on the promise of a considerable sum of money, Cameron at first endeavoured to thwart the negotiations, having very strong doubts as to Breadalbane's real intentions; but after the proclamation of August 1692 requiring submission by 1 January following, he ceased to advise further resistance. 'I will not,' he said, 'break the ice; that is a point of honour with me; but my tacksmen and people may use their freedom.' In the rebellion of 1714, being too infirm to lead his vassals, he entrusted the command of them to his son. The result of the battle of Sheriffmuir caused him much chagrin, and having inquired into the conduct of his clan in the battle, he mourned their degeneracy with great bitterness, saying of them to his son: 'The older they grow the more cowardice; for in Oliver's days your grandfather with his men could fight double their number, as I right well remember' (PATTEN'S *History of the Rebellion in 1715*, pp. 197-8). Writing in 1717 Patten says of Cameron: 'He is a gentleman though old of a sound judgment, and yet very healthful and strong in constitution.' This is corroborated by the account of his death in the Balhadio papers (*Memoir of Sir Ewen Cameron*, editor's introduction, p. 24): 'His eyes retained their former vivacity, and his sight was so good in his ninetieth year, that he could discern the most minute object, and read the smallest print; nor did he so much as want a tooth, which to me seemed as white and close as one would have imagined they were in the twentieth year of his age.' He died of a high fever in February 1719. In his

many encounters it never chanced that his blood on any occasion was drawn by an enemy. He was thrice married: first, to Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, eighth baron and first baronet of Sleat, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Isabel, eldest daughter of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart, by whom he had three sons and four daughters; and thirdly, to Jean, daughter of Colonel David Barclay of Uric, by whom he had one son and seven daughters. His eldest son (by his second wife), John Cameron (attainted 1715, died 1745), was father of Donald Cameron [q. v.], and great-grandfather of John Cameron (1771-1815) [q. v.]

[Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the clan Cameron, supposed to have been written by one John Drummond (Bannatyne Club, 1842); Life of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, in appendix to Pennant's Tour in Scotland; Mackenzie's History of the Camerons (1884), pp. 94-212; Patten's History of the Rebellion in 1715 (1717); Papers illustrative of the Highlands of Scotland (Maitland Club, 1845); Leven and Melville Papers (Bannatyne Club, 1843); Hill Burton's History of Scotland; Macaulay's History of England.] T. F. II.

**CAMERON, GEORGE POULETT** (1806-1882), colonel, an Indian officer, was the son of Commander Robert Cameron, R.N., who perished with the greater part of his crew under the batteries of Fort St. Andero (Santander), on the north coast of Spain, on 22 Jan. 1807. He was appointed a cadet of infantry at Madras in 1821, and in 1824 and 1825 served as adjutant of a light field battalion under Lieutenant-general Sir C. Deacon in the southern Mahratta country. Returning to England in 1831, he shortly afterwards joined the expedition to Portugal organised by Don Pedro to recover the throne for his daughter, the late Queen Maria II. Cameron was attached to the staff of field-marshal the Duke of Terceira, under whose command he distinguished himself in two actions fought on 4 March and 5 July 1833, receiving special commendation on the second occasion for having remained at his post after being severely wounded. A few years later he was sent on particular service to Persia, and was employed with the Persian army in 1836, 1837, and 1838, commanding the garrison of Tabriz. On leaving Persia in 1838 he visited the Russian garrisons in Circassia. In 1842 he held for a short time the appointment of political agent at the titular court of the Nawáb of Arcot. In 1843 he was created a C.B., having previously received from the government of Portugal the order of the Tower and Sword, and from that of Persia the order of the Lion and Sun. After serving for a

time in the quartermaster-general's department in the Madras presidency, he was transferred, in consequence of ill-health, to the invalid establishment. Subsequently, in 1856, he was commandant of the Nilgiri Hills, the duties of which post were principally of a civil character. Having retired from the service of the East India Company early in 1858, he was present with the Austrian army in the Italian campaign of the following year. He was the author of the following works: 'Personal Adventures and Excursions in Georgia, Circassia, and Russia,' 2 vols. 1848; 'The Romance of Military Life, being souvenirs connected with thirty years' service,' 1853. He died in London in 1882.

[Ann. Reg. 1882; India Office Records.]

A. J. A.

**CAMERON, HUGH** (1705-1817), millwright, was a native of the Breadalbane district of Perthshire. After serving an apprenticeship as a country millwright he settled at Shiain of Lawers, where he erected the first lint mill in operation in the highlands of Scotland. He was the first to introduce spinning-wheels and jackreels in Breadalbane instead of the distaff and spindle, and instructed the people in their use. Nearly all the lint mills erected during his time in the highlands of Perthshire and in the counties of Inverness, Caithness, and Sutherland were constructed by him. It was he who designed the first barley mill built on the north side of the Forth, for which a song, very popular in the highlands, was composed in his honour, entitled 'Moladh di Eobhan Camashran Muilleir lin,' that is, 'A song in praise of Hugh Cameron, the lint miller.' He died in 1817, at the reputed age of 112.

[Anderson's Scottish Nation.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, JOHN** (d. 1446), bishop of Glasgow and chancellor of Scotland, is said to have belonged to a family of Edinburgh burghers, and to have drawn his name more remotely from the Camerons of Craigmillar, and not, as was formerly asserted, from the Camerons of Lochiel (ROBERTSON, *Concilia Scotiae*, i. lxxii). In 1422 he was appointed official of Lothian by Archbishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews (CRAWFORD). Two years later he was acting in the capacity of secretary to the Earl of Wigtown (December 1423), who gave him the rectory of Cambuslang in Lanarkshire (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 13; GORDON). Next July he signs as secretary to the king (James I), and would appear to have been made provost of Lincluden, near Dumfries, within six months of this date (*ib.* Nos. 4, 14). Before the close of 1425 (October) he was keeper of the privy seal;

and by the commencement of 1427 (8 Jan.) keeper of the great seal (*ib.* Nos. 25, 74). According to Crawford and Gordon he had been appointed to the latter post as early as February and March 1425-6. By July 1428 he had been elected to the bishopric of Glasgow (*ib.* 56), but does not appear to have been consecrated till later in this year or early in the next (ROBERTSON, with whom *cf. Reg. Mag. Sig.* 78, for 12 Jan.) About the same time he was made chancellor, under which title he is found signing in December 1426 (*ib.* 68). According to Dr. Robertson, Cameron was appointed to the privy seal in April 1425, and to the great seal in March 1426. There does not seem to be any means of ascertaining where he studied, but it is worth while noting that he signs a charter of the Earl of Wigtown in 1423 as 'licenciatus in decretis,' which, taken in connection with the patronage of Wardlaw, may point to his having been a student of the newly founded university of St. Andrews, where there had been a faculty in canon law since 1410 (GOODALL, *Scotichronicon*, ii. 445). Cameron seems to have continued chancellor of Scotland till May 1439, when he was succeeded by William Crichton (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 201).

he newly appointed bishop and chancellor is credited with having assisted James I in his attacks on the ecclesiastical courts of Scotland, and is supposed to have been the leading spirit in the provincial council of Perth (1427), and mainly instrumental in drawing up the great act of parliament passed in July this year (ROBERTSON, *Concil. Scot.* i. lxxxi). For this offence he was summoned to Rome by Martin V. James, however, would not forsake his servant, and sent an embassy (1429) to excuse the bishop from appearing, on the plea that the duties of the chancellorship prevented him from quitting the kingdom. The pope's reply was a citation to Rome, which was delivered to the archbishop by his personal enemy, William Croyser, archdeacon of Teviotdale, who was thereupon (1433) driven from the kingdom for treason, and deprived of all his possessions and preferments (ROBERTSON, lxxxiii; RAYNALDUS, ix. 228; *Excheq. Rolls of Scotland*, pref. cxi; THEINER, 373-5). Eugenius IV now demanded the abrogation of the obnoxious statutes, and threatened even the king with excommunication (1436). Meanwhile the bishop of Glasgow had been despatched to Italy and had persuaded the pope (July 1436) to send a fresh legation for the purpose of reforming the church of Scotland (RAYNALD, ix. 231). The king's murder seems to have delayed the reconciliation for

some years, and it was not till the very end of 1439 that we find Croyser commissioned to raise the excommunications that had been levelled against the bishop (THEINER, 375).

In the years that had intervened since his election to the see of Glasgow, Cameron had been employed in many other affairs of moment. In 1426, 1428, and 1444 he appears as the king's auditor (*Excheq. Rolls*, iv. 379, 432, v. 143). In 1429-30 he was appointed member of a commission for concluding a permanent peace with England. Seven years later he was employed on a mission to the English court (RYMER, x. 417, 446, 482-491, 677). About 1433 Cameron was one of the two bishops whom James I selected to represent Scotland at the council of Basle (ROBERTSON, ii. 248, 384); and it is probably in connection with this appointment that he received a safe-conduct for his journey through England in October and November 1433 (RYMER, x. 537, 563). He sat on the lay-clerical commission of June 1445, charged with the settlement of the long-disputed point as to the testamentary powers of the episcopacy (ROBERTSON, i. ciii-civ). Within the limits of his diocese Cameron seems to have been a vigorous administrator. In 1429 he established six prebends in connection with his cathedral (*Reg. Episc. Glasg.* ii. 340); and in the course of three years caused an inventory of all the ornaments and books belonging to the church of Glasgow to be taken (*ib.* ii. 329). About 1430 he built the great tower of the episcopal palace, where his arms were still to be seen in the last century (INNES, *Sketches*, 58-9; GORDON), and continued the chapter-house commenced by his predecessor. He appears to have died in the castle of Glasgow on Christmas eve 1446 (*Short Chronicle of Scotland*, quoted in GORDON). There does not seem to be any valid foundation for Spotiswood's charge that Cameron was of a cruel and covetous disposition; and still less is any credit to be attached to the legend of terror with which the story of his death has been embellished (BUCHANAN). The circumstances of this legend seem to point to an attack of apoplexy.

[Gordon's *Ecclesiastical Chronicle for Scotland*, ii. 498-508; Crawford's *Lives of Officers of the Scotch Crown*, 24-6; *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. Burnett (*Scotch Rolls Series*), iv. v.; *Registrum Magni Sigilli Scotiæ*, ed. Paul, i. (*Scotch Rolls Series*); *Concilia Scotiæ*, ed. Robertson (*Bannatyne Club*), i. lxxxii, &c. ii.; Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ix. 228, &c.; Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta Scotiæ et Hiberniæ*, 373-5; Spotiswood's *History of Church of Scotland* (ed. 1677), 114; Buchanan's *Historia Scot.* i. xi. c. 25;

Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, ed. Innes; Innes's Sketches of Early Scotch History; MacGeorge's Old Glasgow, 107, 116, 127.]

T. A. A.

**CAMERON, JOHN** (1579?-1625), Scottish theologian, was born about 1579 of respectable parents in Glasgow, according to Robert Baillie, 'in our Salt-mercant, a few doores from the place of my birth' (*Letters and Journals*, iii. 402). After completing the usual course of study at Glasgow University, he taught Greek there for a year. In 1600 he went to Bordeaux, and having by his special skill in Greek and Latin greatly impressed two protestant clergymen in that city, one of whom was his countryman, Gilbert Primrose [q. v.], he was on their recommendation appointed to teach the classical languages in the newly founded college of Bergerac. Shortly afterwards the Duke de Bouillon made him professor of philosophy in the university of Sedan; but after two years he resigned his professorship, and, returning to Bordeaux, was in the beginning of 1604 nominated one of the students of divinity maintained at the expense of the protestant church at Bordeaux to prosecute their studies, for four years, in any protestant seminary. He spent one year at Paris, two at Geneva, and one at Heidelberg, acting at the same time as tutor to the two sons of Calignon, chancellor of Navarre. In April 1608 he maintained in Heidelberg a series of theses, 'De triplici Dei cum Homine Federe,' which have been printed among his works. The same year he was appointed colleague of Primrose in the church of Bordeaux. Having in 1617 attended on two protestant captains condemned to death for piracy, he printed a letter giving an account of their last moments, entitled 'Constance, Foy et Résolution à la mort des Capitaines Blanquet et Gaillard,' which was ordered by the parliament of Bordeaux to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. The following year he succeeded Gomarus as professor of divinity in the university of Saumur. In 1620 he engaged in a discussion with Daniel Tilenus on the theological opinions of Arminius, of which an account, under the title 'Amica Collatio,' was printed at Leyden in 1621. The civil troubles in France compelled him in 1620 to seek refuge in England, and after reading private lectures on divinity in London, he was in 1622 appointed principal of the university of Glasgow, to succeed Robert Boyd of Trochrig [q. v.], removed on account of his opposition to the 'Five Articles of Perth.' In Cameron King James found one of the strongest supporters of his own opinions as to the power and prerogatives of kings (see letter of Cameron to King James,

printed in the *Miscellany* of the Abbotsford Club, i. 115); and Robert Baillie, D.D. [q. v.], who was one of his pupils in Glasgow, states that he drank in from him in his youth the slavish tenet, 'that all resistance to the supreme magistrate in any case was simply unlawful' (Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, ii. 189). His appointment to succeed Boyd, necessarily unpopular in itself, was rendered more so by his extreme opinions, and Calderwood mentions 'that he was so disliked by the people that he was forced not long after to remove out of Glasco' (*History*, vii. 567). He therefore returned to Saumur, where, however, he was only permitted to read private lectures, his application in 1623 to the national synod of Charenton to be reinstated in his professorship being refused, owing to the opposition of the king, although the synod indicated its appreciation of his talents by voting him a donation of a thousand livres. In the following year he obtained the professorship of divinity in the university of Montauban, but here again his doctrine of passive obedience excited the indignation even of his own party, and he was one night so severely assaulted in the streets by some unknown person that his health was permanently impaired. He died at Montauban in 1625. He was twice married. By his first wife, Susan Bernard of Tonneins, on the Garonne, whom he married in 1611, he had a son and four daughters, of whom the son and eldest daughter predeceased him; and by his second wife, Susan Thomas, whom he married a few months before his death, he left no issue.

Cameron was held in his day in very high esteem, although he is said to have possessed a considerable share both of irritability and vanity. Sir Thomas Urquhart states that 'he was commonly designed (because of his universal reading) by the title of the *Walking Library*' (URQUHART, *Jewel*, p. 182); John Dunbar specially refers to the purity with which he spoke the French language (*Epigrammata*, p. 188); his biographer, Cappel, affirms that he could speak Greek with as much fluency and elegance as another could speak Latin; and Milton, in his 'Tetrachordon,' characterises him 'as an ingenious writer and in high esteem.' He was the author of: 1. 'Santangelus, sive Steliteticus in Eliam Santangelum caudicum,' La Rochelle, 1616. 2. 'Traité auquel sont examinez les prejuges de ceux de l'eglise Romaine contre la Religion Reformée,' La Rochelle, 1617, translated into English under the title, 'An Examination of those plausible appearances which seem most to commend the Romish church and to prejudice the Reformed,' Ox-



ford, 1626. 3. 'Theses de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio,' Saumur, 1618. 4. 'Theses XLII. Theol. de Necessitate Satisfactionis Christi pro Peccatis,' Saumur, 1620. 5. 'Sept Sermons sur le cap. vi. de l'Evangile de S. Jean,' Saumur, 1624. After his death there appeared, under the editorship of his pupil, Louis Cappel: 6. 'Joh. Cameronis, S. Theologiæ in Academia Salmuriensi nuper Professoris, Prælectiones in selectiora quedam N. T. loca Salmurii habitæ,' Saumur, 1626-8, 3 tom. 7. 'Myrothecium Evangelicum, in quo aliquot loca Novi Testamenti explicantur: una cum Spicilegio Ludovici Cappelli de eodem argumento cumque 2 Diatribis in Matth. xv. 5 de Voto Jephthæ,' Geneva, 1632, 4to; another edition, with a different subtitle, Saumur, 1677. 8. 'Joannis Cameronis, Scoto-Britanni, Theologi eximii, τὰ σωζόμενα, sive Opera partim ab auctore ipso edita, partim post ejus obitum vulgata, partim nusquam hactenus publicata, vel e Gallico idiomate nunc primum in Latinam linguam translata: in unum collecta, et variis indicibus instructa,' Geneva, 1642, with memoir of the author by Cappel prefixed, under the title 'Job. Cameronis Icon.'

[Memoir by Cappel; Bayle's Dictionary (English translation), ii. 284-9; Robert Baillie's Letters and Journals, passim; Dempster's Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot.; Irving's Scottish Writers, i. 333-46; Chambers's Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen, i. 273-5.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, JOHN** (1724-1799), presbyterian minister, was born in 1724 near Edinburgh. Having served his apprenticeship to a bookseller in Edinburgh, he entered the university and took his M.A. degree. He belonged to the 'reformed presbyterians,' or 'covenanters,' and was admitted a probationer of that body. Going as a missionary to the north of Ireland about 1750, he travelled in various districts of Ulster as an outdoor preacher. His labours as a 'mountain minister' met with large acceptance. In 1754 there was a division in the presbyterian congregation of Billy (otherwise Bushmills), co. Antrim, part adhering to their minister, John Logue, and part going off to form the new congregation of Dunluce. The Dunluce people offered to give a call to Cameron if he would leave the covenanters and join the regular presbyterian body. He consented. On 24 April 1755 the call was signed by 137 persons, and on 3 June Cameron was ordained by the presbytery of Route, having distinguished himself in the course of his 'trials' as an extemporary preacher. His subsequent course was scarcely in accordance with his antecedents. Though an active pastor, he found

time for a renewal of his studies, and became noted as a writer of sermons, which were freely borrowed by his friends for use both in episcopal and presbyterian pulpits. He was dining one day with 'a dignitary of the established church,' when the conversation turned on Dr. John Taylor's 'Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin,' which Cameron had never seen. His host made him take the book home with him, though Cameron 'would as soon have been accompanied by his Satanic majesty.' A perusal of the book produced 'a complete and entire change' in his theology. He got much beyond Taylor, adopting humanitarian views of the person of Christ. Cameron also turned his attention to science. Being in want of a parish schoolmaster, he took into his house Robert Hamilton (1752-1831), the promising son of a neighbouring weaver, trained him for his work, and introduced him to the study of anatomy. Hamilton afterwards became a physician of some distinction at Ipswich, and showed his gratitude to Cameron by dedicating to him 'The Duties of a Regimental Surgeon,' 1794, 2 vols. In 1768 Cameron was moderator of the general synod of Ulster. His year of office was marked by the renewal of intercourse between the synod and the Antrim presbytery, excluded for non-subscription in 1726, and by the publication of Cameron's only acknowledged work, a prose epic. He wrote anonymously several works (often in the form of dialogues) attacking from various points of view the principle of subscription to creeds. The authorship of these able productions was no secret; but the extent of Cameron's doctrinal divergence from the standards of his church was not publicly revealed till nearly thirty years after his death. A paper rejecting the doctrine of the resurrection of the body was forwarded by Cameron to Archdeacon Blackburne, in expectation of a reply. Blackburne sent the paper to Priestley, who published it in his 'Theological Repository,' vol. ii. 1771, with the signature of 'Philander' ('Philander,' in later volumes, is one of the many signatures of Joseph Bretland). This led to a correspondence between Priestley and Cameron, and to the settlement of Cameron's son, William, as a button-maker in Birmingham. In 1787-9 Cameron got a double portion of *regium donum*; his means were always very small. He died on 31 Dec. 1799, and was buried in the parish churchyard of Dunluce, a picturesque spot on the road between Portrush and the Giant's Causeway. A striking elegy on his grave was written by Rev. George Hill, formerly librarian of Queen's College, Belfast. Besides his son, Cameron left a daughter

ter, married to John Boyd of Dunluce. Cameron's writings were: 1. 'The Policy of Satan to destroy the Christian Religion,' n.d. (1767, anon.) 2. 'The Messiah; in nine books,' Belfast, 1768; reprinted with memoir, Dublin, 1811, 12mo. 3. 'The Catholic Christian,' &c. Belfast, 1769, 16mo (anon.) 4. 'The Catholic Christian defended,' &c. Belfast, 1771, 16mo (in reply to Benjamin M'Dowell, D.D., who attacked him by name. Cameron, however, published his defence with the pseudonym of 'Philalethes'). 5. 'Theophilus and Philander,' &c. Belfast, 1772, 16mo (an anonymous reply to M'Dowell's rejoinder). 6. 'Forms of Devotion,' &c. Belfast, 1780. 7. 'The Doctrines of Orthodoxy,' &c. Belfast, 1782, 12mo (republished 1817, with title, 'The Skeleton covered with Flesh'). 8. 'The State of our First Parents,' &c. (mentioned by Witherow). Posthumous was 9, 'The Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures,' &c. 1828, 16mo (known to have been edited by Arthur Nelson (*d.* 20 June 1831), presbyterian minister of Kilmore, otherwise Rademon. The list of subscribers is almost entirely English).

[Monthly Rev. May 1776; Monthly Repos. (1831), 720; Bible Christian (1837), 203; Reid's Hist. Presb. Church in Ireland (Killen) (1867), iii. 330, 336; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Mem. of Presb. in Ireland (2nd ser. 1880), 122, 145; Disciple (Belfast, May 1883), p. 127 (Article by Rev. W. S. Smith, Antrim), June 1883, p. 183.]

A. G.

**CAMERON, JOHN** (1771-1815), of Fassiefern, colonel, Gordon Highlanders, a great-grandson of John Cameron eighteenth of Lochiel [see CAMERON, SIR EWEN, *ad fin.*]; was one of the six children of Ewen Cameron of Inverscadale, on Linnha Loch, and afterwards of Fassiefern, in the parish of Kilmallie, both in Argyleshire, by his first wife Lucy Campbell of Balwardine, and was born at Inverscadale on 16 Aug. 1771. Nursed by the wife of a family retainer, whose son, Ewen McMillan, was his foster-brother and faithful attendant through life, young Cameron grew up in close sympathy with the traditions and associations of his home and people, who looked to his father as the representative head of the clan in the enforced absence of the chief of Lochiel. He received his schooling in part at the grammar school at Fort William, but chiefly by private tuition. Later he entered the university of King's College, Aberdeen. He was articled to a writer to the signet at Edinburgh, James Fraser of Gorthleck, but after the outbreak of the war, at his special request, a commission was procured for him, and he entered the army in May 1793 as ensign, 26th Came-

ronians, from which he was promoted to a lieutenancy in an independent highland company, which was embodied with the old 93rd foot (Shirley's, afterwards broken up in Demerara). In the year following, the Marquis of Huntly, afterwards last Duke of Gordon, then a captain, 3rd foot guards, raised a corps of highlanders at Aberdeen, which originally was numbered as the 100th foot, but a few years later was re-numbered, and has since become famous as the 92nd Gordon Highlanders. Cameron was appointed to a company in this regiment on 24 June 1794. He served with it in Corsica and at Gibraltar in 1795-7, and in the south of Ireland in 1798. There he is said to have lost his heart to a young Irish lady at Kilkenny, but the match was broken off in submission to his father's commands. The next year saw him in North Holland, where he was wounded in the stubborn fight among the sandhills between Bergen and Egmont op Zee on 2 Oct. 1799, one of the few occasions on which bayonets have been fairly crossed by contending lines. He was with the regiment at the occupation of Isle Houat, on the coast of Brittany, and off Cadiz in 1800, and went with it to Egypt, where he was wounded at the battle of Alexandria, and received the gold medal given by the Ottoman Porte for the Egyptian campaign. He became major in the regiment in 1801, and lieutenant-colonel of the new second battalion (afterwards disbanded) on 23 June 1808. After some years passed chiefly in Ireland, Cameron rejoined the first battalion of his regiment soon after its return from Corunna, and commanded it in the Walcheren expedition, subsequently proceeding with it to Portugal, where it landed, 8 Oct. 1810. At its head he signalled himself repeatedly during the succeeding campaigns, particularly at Fuentes de Onoro, 5 May 1811; at Arroyo dos Molinos, 28 Oct. 1811; at Almaraz, 19 May 1812; and at Vittoria, 21 June 1813, where his services appear to have been strangely overlooked in the distribution of rewards; at the passage of Maya, 13 July 1813 (see NAPIER'S *Hist.* v. 219-21); at the battles on the Nive between 9 and 13 Dec. 1813 (*ib.* p. 415); at the passage of the Gave at Arriverette, 17 Feb. 1814; and at the capture of the town of Aire (misprinted 'Acre' in many accounts), 2 March 1814. Some particulars of the armorial and other distinctions granted to Cameron in recognition of his services on several of these occasions will be found in Cannon's 'Historical Record, 92nd Highlanders.' In the Waterloo campaign the 92nd, under Cameron, with the 42nd Highlanders,

1st Royals, and 44th, formed Pack's brigade of Picton's division, and were among the first troops to march out of Brussels at daybreak on 16 June 1815. On that day, when heading part of the regiment in an attack on a house where the enemy was strongly posted, on the Charleroi road, a few hundred yards from the village of Quatre Bras, Cameron received his death-wound. He was buried in an allée verte beside the Ghent road, during the great storm of the 17th, by his foster-brother and faithful soldier-servant, private Ewen McMillan, who had followed his fortunes from the first day he joined the service, Mr. Gordon, the regimental paymaster, a close personal friend, and a few soldiers of the regiment whose wounds prevented their taking their places in the ranks. At the request of the family, however, Cameron's remains were disinterred soon afterwards, brought home in a man-of-war, and, in the presence of a gathering of three thousand highlanders from the then still populous district of Lochaber, were laid in Kilmallie churchyard, where a tall obelisk, bearing an inscription by Sir Walter Scott, marks the site of his grave. In 1817 a baronetcy was conferred on Ewen Cameron of Fassiefern, in recognition of the distinguished military services of his late son. Sir Ewen died in 1828, at the age of ninety, and the baronetcy has since become extinct on the demise, some years ago, of Sir Duncan Cameron, younger brother of Colonel Cameron, and second and last baronet of Fassiefern.

About thirty years ago a memoir of Cameron was compiled from family sources by the Rev. A. Clerk, minister of Kilmallie, two editions of which were privately printed in Glasgow. In addition to many interesting details, which testify to the keen personal interest taken by Cameron in his highland soldiers and to his kindly nature, the work contains a well-executed lithographic portrait of him in the full dress of the regiment, and wearing the insignia of the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword, with other decorations, after an engraved portrait taken just before his fall, and published by C. Turner, London, 1815.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, vol. i.; Army Lists and War Office Muster-Rolls; Cannon's Hist. Rec. 92nd Highlanders; Napier's Hist. Peninsular War; Siborne's Waterloo; Clerk's Memoir of Colonel John Cameron, 2nd ed. (privately printed, Glasgow, 1858), 4to; Gent. Mag. vol. xcix. pt. i. p. 87.]

H. M. C.

**CAMERON, SIR JOHN** (1773-1844), general, was the second son of John Cameron of Calchenna, and nephew of John Cameron

of Caltort, the head of a branch of the great clan Cameron, and a descendant of Lochiel. He was born on 3 Jan. 1773; was educated at Eton, and on 25 April 1787 received his first commission as an ensign in the 43rd regiment. On 30 Sept. 1790 he was promoted lieutenant, and on 11 July 1794 captain in the same regiment. In 1793 his regiment was one of those which formed Sir Charles Grey's expedition to the West Indies; he was present at the capture of the islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe, and was especially distinguished at the storming of Fort Fleur d'Épée in the latter island, where he won his captaincy. In 1795 Sir Charles Grey returned to England, in the belief that his West Indian conquests were safe, and the 43rd regiment, which had been so reduced by sickness that Cameron, though only a junior captain, commanded it, formed part of the garrison of the Berville camp under Brigadier-general Graham, who had been in charge of the island of Guadeloupe. Vice-Admiral Boscawen, the commissary of the French in the West Indies, then organised an army out of the beaten French soldiers, negro slaves, and the Caribs, reconquered St. Lucia, and in the autumn of 1794 recaptured Guadeloupe. His first assault upon the Berville camp on 30 Sept. was unsuccessful, and the camp was carried, and Cameron was wounded and made prisoner. He remained in France as a prisoner of war for more than two years, but in 1797 was exchanged, and immediately rejoined his regiment in the West Indies. There he remained till 1800, when he was promoted major, and brought home, after it had suffered terrible losses from the West Indian climate. On 28 May 1807 Cameron was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 7th West India regiment, and on 5 Sept. of the same year exchanged into the 9th regiment. In July 1808 he set sail for Portugal with the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the 9th and 29th regiments were on disembarking brigaded together as the 3rd brigade under Brigadier-general Catlin Crawford. This brigade bore the brunt of the battle of Rolica, for it had to charge and carry the strong position of Laborde in front, and in so doing Colonel Stewart, of the 2nd battalion of the 9th, was killed, and Cameron succeeded to the command of the regiment. With it he served at the battle of Vimeiro, in the advance to Salamanca, and the disastrous retreat to Corunna, and then returned to England at its head. From July to September 1809 he commanded the 1st battalion in the Walcheren expedition, and in March 1810 returned to Portugal at the head of the 2nd battalion of the 9th, which he com-

manded until the end of the Peninsular war. At the battle of Busaco on 27 Sept. 1810 he was particularly distinguished; the picked regiments of Reynier's corps d'armée had driven in the right of the 3rd division, and established themselves in the very heart of the British position. General Leith ordered up his 1st brigade to drive off the enemy, but the ground was too rugged for them to advance. 'Meanwhile,' to quote the words of Sir William Napier, 'Colonel Cameron, informed by a staff officer of the critical state of affairs, formed the 9th regiment in line under a violent fire, and, without returning a single shot, ran in upon and drove the grenadiers from the rocks with irresistible bravery, plying them with a destructive musketry as long as they could be reached, and yet with excellent discipline refraining from pursuit, lest the crest of the position should be again lost, for the mountain was so rugged that it was impossible to judge clearly of the general state of the action' (NAPIER, *Peninsular War*, book xi. chap. 7). Cameron afterwards commanded his regiment at the battle of Fuentes de Onoro, the siege of Badajoz, the battle of Salamanca, the affair with the French rearguard at Osma on 18 June 1813, and the battle of Vittoria, on all of which occasions it formed a part of the 2nd brigade of the 5th division under General Leith. At the siege of San Sebastian the 9th carried the convent of San Bartholomé on 17 July 1813, when Cameron was wounded; it was engaged in the attempt of 25 July to storm San Sebastian, and in the successful assault of 31 Aug., when Cameron was again wounded, and during the siege operations his regiment lost two-thirds of its officers and three-fourths of its soldiers. In the invasion of France, as in the advance upon Vittoria, the 5th division formed the extreme left of the army; the 9th regiment led the division across the Bidassoa and in the attack on the French position, in the battle of the Nivelle, and in the fiercely contested battles of 9, 10, and 11 Dec. before Bayonne, which are known as the battle of the Nive. In these three days the 9th regiment lost 300 men; on 10 Dec. it was completely surrounded, but charged back to the main army, and took 400 prisoners, and on 11 Dec. Cameron had his horse killed under him when reconnoitring the village of Anglet. The loss of the regiment in 1813 exceeded that of any other regiment in the Peninsula, amounting to 41 officers and 646 men killed and wounded. Cameron was not present at Orthes or Toulouse, but was engaged until the end of the war in Sir John Hope's operations before Bayonne. On the conclusion of peace he received many rewards. On 4 June 1814 he

was promoted colonel, and on the extension of the order of the Bath in January 1815 he was made one of the first K.C.B.'s; he was also made a knight of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, and received a gold cross with three clasps in commemoration of the six battles and one siege at which he had commanded his regiment. In 1814 he commanded his regiment in Canada, where he acted as brigadier-general and commandant of the garrison of Kingston until 1815, when he received the command of a brigade in the army of occupation in France. On 19 July 1821 Cameron was promoted major-general, and commanded the western district from 1823 to 1833, in which year he was appointed colonel of the 9th regiment, which he had so long commanded. On 10 Jan. 1837 he was promoted lieutenant-general; and on 23 Nov. 1844 died at Guernsey. He married a Miss Brock, niece of the first Lord de Saumarez, when stationed in Guernsey in 1803, by whom he had a son, Sir Duncan Cameron, G.C.B., who commanded the Black Watch at the battle of Balaclava, and afterwards the highland brigade in the Crimea.

[Royal Military Calendar; Regimental Record of the 9th Regiment; Wellington Despatches; Napier's *Peninsular War*; information contributed by General Sir Duncan Cameron, G. C. B.]  
H. M. S.

**CAMERON, JOHN ALEXANDER** (*d.* 1885), war correspondent, was descended from the Camerons of Kinlochiel, and was born at Inverness, where he was for some time a bank clerk. Subsequently he went out to India, and was connected with a mercantile house in Bombay. He began contributing to the 'Bombay Gazette,' and was for some time acting editor, when on the outbreak of the Afghan war in 1878 he was appointed special correspondent. When towards the close of the following year the war broke out afresh, he became correspondent of the London 'Standard.' Joining the column under General Phayrer sent to the relief of Candahar, he was the first to ride with the news of the victory of General Roberts to the nearest telegraph post, beating all other competitors by a day and a half. Then returning to Candahar he went out to the battle-field of Maiwand (July 1880), his description of which established his reputation as one of the most graphic of newspaper correspondents. On the outbreak of the Boer insurrection (December 1880) he crossed from Bombay to Natal, arriving there long before the correspondents from England. He was present (January 1881) at the battles of Laing's Nek and Ingogo, and, though taken prisoner at

the fatal fight on Majuba Hill (February 1881), contrived on the following day to despatch his famous message descriptive of the battle. On the conclusion of peace he returned to England, but on the news of the riots in Alexandria (June 1882) he left for Egypt, and was present on board the admiral's ship *Invincible* at the bombardment of the town. He afterwards continued with the British troops throughout the Egyptian campaign until their arrival in Cairo. After a short interval he set out for Madagascar, his letters from which attracted much attention. As the French delayed their attack on the island, he crossed the Pacific to Melbourne, and thence made his way to Tonquin, and was present at the engagement in which the French failed to carry the defences which the Black Flags had erected. English correspondents not being permitted to remain with the French forces, he was on his way home when Osman Digma's forces began to threaten Souakim, and on reaching Suez he immediately took ship for that port. When Baker Pasha's force was crushed by the Arabs, he narrowly escaped with his life. He accompanied the British expeditionary force in their advance upon Tokar, and witnessed the battles of El Tob and Tamanieb. After a short stay in England he set out to join the Nile expedition in 1884, regarding the progress of which he sent home many telegrams and letters. He was killed 19 Jan. 1885, two days after the first battle at Abu Klea.

[Standard, 27 Jan. 1885; Illustrated London News, with portrait, 7 Feb. 1885.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET** (1815-1879), photographer, born at Calcutta on 11 June 1815, was the third daughter of James Pattle of the Bengal civil service. In 1838 she married Charles Hay Cameron [q. v.], then member of the law commission in Calcutta. Her other sisters married General Colin Mackenzie [q. v.], Henry Thoby Prinsep [q. v.], Dr. Jackson, M.D., Henry Vincent Bayley, judge of the supreme court of Calcutta, and nephew of Henry Vincent Bayley [q. v.], Earl Somers, and John Warrender Dalrymple of the Bengal civil service. Miss Pattle was well known in Calcutta society for her brilliant conversation. She showed her philanthropy in 1846, when, through her energy and influence, she was able to raise a considerable sum for the relief of the sufferers in the Irish famine. Mrs. Cameron came to England with her husband and family in 1848. They resided in London, and afterwards went to Putney, and in 1860 settled at Freshwater in the Isle of Wight, where they were the neighbours and friends of Lord

Tennyson. In 1875 they went to Ceylon; they visited England in 1878, and returned to Ceylon, where she died on 26 Jan. 1879.

Mrs. Cameron was known and beloved by a large circle of friends. She corresponded with Wordsworth; she was well known to Carlyle, who said, on receiving one of her yearly valentines, 'This comes from Mrs. Cameron or the devil.' Sir Henry Taylor, a valued friend, says of her in his 'Autobiography' (ii. 48): 'If her husband was of a high intellectual order, and as such naturally fell to her lot, the friends that fell to her were not less so. Foremost of them all were Sir John Herschel and Lord Hardinge. . . . Sir Edward Ryan, who had been the early friend of her husband, was not less devoted to her in the last days of his long life than he had been from the times in which they first met. . . . It was indeed impossible that we should not grow fond of her—impossible for us, and not less so for the many whom her genial, ardent, and generous nature has captivated ever since.' A characteristic story of one of her many acts of persevering benevolence is told in the same volume (pp. 185-8). Her influence on all classes was marked and admirable. She was unusually outspoken, but her genuine sympathy and goodness of heart saved her from ever alienating a friend.

At the age of fifty she took up photography, which in her hands became truly artistic, instead of possessing merely mechanical excellence. She gained gold, silver, and bronze medals in America, Austria, Germany, and England. She has left admirable portraits of many distinguished persons. Among her sitters were the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, Charles Darwin, Lord Tennyson, Mr. Browning, Herr Joachim, and Sir John Herschel, who had been her friend from her early girlhood. Mrs. Cameron wrote many poems, some of which appeared in 'Macmillan's Magazine.' Her only separate publication was a translation of Bürger's 'Leonora,' published in 1847.

[Personal knowledge.]

J. P. S.

**CAMERON, LUCY LYTTTELTON** (1781-1858), writer of religious tales for children, was born 29 April 1781, at Stanford-on-Teme, Worcestershire, of which place her father, George Butt, D.D. [q. v.], was the vicar. Her mother was Martha Sherwood, daughter of a London silk merchant. Mrs. Cameron was the youngest of three children—John Marten, Mary Martha (the well-known authoress, Mrs. Sherwood [q. v.]), and Lucy Lyttelton. She took her baptismal name from her godmother, Lady Lucy Fortescue Lyttelton, daughter of George, the first lord

Lyttelton—"the good lord"—who married Viscount Valentia, afterwards Earl Mountnorris. On Dr. Butt's death, in 1795, Mrs. Butt and her two daughters went to live at Bridgnorth.

Mrs. Cameron's early education was conducted by her parents. She was a precocious child, beginning Latin at seven years of age, mastering French so as to be able to write and think in it with almost the same facility as in English, and afterwards studying Italian and Greek. She speaks at a later period of having finished reading the 'Iliad.' At eleven years of age she went to school at Reading, where she continued till she was sixteen. From her earliest years she had the advantage of intercourse with cultivated and intellectual society. Gerrard Andrewes [q. v.], dean of Canterbury and rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, was a connection by marriage, and on her visit to his rectory she was introduced to London society of the best kind, making the acquaintance of Elizabeth Carter [q. v.] and Humphry Davy, then only known as 'a young man of promise.' Visiting Bristol, she was introduced to Mrs. Hannah More, Miss Galton (afterwards Mrs. Schimmelpenninck), and other members of the literary coteries of that city. In 1806 she married the Rev. C. R. Cameron, of Christ Church, Oxford, the eldest son of Dr. Cameron (of the Lochiel family), a celebrated physician at Worcester. Shortly after her marriage her husband was appointed to a church at Donnington Wood, in the parish of Lilleshall, Shropshire, recently built on the estate of Lord Stafford for the colliers of the district, their residence being at Snedshill. Here she and her husband remained for twenty-five years, devoting themselves with unremitting labour, and with the happiest results, to the moral and spiritual improvement of their rude parishioners. While at Snedshill she became the mother of twelve children, the greater part of whom died before her. In 1831 Mr. Cameron accepted the living of Swaby, near Alford, in Lincolnshire, but continued to reside at Snedshill, serving his old parish as curate till 1836, when he moved to Louth, and finally, on the completion of a rectory, settled at Swaby in 1839. While visiting the Lakes, in 1856, Mrs. Cameron was surprised by a storm on Ulleswater, and caught a cold from which she never recovered, and died on 6 Sept. 1858, and was buried at Swaby. Mrs. Cameron's life was the quiet, laborious, unpretending one of a clergyman's wife, and the devoted mother of a large family. Her fame rests on her religious tales and allegories, written chiefly for the young. Of these Dr. Arnold was a warm admirer. He writes: 'The

knowledge and the love of Christ can nowhere be more readily gained by young children than from some of the short stories of Mrs. Cameron, such as "Amelia," the "Two Lambs," the "Flower Pot" (ARNOLD, *Sermons*, i. 45). She commenced authorship at an early age. 'Margaret White' was written when she was only seventeen, and she continued her literary work more or less all through her life. The 'Two Lambs' was written in 1803, but not published till 1827. In 1816 she began to compose penny books for the poor and ignorant. Her stories were often based on real events, and describe the scenes with which she was familiar, to which the naturalness and graphic power which form the charm of her simple stories are mainly due. Mrs. Cameron's fame as a writer has been rather overshadowed by that of her elder sister, Mrs. Sherwood. The younger sister's writings are often attributed to the elder, and Mrs. Cameron, who is in some respects the better authoress, is consequently less known than she deserves to be. She wrote rapidly. One of her best known little books, 'The Raven and the Dove,' occupied her only four hours. A complete list of Mrs. Cameron's publications is prefixed to the second edition of her life, by her son, the Rev. G. T. Cameron. Besides those already mentioned, the best known are 'Emma and her Nurse,' 'Martin and his Two Sunday Scholars,' 'The Bright Shilling,' and 'The Pink Tippet.'

[Memoir by the Rev. G. T. Cameron, 1862 (2nd edit. 1873); Autobiography of Mrs. Sherwood.]

E. V.

CAMERON, RICHARD (d. 1680), covenanting leader, was born at Falkland in Fife. He was at first schoolmaster and precentor in the parish church, which had then an episcopal incumbent, but having gone to hear some of the field preachers, he was powerfully impressed by their sermons, and was won over to their side. Cameron now espoused the cause of the most advanced section of the presbyterians, holding that those who had accepted the 'indulgence' had sinned very heinously, and that their fellowship was to be utterly shunned. His strong views on this point made him unacceptable to Sir Walter and Lady Scott of Harden, in whose family he had been tutor for a time. Cameron had received no university training, but, having a gift of natural and persuasive eloquence, he was considered by John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, and other leading field preachers to have a call to the office of preacher, and was licensed by them accordingly. In Annandale and Clydesdale hundreds and thousands hung upon his lips, and, moved by his tender and melting

appeals, 'fell into a great weeping.' In 1678 he went to Holland, where many like-minded men were in banishment, and in his absence a new indulgence was proclaimed which many accepted. Returning in 1680, he found very few ministers to share his views. Among the few were Donald Cargill and Thomas Douglas, who met with him several times to form a public declaration and testimony as to the state of the church. What is commonly called the Sanquhar declaration followed, so named from the town of Sanquhar, where it was published. It disowned the authority of Charles II, and declared war against him. It disowned likewise the Duke of York and his right to succeed to the throne. Substantially this was the very basis on which, a few years after, the revolution was effected. The work of but a handful of poor men, it had little effect, except to embitter the spirit of opposition, and set a price of 5,000 merks on the head of Cameron, and 3,000 on those of Donald Cargill and Thomas Douglas. For a few weeks, notwithstanding, Cameron, now accompanied by a small body of armed men, went on preaching here and there, and uttering very strong predictions against all who should favour the royal indulgence. On 22 July 1680 his party was surprised by a body of royal troops who came upon them at a place called Ayrsmoss or Airdsmoss, in the parish of Auchinleck in Ayrshire. The Cameronians resolved to receive the charge, Cameron having thrice prayed 'Lord, spare the green and take the ripe,' but notwithstanding their great valour, they were overpowered by superior numbers and mostly cut to pieces; Cameron and his brother were among the slain. The preacher's head and hands were cut off, and by order of the council were fixed to the Nether Bowgate in Edinburgh.

After his death the name of Cameron, though cherished with a kind of holy reverence by his friends, was very often applied vaguely by enemies to all sects or bodies who held advanced or unusual opinions. In particular it used to be given to the 'reformed presbyterians' who would not accept the settlement of church and state under William and Mary. It ought to be added that the 'reformed presbyterians' decline the term 'Cameronian,' although to this day it is applied to them in popular use in Ireland, Scotland, and the United States.

[*Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i.; *Howie's Scots Worthies*; *Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*; *Grub's Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii.; *McCrie's Story of the Scottish Church*; *Herzog and Schaff's Encyclopædia*, art. 'Cameronians.'] W. G. B.

**CAMERON, WILLIAM** (1751-1811), Scotch poet, was born in 1751, and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he was a pupil of Dr. Beattie [q. v.] Having been licensed a preacher of the church of Scotland, he was ordained minister of the parish of Kirknewton, Midlothian, on 17 Aug. 1786. Along with the Rev. John Logan and Dr. John Morrison, he assisted in preparing the collection of 'Paraphrases' from Scripture for the use of the church of Scotland, and he wrote for the collection *Paraphrases XIV and XVII*. On the occasion of the restoration of the forfeited estates in the highlands, he wrote a congratulatory song, 'As o'er the Highland Hills I hied,' which was inserted in Johnson's 'Museum' adapted to the old air, 'The Haughs o' Cromdale.' He was also the author of a 'Collection of Poems,' published anonymously, 1790; 'The Abuse of Civil and Religious Liberty,' a sermon, 1793; 'Ode on Lochiel's Birthday,' 1796; 'A Review of the French Revolution,' 1802; 'Poems on several Occasions,' 1813; and the account of the parish of Kirknewton in Sinclair's 'Statistical Account.' His poems are for the most part of a moral and didactic character. He died on 17 Nov. 1811.

[*New Statistical Account of Scotland*, i. 411; *Scots Magazine*, lxxiv. 79; *Forbes's Life of Beattie*, i. 375; *Rogers's Scottish Minstrel*, i. 34-38; *Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot.* i. 143-4.] T. F. H.

**CAMIDGE, JOHN**, the elder (1735-1803), organist and composer, was born at York in 1735. His early musical education was obtained as a chorister of York Minster under Dr. Nares, to whom he was articled for seven years, after which he studied in London under Dr. Greene, and received some lessons from Handel. On his return to Yorkshire, Camidge became a candidate for the post of organist at Doncaster parish church, but the Dean of York hearing him play offered him the appointment of organist to York Minster, where he entered upon his duties on 31 Jan. 1760. Camidge was the first cathedral organist to introduce into the service, as anthems, selections from Handel's oratorios, an innovation which at the time was thought very bold, as the style of Handel's music was considered too secular for performance in churches. He was a florid and brilliant organ-player, and his extempore performances were celebrated. Camidge remained at York all his life. His wife was a Miss Mills, daughter of the chapter registrar, by whom he had a son Matthew [q. v.] He resigned his organistship 11 Nov. 1799, and died 25 April 1803.

[Authorities as under **JOHN CAMIDGE** the younger.] W. B. S.



**CAMIDGE, JOHN**, the younger (1790–1859), organist and composer, grandson of John Camidge the elder [q. v.] was born at York in 1790. He received his musical education from his father, Matthew Camidge [q. v.], and in 1812 graduated at Cambridge as Mus. Bac., taking his doctor's degree in 1819. About 1825 he published a volume of cathedral music of his composition, and he also adapted much classical music for use in the Anglican service, but he was principally known as a masterly executant. From his youth up he played on the organ at York Minster, and was retained at a high salary by the dean and chapter as assistant to his father. After the fire in the cathedral in 1829, Camidge devoted much attention to the construction of the magnificent new organ, which for many years was one of the finest in the world, and which was mainly built under his direction. On his father's retirement he was appointed organist of the cathedral (15 Oct. 1842), a post he held until his death, which took place at Gray's Court, Chapter House Street, York, 29 Sept. 1859. On 28 Nov. 1848 he became paralysed while playing the evening service, and never afterwards touched the organ. Camidge left one daughter and three sons, Charles, John, and Thomas Simpson. The two latter followed their father's profession, Mr. T. S. Camidge, now (1886) organist of Hexham Abbey, having acted as his deputy at York from 1848 until his death. A son of Mr. T. S. Camidge is now organist of Beverley Minster, the fifth generation of organists which this remarkable family has produced.

[Chapter Records of York Minster, communicated by Mr. C. W. Thiselton; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 300; Gent. Mag. xxvi. 92, lxxiii. 484; Musical World for 1 Oct. 1859; information from Mr. T. S. Camidge.] W. B. S.

**CAMIDGE, MATTHEW** (1758–1844), organist and composer, son of John Camidge the elder [q. v.], was born at York in 1758. At an early age he became a chorister of the Chapel Royal, where he was educated by his father's old master, Dr. Nares. On his return to York he became assistant to his father. He is said to have been the first to teach the cathedral choristers to sing from notes; previously all the services had been learnt by ear. The two Camidges also originated the York musical festivals, beginning with a performance, on a small scale, of Handel's 'Messiah' at the Belfry church, which led to oratorios being given with orchestral accompaniments in the minster. On the resignation of John Camidge, Matthew was appointed his successor as organist (11 Nov. 1799), a

post he held until his retirement, 8 Oct. 1842. He published a considerable quantity of music for the harpsichord, organ, and piano, besides a collection of psalm tunes, a 'Method of Instruction in Musick by Questions and Answers,' and some church music. Camidge was married to a niece of Sheriff Atkinson of York, by whom he had three sons; two took orders, and became respectively vicar of Wakefield and canon of York, and chaplain at Moscow and Cronstadt, and the third [see CAMIDGE, JOHN, the younger] succeeded his father as organist of York. Camidge died 23 Oct. 1844, aged eighty-six.

[Authorities as under JOHN CAMIDGE the younger.] W. B. S.

**CAMM, ANNE** (1627–1705), quakeress, daughter of Richard Newby, was born at Kendal, Westmoreland, in 1627. Her parents sent her, when thirteen years old, to London that, under the care of an aunt, she might perfect her education. During her residence in London she connected herself with some sect of puritans. At the end of seven years she returned to Kendal and joined a company of 'seekers,' part of whose worship consisted in sitting in silence. At these meetings she became acquainted with John Audland, whom she married in 1650, and by whom she had a son. Audland and his wife attended a meeting at Fairbank in 1652, which was conducted by George Fox; both joined the quakers, and were chosen preachers. Mrs. Audland's first ministerial work lay in the county of Durham, and at Auckland she was arrested for preaching and sent to gaol, but she continued her discourse from the windows of her prison. She seems to have been discharged the same night. During 1653 she was ill-treated and arrested at Banbury on a charge of blasphemy. She was tried at the assizes for having affirmed that 'God did not live,' a perversion of the quotation she acknowledged to having used, viz. 'Though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely' (Jer. v. 2). The jury returned a verdict that she had been guilty of misdemeanour only, which, forming no part of the indictment, amounted to a verdict of acquittal; but the judge refused to liberate her unless she found bond for good behaviour. This she refused to give. She was committed to a prison partly underground, destitute of any means of heating, and through which ran the common sewer. She was liberated after eight months, and then seems to have constantly accompanied her husband on his preaching expeditions till his death in 1663. She remained a widow for two or three years, when she married Thomas Camm [q. v.], by

whom she had a daughter, and with whom she lived happily for nearly forty years. After her second marriage she does not appear to have been much molested. She died after a short illness in 1705. It seems to have been owing to her efforts that quakerism obtained the firm hold it once had in Oxfordshire. Her only work, 'Anne Camm, her Testimony concerning John Audland, her late Husband,' printed in 1681, was exceedingly popular among the early Friends.

[A Brief Account of her is given in the Friends' Library, vol. i., Philadelphia; see also Besse's Sufferings and Fox's Journal of his Life, Travels, &c.] A. C. B.

**CAMM, JOHN** (1604?-1656), quaker, was born at Camsgill, near Kendal, Westmoreland, and was a man of good birth, tolerable education, and considerable property. When comparatively young he left the national church and established a small religious society. About 1652, after hearing George Fox preach at Kendal, he embraced quakerism. He speedily became a preacher, although, according to Thomas Camm's 'Testimony,' it involved the renunciation of brilliant prospects. In 1654 he and Francis Howgill visited London, where he attempted to found a quaker society. The principal object of their journey, however, was to 'declare the message of the Lord to Oliver Cromwell, then called Protector,' in favour of toleration. They were received very courteously, but Cromwell, supposing them to require the assistance of the law, gave them no encouragement. An interesting letter which Camm wrote to undeceive the Protector is still extant. After revisiting the north Camm spent a considerable time in London, and in 1654, in company with John Audland, visited Bristol. It is said that they were favourably received by the inhabitants until the clergy incited a mob to illtreat them and the magistrates to issue a warrant for their apprehension. Nothing further is known of Camm till 1656, when a letter records that he was residing at Preston Patrick, near Kendal. During the same year he again visited Bristol. He was a man of weakly constitution, and he is said to have been usually obliged to take his son Thomas [q. v.] to wait on him. His bodily ailments rapidly increased, and, according to the register preserved at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, he died of consumption at the end of this year (1656). Thomas Camm, in his 'Testimony,' written in 1680, says he died in 1665, and the same date is given in Whiting's 'Catalogue.' Camm was an untiring minister, and an amiable, simple-minded man. Although his literary ability was small and his

style clumsy and obscure, his works were highly esteemed.

Camm's most important works are: 1. 'This is the Word of the Lord which John Camm and Francis Howgill was moved to declare and write to Oliver Cromwell, who is named Lord Protector, shewing the cause why they came to speak with him, . . . ' 1654. 2. 'A True Discovery of the Ignorance, Blindness, and Darkness of . . . Magistrates, . . . ' J. C. attributed to Camm, 1654. 3. 'Some Particulars concerning the Law sent to Oliver Cromwell, . . . ' 1654 (reprinted 1655). 4. 'The Memory of the Righteous revived, being a brief collection of the Books and Written Epistles of John Camm and John Audland, . . . ' 1680.

[Brief Lives of Camm are to be found in Take's Biog. Notices of Friends, and in the Friends' Library, Philadelphia, 1841; the foundation for both is Thomas Camm's Testimony, 1680. A full description of his writings is given in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books, i. 376; see also Sewal's History of the Rise, &c., of the Society of Friends.] A. C. B.

**CAMM, THOMAS** (1641-1707), quaker, was born at Camsgill, Westmoreland, in 1641, and was the son of John Camm [q. v.] As both his parents were quakers, he was educated in their faith, and when very young became one of its ministers. In 1674 he was sued by John Orinrod, vicar of Burton, near Kendal, for small tithes, and in default of payment was imprisoned for three years. In 1678 a magistrate broke up a meeting of quakers held at Ackmonthwaite, committed several Friends to prison, and also seems to have fined them, for Camm, who had been the preacher at the meeting, lost nine head of cattle and fifty-five sheep. Shortly after this another distraint was made upon his property by warrant from the same justice. Somewhat later he was imprisoned for nearly six years in Appleby gaol, probably for some offence against the Conventicle Act. Camm did much to prevent the growth of the schisms to which quakerism at that time was liable. He continued his preaching expeditions till he was advanced in years, died after a short illness in 1707, and was buried in the Friends' burial-ground at Park End, near Camsgill.

Camm wrote considerably, and his works were fairly popular among the early Friends, but they are now utterly forgotten; a full list is given in Joseph Smith's 'Catalogue of Friends' Books.' The most important are: 1. 'The Line of Truth and True Judgement stretched over the heads of Falsehood and Deceit . . . ' 1684. 2. 'The Admirable and Glorious Appearance of the Eternal God,

1684. 3. 'Thomas Camm's Testimony concerning John Camm and John Audland,' 1689. 4. 'A Testimony to the fulfilling the Promise of God relating to . . . prophetesses, . . . ' 1689. 5. 'An Old Apostate justly exposed,' 1698. 6. 'Truth prevailing against Reason, . . . ' 1706. 7. 'A Lying Tongue reproved, . . . ' 1708.

[A short account of Thomas Camm is given in the Friends' Library, vol. i. (Philadelphia, 1841); see also Swarthmore MSS., Besse's Sufferings.] A. C. B.

**CAMMIN, SAINT.** [See CAMIN.]

**CAMOCKE, GEORGE** (1666?-1722?), captain in the royal navy, renegade, and admiral in the service of Spain, descended from an Essex family, was a native of Ireland. According to his own statements in numerous memorials to the admiralty (1699-1702), he entered the navy in or about 1682, and, having served five years 'in his minority' and three years as a midshipman, was in 1690 'made a lieutenant by the lords of the admiralty for boarding a cat that was laden with masts for his majesty's ships, then riding at Cow and Calf in Norway, with a French privateer of 12 guns lashed on board her, which ship I brought safe to England.' He was afterwards appointed to the *Lion* of 60 guns, and in her was present, probably at the battle of Beachy Head, certainly at the battle of Barfleury; in command of the *Lion's* boats he was actively engaged in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and claimed to have personally set fire to a three-decker, in which service he was wounded. On 13 March 1692-3 he was appointed first lieutenant of the *Loyal Merchant*, one of the fleet which went to the Mediterranean with Sir George Rooke [q. v.] In 1695 he was appointed to command the *Owner's Goodwill* fireship, and in December was promoted to the *Intelligence* brigantine, in which vessels he took part in the several bombardments of Calais. In December 1697 the *Intelligence* was put out of commission, and Camocke was for some time in very embarrassed circumstances. In May and June 1699 he repeatedly memorialised the admiralty, and on 28 June was appointed as first lieutenant of one of the guardships at Portsmouth (*Admiralty Minutes*). After all, these ships were not commissioned, and on 5 Sept. Camocke again appealed to the lords of the admiralty, praying that, 'after serving his Majesty all my life, I may not have my bread to seek in another service.'

On 11 Sept. he was appointed to the *Bonetta* sloop, which he commanded, in the North Sea and afterwards on the north coast of Ireland, till June 1702, when, after several

more memorials, he was advanced to post rank and the command of the *Speedwell* frigate. This command he held for the next eight years, being employed for the most part on the coast of Ireland, and in successful cruising against the enemy's privateers. In the spring of 1711 he was appointed to the *Monck* of 60 guns, which he commanded on the same station, and in which he was again fortunate in capturing some troublesome privateers. On 9 May 1712, having put into Kinsale, he wrote thence on some fancied slight that he had been 'twenty years used ill by the whigs,' and added that he had 'the honour of a promise of being vice-admiral in the Tsar of Muscovy's service, which I shall accept of, if my rank is taken from me here' (*Home Office Records (Admiralty)*, No. 28).

In the following February, still in the *Monck*, he was sent out to the Mediterranean, and, being at Palermo in the early months of 1714, received an order from Sir John Jennings, the commander-in-chief, to go to Port Mahon, take on board a number of soldiers and convey them to England. Instead of doing so, he, on his own responsibility, undertook to carry and convoy the Spanish army from Palermo to Alicante, whence he himself visited Madrid. Afterwards, having taken on board the English soldiers at Port Mahon, on his way home he put into Cadiz, and again into Lisbon. For these several acts in violation of duty he was suspended and called on for an explanation, and his explanation being unsatisfactory, he was told that his suspension would be continued until he was cleared by a court-martial.

On 18 Jan. 1714-15 he wrote to the secretary of the admiralty, from Hornchurch, Essex, stating his case at considerable length, alleging also that the late queen had approved of his conduct, and had given orders for the suspension to be taken off. He therefore declined the offer of a court-martial, choosing rather to leave the matter in the hands of their lordships. 'Whenever,' he added, 'it shall please their lordships to put it in my power to show my zeal for his majesty King George's service, there is not a person in my rank or station that will, with the highest obedience and duty, take more care to acquit himself.' The admiralty reply was an official notification that he was struck out of the list of captains.

Three years later he was a rear-admiral in the Spanish navy, and held a junior command in the fleet which was destroyed by Sir George Byng [q. v.] off Cape Passaro on 31 July 1718, but he made his escape and

got back to Messina. On 15 Aug. Byng wrote to Craggs: 'Captain Camocke is, as you have been informed, rear-admiral in the Spanish service, but ran early. Before your letter came to me I had given the very orders relating to him that you send; for when my first captain went ashore at Messina from me to the Spanish general, I ordered him not to suffer Camocke to be in the room, not to speak to him, nor receive any message from him, not thinking it fit to treat or have any correspondence with rebels.' Notwithstanding this refusal of Byng's to hold any intercourse with the traitor, Camocke had the insolence to write, offering him, in the name of King James, 100,000*l.* and the title of Duke of Albemarle if he would take the fleet into Messina or any Spanish port. To Captain Walton he wrote a similar letter (22 Dec. 1718), offering him 10,000*l.*, a commission as admiral of the blue, and an English peerage.

But meantime Messina was closely blockaded. Several ships tried to get out, but were captured, and among them a small frigate in which, on 25 Jan. 1718-19, Camocke tried to run the blockade; she was taken on the 26th by the Royal Oak. Camocke, however, escaped 'by taking in time to his boat, and got safe to Catania; but so frightened that he never thought of anything, but left his king's commission for being admiral of the white together with all his treasonable papers' (*Mathews to Byng*, 2 Feb. 1718-19). He succeeded in getting back to Spain, but was no longer in favour, and was banished to Ceuta, where he is said to have died a few years later in the extreme of want and degradation.

There has been a certain tendency to rank Camocke as a political martyr. From his being a native of Ireland, and from the date (falsely quoted as 12 Aug. 1714) of his leaving the English service, it has been commonly taken for granted that he suffered for attachment to the house of Stuart. Critically examined his conduct admits of no such excuse. He had served under both William and Anne, and had professed himself ready to serve with 'zeal' and 'the highest obedience' under George: his attachment to the Stuart interest was called into being solely by his summary dismissal from the English service for gross breaches of discipline and a suspicion of hiring his ship out to the service of a foreign prince. Already, in 1712, as we have seen, he contemplated entering the service of Russia; and the necessary change of religion offered no stumbling-block to his accepting service in Spain in 1715. The best that can be said

for him is that, in 1715, Spain was not at war with England.

Camocke's name has been misspelt in different ways, Cammock being perhaps the most common. The spelling here given is that of his own signature.

[Official Letters and other Documents in the Public Record Office; Corbett's Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily in the years 1718-19-20; Charnock's *Biog. Navalis*, iii. 221.] J. K. L.

CAMOYS, THOMAS DE, fifth baron (d. 1420), is said to have been the grandson of Ralph, the fourth baron, and to have succeeded his uncle, John de Camoys, in 46 Edward III (NICOLAS). According to Dugdale, he served in several expeditions during the early years of Richard II, notably under his cousin, William, lord Latimer (1 Rich. II), who bequeathed him the manor of Wodeton (*Test. Vet.* i. 108), and in John of Gaunt's expeditions against Scotland and Castile in 1385 and 1386 (RYMER, vii. 475, 499). He next appears as one of the favourites of Richard II, from whose court he was removed in 1388, at the instance of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Derby (KNYGHTON, 2705; CAPGRAVE, 249). In 1400 he manned a ship for service against the Scotch and the French, and next year was summoned to take up arms against Owen Glendower (RYMER, viii. 127; NICOLAS, *Proceedings and Ordinances*, ii. 56). A year or two later (June 1403) he received a payment of 100*l.* for his expenses in conducting Henry IV's intended bride, the Princess Joan, from Brittany to England (DEVON, *Exchequer Issues*, 293). In 1404 he was called upon to defend the Isle of Wight against the threatened descent of the Count of St. Paul; and in November of the same year he was ordered to Calais, to treat with the Flemish ambassadors, but probably did not start till July 1405 (RYMER, viii. 375-6, 378). In December 1406 he signed Henry IV's deed regulating the succession to the crown (*ib.* 462), and, perhaps earlier in the same year, was sent with Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, to treat with France (DUGDALE; RYMER, viii. 432). In 1415 he accompanied Henry V on his French expedition (RYMER, ix. 222), having previously been appointed a member of the committee for the trial of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope (NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, 38), and commanded the left wing of the English army at Agincourt (*Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 50). Next year he negotiated the temporary exchange of the Dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester (*ib.* p. 101), and was made a K.G. 23 April (NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, 174). In 1417 he reviewed the muster of the earl

marshal's men at 'Thre Mynnes,' near Southampton. Two years later (March 1419) he was called upon to collect troops against the threatened invasion of the King of Leon and Castile; and in April of the same year he signed his name to the parole engagements of the captive Arthur of Brittany and Charles of Artois (RYMER, ix. 702, 744-5). He was a 'trier of petitions' for Great Britain and Ireland in the October parliament of 1419 (*Camoyo's Claim*, p. 27). According to Dugdale he died on 28 March 1422; but the inscription on his tomb at Trotton (figured in DALLAWAY'S *Sussex*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 224-5) gives 28 March 1419, equivalent to 1420 in the new style, as seems probable from the date of Henry V's inquisition writ (18 April 1420), and is rendered certain by the evidence of the jurors, who state that he died on a Thursday, on which day of the week March 28 fell in 1420 (*Camoyo's Claim*, p. 28). From the same inscription we learn that he was a knight of the Garter, and that his wife's name was Elizabeth (cf. *Cal. Inq. post Mort.* iv. 28). This Elizabeth is said to have been the daughter of the Earl of March and widow of Harry Hotspur, a theory which is rendered more probable by the appearance of the Mortimer arms on the tomb alluded to above. The name of a previous wife may possibly be preserved in the 'Margaret, late wife of Sir Thomas Camoyo, Knt.,' who was dead in April 1386 (*Test. Vet.* i. 122, with which, however, cf. the obscure passage in BLOMEFIELD'S *Norfolk*, v. 1196, and BURKE'S *Baronage*, where the name of Baron Camoyo's first wife is given as Elizabeth). Camoyo's infant grandson, Hugh, appears to have inherited his estates. On his death (August 1426) the barony fell into abeyance till 1839, when it was renewed in favour of Thomas Stonor, sixth baron Camoyo, who made good his descent from Margaret Camoyo, sister of the above-mentioned Hugh (*Camoyo's Claim*, p. 33; NICOLAS). Camoyo was elected one of the knights of the shire for Surrey in 7 Richard II (1383), but was excused from serving on the plea of being a banneret. From the same year till the time of his death he was summoned to parliament (*Dignity of a Peer*, iv. 84 a; *Camoyo's Peerage Claim*, p. 8, &c.)

[Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 768; Nicolas's *Historic Peerage*, ed. Courthope, 91; Rymer's *Fœderna*, vols. vii. viii. ix.; Issues of Exchequer, ed. Devon, 1837; Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, ed. Nicolas, ii.; Gesta Henrici Quinti, ed. Williams for English Historical Society, 50, 101, 270; Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, ed. Hingeston (Rolls Series), 249; Knyghton ap. Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*,

2705; Dallaway's *History of Sussex*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 217-25; Brayley's *History of Surrey*, ed. Walford, iv. 206; Horsfield's *Sussex*, i. 222, ii. 90; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ed. Parkins, 1775; Woodward's *Hampshire*, ii. 254; Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, ii. 149; Banks's *Extinct Peerage*, 251; Nicolas's *Battle of Agincourt*; Collins's *Peerage*, ed. Brydges, ii. 272-3; Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, i. 108, 122; *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem*, iii. 318, &c., iv. 58, 107; *Camoyo's Peerage Claim*, published by order of the House of Lords, 1835; Report on the Dignity of a Peer (House of Lords), iv.] T. A. A.

**CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER** (d. 1608), bishop of Brechin, son of Campbell of Ardinglass, Argyllshire, received through the recommendation of his kinsman, the Earl of Argyll, while still a boy, a grant from Mary Queen of Scots of the see of Brechin, of which he was the first protestant bishop. He was endowed with all the patronage formerly belonging to the bishops of Brechin (*Reg. Priv. Sig.*) The boy bishop was never consecrated, nor did he attempt to exercise any episcopal functions. According to Keith (*Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, 1755, p. 98) the only use he made of his position was to alienate the greater part of the lands and tithes belonging to the see in favour of the Earl of Argyll, leaving barely sufficient for the support of a minister for the city of Brechin. This alienation was confirmed by parliament. In May 1567 he obtained a license from the queen to leave the realm for seven years, but his name appears on the list of those who personally attended the convention of Perth in 1569. In the 'Book of Assumption' the bishop is mentioned as being at the schools at Geneva in January 1573-4 (KEITH, *History*, &c., p. 507, and App. p. 181). After his return to Scotland in the following July he for some time exercised the office of particular pastor at Brechin, retaining the title of bishop, but without exercising any episcopal authority. In 1574 he complained to the general assembly that the Bishop of Dunkeld had alleged that he had been compelled by the Earl of Argyll 'to give out pensions,' which he considered a slander. He was also present at the general assemblies of 1575 and 1576. In 1580 he and several other bishops were summoned to appear before the next general assembly to answer charges of having alienated the lands of their benefices, and in 1582 Campbell was directed by the general assembly to appear before the presbytery of Dundee to account for various negligences in the performance of the duties of his office. The process against him was duly produced to the general assembly in 1583, but there is no record of any further steps having been taken. He continued to

sit in parliament on the spiritual side until his death, which took place in 1608. Keith gives the date as 1606, but the records of the Edinburgh Commissary Court (quoted by M'Crie) refer his death to February 1608. The deed appointing him to the bishopric of Brechin is printed in the 'Registrum Episcopatus de Brechin' (Bannatyne Club).

[Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, p. 369; *Registrum Episcopatus de Brechin* (Bannatyne Club), 1850; Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, 1824; *Acts of the General Assembly, &c.* MDLX.-MDCXVIII. (Bannatyne Club); M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*; Stephens's *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1843, i. 157.] A. C. B.

**CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER**, second **EARL OF MARCHMONT** (1675-1740), was the eldest surviving son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, first earl of Marchmont, and his wife, Grizel, daughter of Sir Thomas Ker of Cavers. In his boyhood he shared his father's exile in Holland, with the other members of the family. He spent two or three years at the university of Utrecht, where he made a special study of civil law, being intended to follow the legal profession. On 25 July 1696 he was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates, and on 29 July 1697 married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, Ayrshire. He was afterwards knighted by the style of Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnock. On 16 Oct. 1704 he was appointed an ordinary lord of session, in the place of Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Aberuchill, and took his seat on the bench on 7 Nov. as Lord Cessnock. In April 1706 he was returned as one of the members for Berwickshire, and accordingly sat in the last Scotch parliament which met for its final session in the following October. He zealously supported the union, and took an active share in the work of the sub-committee, to which the articles of the union were referred. In 1710 his eldest brother, Lord Polwarth, died, and in 1712 he went to Hanover, where he entered into correspondence with the electoral family, and was the means of contradicting the report which had been eagerly circulated, that the elector was indifferent to the succession to the English throne. In 1714 Campbell resigned his seat on the bench in favour of his younger brother, Sir Andrew Hume of Kimmerghame. He was made lord-lieutenant of Berwickshire in 1715, and at the breaking out of the rebellion raised four hundred of the Berwickshire militia in defence of the Hanoverian succession.

In the same year he was appointed ambassador to the court of Copenhagen, where

he remained until the spring of 1721, and in December 1716 he received the further appointment of lord clerk register of Scotland. In January 1722 he was nominated one of the British ambassadors to the congress at Cambray. On the death of his father on 1 Aug. 1724 he succeeded to the earldom, and on 10 March in the following year was invested, at Cambray, by Lord Whitworth, with the order of the Thistle. In 1726 he was sworn a member of the English privy council, and in 1727 was elected one of the Scotch representative peers. In 1733, with other Scotch nobles, he joined in the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's excise scheme in the hope that by joining forces with the English opposition Lord Islay's government of Scotland might be overthrown.

Though the bill was dropped, those who had opposed it were not forgotten by Walpole, and in May 1733 Marchmont was dismissed from his office of lord clerk register. In the following year he was not re-elected as a representative peer. He took an active part in the attempt to criminate the government for interference in the election of the Scotch peers, which, however, was not successful. He died in London on 27 Feb. 1740, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and was buried on 17 March in the Canongate churchyard, Edinburgh. By his wife, Margaret, he had a family of four sons and four daughters. He was succeeded by his third son, Hugh, on whose death, in 1794, the title of earl of Marchmont became extinct. The barony of Polwarth, however, descending through Lady Diana, the youngest daughter of the last earl, is still in existence.

[Marchmont Papers, edited by Sir G. Rose (1831), vols. i. and ii.; Sir R. Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (1813), p. 182; Bruntton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1832), pp. 476, 477; Nicolas's *Orders of Knighthood* (1842), iii., T. 39, 41, 47, xxxii.; *Scots Mag.* 1740, ii. 94, 99-101; Foster's *Scotch M.P.'s* 45.]

G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER** (1764-1824), musician and miscellaneous writer, born in 1764 at Tombea, Loch Lubnaig, and first educated at the grammar school, Callander, was the second son of a carpenter who, falling into straitened circumstances, removed to Edinburgh, where he died when Alexander was eleven years old. The family was supported by John, the eldest son, afterwards a well-known Edinburgh character (John Campbell died 1796, was precentor at the Canongate church, and a friend of Burns; his picture appears thrice in Kay's 'Portraits'). The two brothers were pupils of Tenducci, then a music teacher in Edinburgh, who helped

to establish them both in his own profession. Campbell was appointed organist to an 'episcopal chapel in the neighbourhood of Nicholson Street.' He also gave lessons in singing. Among his pupils were the Scotts. But the lads had no taste for the subject; the master had no patience. The result was that 'our neighbour, Lady Cunningham, sent to beg the boys might not all be flogged precisely at the same hour, as, though she had no doubt the punishment was deserved, the noise of the concord was really dreadful' (Notes to Scott's Autobiography, in chap. i. of LOCKHART'S *Life*). While a teacher he published 'Twelve Songs set to Music' (1785?). About this time he became engaged in a quarrel with Kay, whom he ridiculed in a sketch. This procured him a place in Kay's 'Portraits,' where he is represented turning a hand-organ while asses bray, a dog howls, a bagpipe is blown, and a saw sharpened as an accompaniment (vol. ii. print 204).

Campbell married twice at a comparatively early age. His second wife was the widow of Ranald Macdonald of Keppoch. Thinking that the connection thus formed might be useful in procuring an appointment, he resigned his music teaching and studied medicine at the university of Edinburgh. Though in 1798 he announced 'A Free and Impartial Inquiry into the Present State of Medical Knowledge' (a work apparently never published), he does not seem to have practised his new profession, but to have devoted himself to literary work. At this period he wrote 'Odes and Miscellaneous Poems, by a student of medicine at the university of Edinburgh' (Edinburgh, 1796), and also published some drawings of highland scenery made on the spot. Campbell's next work was 'An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland' (Edinburgh, 1798). This contains a collection of Scotch songs; it was illustrated by David Allen, and dedicated to H. Fuseli. It is written in a curiously stilted style, but contains much information about contemporary poets and poetasters. Though only ninety copies were printed, it excited some notice. L. T. Rosegarten supplements his translation (Lübeck and Leipzig, 1802) of T. Garnett's 'Tour in the Highlands,' 1800, with information drawn from it. Rosegarten specially commends the views therein expressed about Ossian, the authenticity of whose poem Campbell stoutly maintained. Campbell now produced 'A Journey from Edinburgh through parts of North Britain [1802, new edition 1811], with drawings made on the spot' by the writer. This is an interesting and even valuable picture of the state of many parts of the country at the beginning of the century.

It was followed by 'The Grampians Desolate, a poem in six books' (Edinburgh, 1804). More than half of this work, which is without literary merit, consists of notes. Its object was to call attention to the 'deplorable condition' of the highlands, brought about by the introduction of sheep-farming. A melancholy incident recorded in a note to page 11 led to the establishment of the Edinburgh Destitute Sick Society. After some interval there appeared 'Abby's Anthology, or a select collection of the melodies and vocal poetry of Scotland, peculiar to Scotland and the Isles, hitherto unpublished' (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1816 and 1818). Campbell had projected this work since 1790, but it was not till Henry Mackenzie, Walter Scott (who obtained the prince regent's acceptance of the dedication of the book), and other Edinburgh men of note, gave him their help that the project was carried out. A grant was obtained from the Highland Society, and the author travelled between eleven and twelve hundred miles in collecting materials (preface). Among the contributors of verse are Scott, Hogg, Jamieson, and Alexander Boswell. In the 'Anthology' (p. 66) Campbell claims the authorship of the well-known air usually joined to Tannahill's 'Gloomy Winter's now awa'; but the claim has been disputed (ANDERSON, *Scottish Nation*).

In the last years of his life Campbell fell into great poverty, and obtained his living chiefly by copying manuscripts for his old pupil Scott, though 'even from his patron he would take no more than he thought his services as a transcriber fairly earned.' Scott, however, tells a half-pitiful story of a dinner which Archibald Constable gave to 'his own circle of literary serfs,' when 'poor Allister Campbell and another drudge of the same class' ran a race for a new pair of breeches, which were there displayed 'before the threadbare rivals.' Scott thought the picture might be highly coloured, and at any rate Constable bestowed on him 'many substantial benefits,' as he gratefully acknowledges in a letter written the year before his death, which took place from an attack of apoplexy 15 May 1824. His manuscripts were sold 'under judicial authority.' Among them was a tragedy, which was never published. Campbell was a warm-hearted and accomplished, though somewhat unpractical, man. Scott, who wrote an obituary notice of him in the 'Edinburgh Weekly Journal,' says that, though his acquirements were considerable, 'they did not reach that point of perfection which the public demand of those who expect to derive bread from the practice of the fine arts.'



[Anderson's *Scottish Nation*; Kay's *Original Portraits*, vol. ii. new ed. Edinburgh, 1877; Lockhart's *Life of Scott*; Thomas Constable's *Memoir of Archibald Constable*, Edinburgh, 1873, ii. 236-7; *Memoir of Robert Chambers*, 12th ed. Edin. 1883, pp. 186-7. The works not mentioned in this article, but ascribed to Campbell in the *Scottish Nation*, the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and even in the contemporary *Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors*, 1816, p. 52, are not his, but are the production of one or more other writers of the same name. Lockhart, who says Campbell was known at Abbotsford as the *Dunnie-wassail*, makes an apparently strange mistake in identifying him with the 'litigious Highlander' called Campbell, mentioned in Washington Irving's *Abbotsford* and *Newstead* (conversation with Scott in 1817, note to chap. xxxvi. of *Scott's Life*); R. Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 130.] F. W. r.

**CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER** (1788-1866), founder of the 'Campbellites,' eldest son of Thomas Campbell, schoolmaster and minister of the Secession church (1763-1854), by his marriage in June 1787 with Jane Corneigle, who died in 1835, was born near Ballymena, county Antrim, on 12 Sept. 1788, and, after a preliminary education at Market Hill and Newry, worked for several years as a day labourer on his father's farm. Afterwards he became an assistant in an academy conducted by his parent at Rich Hill, near Newry. The father emigrated to the United States in April 1807, and in September of the following year, accompanied by his mother and the rest of the family, he embarked in the *Hibernia* for Philadelphia, but on 7 Oct. that vessel was wrecked on the island of Islay, and her passengers were landed in Scotland. Campbell's mind being much impressed with the prospect of a speedy death, he resolved that, if his life were saved, he would spend his days in the ministry of the gospel. On 8 Nov. 1808 he entered Glasgow University, where he pursued his studies until 3 July 1809, when he again embarked and arrived safely in America. He almost immediately joined the Christian Association of Washington, a sect which his father had established on 17 Aug. 1809 on the basis 'of the Bible alone, the sole creed of the church.' In this denomination he was licensed to preach the gospel on 4 May 1811 at Brush Run Church, Washington county, and ordained on 1 Jan. 1812. Having married on 2 March 1811 Margaret, daughter of John Brown, and receiving as her marriage portion a large farm, he declined to take any remuneration for his ministerial services, and supported himself and family throughout his life by labour on his own land. In after years he introduced fine-woolled merino and Saxon sheep; the experi-

ment proved successful, and he soon had a large and valuable flock. The Buffalo Seminary was opened by him in his own house in January 1818, an establishment for preparing young men to labour on behalf of the 'primitive gospel,' but not answering his expectations in this respect, it was given up in November 1822. The word reverend was not used by him, but he frequently called himself Alexander Campbell, V.D.M., i.e. Verbi Divini Minister. Having persuaded himself that immersion was the only proper mode of baptism, he and his family, in 1812, were, to use his own expression, 'immersed into the christian faith.' After this the congregations with which he was connected in various parts of the country formed an alliance with the baptist denomination, with whom they remained in friendly intercourse for many years. He was always much engaged in preaching tours through several of the states. He had many public discussions on the subject of baptism, and finally, on 4 July 1823, commenced the issue of a publication called 'The Christian Baptist,' which ran to seven volumes, and was succeeded in January 1830 by 'The Millennial Harbinger,' which became the recognised organ of his church. In these two works may be found a complete history of the 'church reforms' to which his father and himself for so many years devoted themselves.

In 1826 he commenced a translation of the Greek Testament, which he compiled from the versions of Dr. George Campbell, Rev. James MacKnight, and Philip Doddridge, with much additional matter from his own readings. One object of this work was to expound that the words baptist and baptism are not to be found in the New Testament. The publication of this volume caused a complete disruption between his people and the baptist denomination. In the succeeding year his followers began to form themselves into a separate organisation, and uniting with other congregations in the western states, which were led by the Rev. W. B. Stone, founded a sect called variously the 'Church of the Disciples,' the 'Disciples of Christ,' the 'Christians,' or the 'Church of Christ,' but more commonly known as the 'Campbellites.' This denomination, which in 1872 was estimated to comprise 500,000 persons, extended into the states of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Campbell added to his other arduous labours by inaugurating on 21 Oct. 1841 Bethany College, an establishment chiefly intended for the education of schoolmasters and ministers; of this college he remained president till his death, when he endowed it with 10,000 dollars and a valuable library of books. He visited Great

Britain in 1847, and while at Glasgow engaged in an anti-slavery debate. Some expressions which he then used caused the Rev. James Robertson to prefer a charge of libel against him, and to have him arrested on the plea that he was about to leave the country. His imprisonment lasted ten days, when the warrant for his arrest was declared to be illegal, and ultimately a verdict was given in his favour. On his return to America he continued with great zeal his preaching and educational work, and died at Bethany, West Virginia, on 4 March 1866. His wife having died on 22 Oct. 1827, he, by her dying wish, married secondly, in 1828, Mrs. S. H. Bakewell. He wrote among others the following works: 1. 'Debate on the Evidences of Christianity between Robert Owen and A. Campbell,' 1829; another edition, 1839. 2. 'The Christian Baptist,' edited by A. Campbell, 1835, 7 vols. 3. 'The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, commonly styled the New Testament. With prefaces by A. Campbell,' 1835; another edition, 1848. 4. 'A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion between A. Campbell and J. B. Purcell, bishop of Cincinnati,' 1837. 5. 'The Christian Messenger and Reformer, containing Essays, Addresses, &c., by A. Campbell and others,' 1838, 9 vols. 6. 'Addresses delivered before the Charlottesville Lyceum on "Is Moral Philosophy an Inductive Science?"' 1840. 7. 'A Public Debate on Christian Baptism, between the Rev. W. L. Maccalla and A. Campbell,' 1842. 8. 'Yr oraclau bywiol neu y Testament Newydd. Wedi ei gyfieithu gan J. Williams gyda rhaglithiau ac attodiad gan A. Campbell,' 1842. 9. 'Capital Punishment sanctioned by Divine Authority,' 1846. 10. 'An Essay on the Remission of Sins,' 1846. 11. 'An Address on the Amelioration of the Social State,' 1847. 12. 'An Address on the Responsibilities of Men of Genius,' 1848. 13. 'Christian Baptism, with its Antecedents and Consequents,' 1853. 14. 'Essay on Life and Death,' 1854. 15. 'Christianity as it was, being a Selection from the Writings of A. Campbell,' 1867. 16. 'The Christian Hymn Book, compiled from the writings of A. Campbell and others,' 1869. Nearly the whole of the 'Christian Baptist,' or the 'Millennial Harbinger,' was written by Campbell himself and his father.

[Rice's Campbellism, its Rise and Progress, 1850; Smallwood's Campbellism Refuted, 1833; Inwards's Discourse on Death of A. Campbell, 1866; Ripley and Dana's American Cyclopædia, 1873, under Campbell and Disciples; Richardson's Memoirs of A. Campbell, with portrait, 1871, 2 vols.]

G. C. B.

**CAMPBELL, ANNA MACKENZIE**, COUNTESS OF BALCARRES, and afterwards of ARGYLL (1621?-1706?), was the younger daughter of Colin the Red, earl of Seaforth, chief of the Mackenzies; her mother was Margaret Seyton, daughter of Alexander, earl of Dunfermline. After her father's death, in 1633, she resided at Leslie, the seat of her cousin, Lord Rothes. Here she was married in April 1640, against the wish of her uncle, then the head of the family, to another cousin, Alexander Lindsay, master of Balcarres, who became Lord Balcarres in the following year. She was a woman, if the picture apparently painted in Holland during the protectorate and preserved in Braham Castle may be trusted, of extreme beauty, the face being full of vivacity, sweetness, and intelligence. Her husband fought for the covenant at Marston Moor, Alford, and Kilsyth, was made governor of the castle of Edinburgh in 1647, was a leader of the resolutioners, and after the defeat at Preston retired with his wife to Fife. At the coronation of Charles at Scone in 1651, Balcarres was made an earl. On 22 Feb. 1651 the king paid her a visit shortly before the birth of her first child, to whom he stood godfather. On the invasion after Worcester she went with her husband to the highlands, where he had command of the royalists. To pay for the debts incurred by Balcarres in the royal cause, she sold her jewels and other valuables, and many years of her subsequent life were spent in redeeming the ruin in which the Balcarres family had been involved. In 1652, being obliged to capitulate to the English, Balcarres settled with his wife at St. Andrews. After the defeat of Glencairn's rising in the highlands, in which the earl joined, he received a summons from Charles II, then at Paris, to join him with all speed. His wife determined to accompany him. In the depth of winter, through four hundred miles of country occupied by the enemy, she travelled in disguise with her husband, the children having been left behind, and arrived safely in Paris in May 1654. For the next four years they followed the court, the queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, bestowing much kindness upon the countess, who was at this time appointed *gouvernante* to the young Prince of Orange. They were settled at the Hague in 1657, and there Balcarres died on 30 Aug. 1659. The countess's letters to Lauderdale and others on the occasion are preserved among the Lauderdale papers in the British Museum, and are models of sincere and intelligent piety. Between her, her husband, Lauderdale, Kincardine, and Robert Moray there existed a friendship of

the closest intimacy, as well as family connection, so much so that she and her husband, in the letters which pass between the friends, are always familiarly alluded to as 'our cummer' and 'gossip.' The countess returned immediately to Fifeshire, but shortly went on to France, where, being herself warmly attached to the presbyterian church, she was instrumental in securing the support of the French protestant ministers for the king in 1660 (*Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society, i.) At the Restoration a pension of 1,000*l.* a year was settled upon her by Charles, who often expressed for her a deep admiration, but it was some years before it was paid. During the interval she and her children suffered great privations—'Not mistress of sixpence,' she says of herself on 4 July, and 'unable to pay the apothecary.' She remained in England until May 1662, and there became intimately acquainted with Baxter, who declares that 'her great wisdom, modesty, piety, and sincerity made her accounted the saint at the court.' The conversion of her eldest daughter and her subsequent death in a nunnery were a great blow to the countess. In 1662 she returned to Scotland, when from poverty and anxiety she became very ill. Her eldest son died in October of this year. She was now of service to Lauderdale in warning him of the plots set on foot by Middleton to oust him from the secretaryship (*ib.*) In 1664 her condition was rendered easier by the fuller payment of the promised pension, for which she had petitioned in November 1663, but the friendship with Lauderdale appears to have been in a great measure broken off. The next few years were spent in endeavouring, by careful economy, to pay off the debts upon the estates, and in 1669 her son's rights on the Seaforth estates were given up by her for the sum of 80,000 marks. On 28 Jan. 1670 the Countess of Balcarres became the second wife of Archibald, eighth earl of Argyll [q. v.], having previously, by wise management, brought everything connected with her son's property into exact order. This marriage unfortunately, for reasons not very obvious, lost her in a great measure the friendship of Lauderdale, her letters of remonstrance to whom are full of affectionate and dignified feeling. With Argyll, who was chiefly engaged in raising the fallen estate of his family, she lived a life of quiet affection until the catastrophe of 1681. It was her daughter, Sophia, doubtless by her advice and assistance, who accomplished his escape from the castle. The forfeiture of his estates again brought her into great straits. By the Scotch law the forfeiture extended to herself. Nothing remained to her except her house at Stirling

and her revenue of 4,000 marks a year from a small estate of Wester Pitcorthie, a jointure settled on her by her first husband. On 4 March 1682, however, Charles gave her a provision of 7,000 marks a year out of the forfeited lands, on account of 'the faithful services done to him by the late Earl of Balcarres and the severe hardships which she herself had suffered, and because she and her first husband's family had constantly stood up for the royal authority.' By April 1684, however, she had only received 4,600 marks, and the utmost she had was 2,400 more; and a fresh inventory of her movables, drawn up in 1682, shows that she had been compelled to sacrifice the greater part of the 'womanly furniture' still left her. In December 1683 she was brought before the privy council to decipher some intercepted letters of Argyll, implicating him in the Rye House plot. She replied that she had a key, but that upon the breaking out of the English plot she had burnt it. It was finally discovered that this key was not the one to the cipher used in these letters, and she was not troubled further. When news arrived, 15 May 1685, of Argyll's landing, the countess and Lady Sophia were at once arrested at Stirling and imprisoned in the castle, whither also her husband was brought upon his capture, and was only permitted to see him on the day previous to his execution. His last letter to her but a few hours before his death is preserved, and testifies to the deep affection between husband and wife. After Argyll's execution the countess was at once released, and went to London, spending three months in attendance on the court, but returned again shortly to Scotland. In 1689 she settled finally at Balcarres, managing the estates of her son, Colin, who was in exile. By her care she paid off the burdens still remaining on that estate, and in addition gave up a part of her jointure of 7,000 marks from the Argyll estate for the other members of that family. Her last signature, of 1 Oct. 1706, is given to a provision of 1,000 marks a year to her grandchild, Elizabeth Lindsay. She appears to have died in this year. She was buried probably beside her first husband and her son Charles in the chapel of Balcarres; no record of interment is found in the parish books.

[The chief source of this article is an interesting monograph by the present Earl of Lindsay, privately printed, the *Memoirs of Lady Anna Mackenzie*.] O. A.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, second EARL OF ARGYLL (d. 1513), eldest son of Colin, first earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Isabella, eldest

daughter of John, lord of Lorne, succeeded his father in 1493. In a charter of 30 June 1494 he is designated Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and in the same year he was appointed master of the household. In 1499 he and others received from the king a commission to let on lease for the term of three years the entire lordship of the Isles as possessed by the last lord, both in the Isles and on the mainland, with the exception of the island of Isla and the lands of North and South Kintyre. He also received a commission of lieutenancy over the lordship of the Isles, and some months later was appointed keeper of the castle of Tarbert, and baillie and governor of the king's lands in Knapdale. Along with the Earl of Huntly and others he was in 1504 charged with the task of suppressing the rebellion of the islanders under Donald Dubh; and after its suppression in 1506 the lordship of the Isles was shared between him and Huntly, the latter being placed over the northern region, while the south isles and adjacent coast were under Argyll. From this time till his death the western highlands were free from serious disturbance. At the battle of Flodden, 9 Sept. 1513, Argyll, along with the Earl of Lennox, held command of the right wing, composed wholly of highlanders, whose impetuous eagerness for a hand-to-hand light when galled by the English archers was the chief cause of the defeat of the Scots. Argyll was one of the thirteen Scottish earls who were slain. By his wife, Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Lennox, he had four sons and five daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Colin, third earl of Argyll [q. v.] His fourth son, Donald (d. 1562), is separately noticed.

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 90; Donald Gregory's Hist. of the Western Islands.] T. F. II.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, fourth EARL OF ARGYLL (d. 1558), eldest son of Colin, third earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, third earl of Huntly, immediately after succeeding to the title and offices of his father, in 1530, was employed in command of an expedition to quell an insurrection in the southern isles of Scotland. The voluntary submission of the principal chiefs rendered extreme measures unnecessary, and Alexander of Isla, the prime mover of the insurrection, was able to convince the king not only that he was personally well disposed to the government, but that the disturbances in the Isles were chiefly owing to the fact that the earls of Argyll had made use of the office of lieu-

tenant over the Isles for their own personal aggrandisement. The earl was therefore summoned before the king to give an account of the duties and rental of the Isles received by him, and, as the result of the inquiry, was committed for a time to prison. Shortly afterwards he was liberated, but was deprived of his offices, and they were not restored to him until after the death of James V. In a charter to him of the king's lands of Cardross in Dumbartonshire, 28 April 1542, he is called 'master of the king's wine cellar.' Along with the Earls of Huntly and Moray he was named one of the council of the kingdom in the document which Cardinal Beaton produced as the will of James, and which appointed Beaton governor of the kingdom and guardian to the infant queen. After the arrest of Beaton, 20 Jan. 1542-3, Argyll retired to his own country to muster a force to maintain the struggle against the Earl of Arran, who had been chosen governor. Shortly afterwards the Earls of Argyll, Bothwell, Huntly, and Moray, supported by a large body of the barons and landed gentry, as well as by the bishops and abbots, assembled at Perth, avowing their determination to resist the measures of the governor to the uttermost. On being summoned by the governor to disperse they deemed it prudent not to push matters to extremities; but when it became known that Henry VIII of England had succeeded in arranging a treaty of marriage between the young queen Mary and Edward, prince of Wales, the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Lennox, and Bothwell marched from Stirling with a force of ten thousand men, and compelled the governor to surrender to their charge the infant queen, with whom they returned in triumph to Stirling. In the summer of 1544 Lennox, who had gone over to the party of the English king, plundered the Isle of Arran, and made himself master of Bute and the castle of Rothesay, but as he sailed down the Clyde he was fired on by the Earl of Argyll, who with four thousand men occupied the castle of Dunoon. After a consultation with his English officers he determined to attack Dunoon, and, notwithstanding the resistance of Argyll, effected a landing and burnt the village and church. Retreating then to his ships, he subsequently laid waste a large part of Kintyre; but, as he had not succeeded in obtaining possession of the castle of Dumbarton, the main purpose of the expedition was a failure, since it was impossible without it to retain a permanent footing on the Clyde. On the forfeiture of the estates of Lennox, Argyll was rewarded with the largest share. Although Lennox continued to foment discontent in the Isles, the practical result of the

dissensions he had sown was still further to increase the power of Argyll. At the battle of Pinkie, 10 Sept. 1547, Argyll, with four thousand west highlanders, held command of the right wing of the Scottish army. In January 1447-8 he advanced to Dundee with the determination of making himself master of Broughty Castle, but apparently the negotiations of Henry VIII prevented him from persevering in his purpose, although in a letter to Lord Grey, 15 March 1548 (*State Papers, Scottish Series*, i. 83), he denied the rumour that he favoured England, and had been rewarded by a sum of angel nobles. If he did manifest a tendency to defection it was only temporary, for shortly afterwards he rendered important service along with the French at the siege of Haddington, and was made 'a knight of the cockle by the king of France at the same time as the Earls of Angus and Huntly' (Knox, *Works*, i. 217). At an early period Argyll came under the influence of Knox, and he subscribed the first band of the Scottish reformers. On his way to Geneva in 1556 Knox made a stay with him at Castle Campbell, 'where he taught certain days' (*ib.* i. 253). After the agreement of the barons, in December 1557, that the reformed preachers should teach in private houses till the government should allow them to preach in public, Argyll undertook the protection of John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, caused him to teach publicly in his house, and 'reformed many things according to his counsel.' To induce Argyll to renounce the reformed faith, the Archbishop of St. Andrews sent him a long and insinuating letter (see *ib.* i. 276-80), to which he wrote an answer replying 'particulerlie to every article' (*ib.* i. 281-90). He died in August 1558, 'whereof,' according to Knox (*ib.* i. 290), 'the Bischoppis war glaid; for they thought that thare great ennemye was takin out of the way.' In his will he enjoined his son 'that he should study to set fordwarthe the publict and trew preaching of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstitioun and idolatrie to the uttermost of his power.' By his marriage to Lady Helen Hamilton, eldest daughter of the first earl of Arran, he had one son; and by his marriage to Lady Margaret Graham, only daughter of the third earl of Menteith, one son and two daughters. He was succeeded in the earldom by Archibald, fifth earl (1530-1573) [q. v.], his son by the first marriage. Colin, sixth earl [q. v.], was his son by his second marriage.

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Calendar of State Papers (Scottish Series); Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. i.; Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents (Bannatyne Club, 1833); Bishop Lesley's History of Scot-

land (Bannatyne Club, 1830); Knox's Works (Bannatyne Club), vol. i.; Donald Gregory's History of the Western Highlands; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 91.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, fifth EARL OF ARGYLL (1530-1573), the leader along with Lord James Stuart, afterwards earl of Moray [q. v.], of the 'lords of the congregation' at the Reformation, was the eldest son of Archibald, fourth earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Lady Helen Hamilton, eldest daughter of the first earl of Arran. In 1556, along with Lord James Stuart, he attended the preaching of Knox at Calder, when they both 'so approved the doctrine that thei wissed it to have been publict' (Knox, *Works*, i. 250). As lord of Lorne he signed the invitation to Knox to return from Geneva in 1557, and, along with his father, subscribed the first band of the Scottish reformers. While thus, both by natural choice and early training, inclined towards the reformed doctrines, he was solemnly enjoined in the will of his father, who died in August 1558, to give them his zealous support. At the same time his conduct never gave any evidence of extreme fanaticism, nor, on the other hand, tortuous and inconsistent as his actions afterwards became, does personal ambition appear to have been one of his ruling motives. In his early years his reputation stood very high. Cecil, writing to Elizabeth on 19 July 1560, informs her that Argyll 'is a goodly gentleman, universally honoured by all Scotland.' In judging of his career it must, however, be borne in mind that at the crisis of the Reformation he was closely associated with Lord James Stuart, who was his senior by several years, and who besides possessed a strength of will and a knowledge of men and affairs which placed him almost on a level with Knox. The predominant influence of Lord James Stuart in a great degree moulded the public conduct of Argyll, and eliminated from it, during its earlier period, any uncertainty arising from indecision of purpose, impulsiveness of temperament, or mingled ulterior motives. Their early friendship, cemented by their common interest in the teaching of Knox at Calder, was a fortunate occurrence for the Reformation, which, but for the fact that they worked hand in hand in its support when its fate seemed suspended in the balance, might have been frustrated for many years.

At first the action of Argyll and Lord James Stuart in joining the queen regent with their forces after the monasteries and religious houses had been spoiled by the 'rascal multitude' at Perth in May 1559, showed such lukewarmness towards the Re-

formation that Willock and Knox upbraided them for their desertion of the brethren, but they warmly defended themselves as having acted in the interests of peace. Through their mediation a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon by both parties, all controversies being reserved till the meeting of parliament. Influenced, however, by a sermon of Knox, who expressed his conviction that the 'treaty would only be kept till the regent and her Frenchmen became the strongest,' Argyll, Lord James, and the other lords of the congregation, before separating on the last day of May 1559, subscribed a bond in which they obliged themselves, 'in case that any trouble be intended,' to spare 'neither labour, goods, substance, bodeis, or lives in maintenance of the libertie of the whole congregation and everie member thereof' (CALDERWOOD, *History*, i. 458-9). The suspicions of Knox found almost immediate justification, for on the day that the supporters of the Reformation left Edinburgh the queen regent proceeded to restore the popish services and to garrison the city with Scotch soldiers in the pay of France. Argyll and Lord James, having remonstrated with her in vain, secretly left the city with three hundred followers, and went to St. Andrews, whither they summoned the leading reformers to meet them on 4 June 'to concurre to the work of the Reformation.' The destruction of the cathedral of St. Andrews and the razing of the monasteries, which again followed the preaching of Knox, were probably not included in their programme, but here as elsewhere it was found vain to endeavour to curb the excited crowd. On the news reaching the queen regent at Falkland, she gave instant orders to advance to St. Andrews, with the view of crushing Argyll and Lord James, still attended by only a slender retinue. Already, however, her purpose had been foreseen and thwarted. They hastened to occupy Cupar with a hundred horsemen, and from Fife and Forfar their supporters flocked in so rapidly that, in the words of Knox, 'they seemed to rain from the clouds.' Before noon of Tuesday, 13 June, their forces numbered over 13,000 men, which, under the command of Provost Haliburton of Dundee, occupied such a strong position on Cupar Muir, overlooking the town and commanding with their artillery the whole sweep of the surrounding country, that the queen regent, after opening negotiations, agreed to a truce of eight days, meanwhile engaging to transport the French troops that were with her beyond the bounds of Fife, and to send commissioners to St. Andrews to arrange the differences between her and the congrega-

tion (see 'Tenor of Assurance' in CALDERWOOD's *History*, i. 467). The first part of the agreement was kept, but after waiting in vain for the promised arrival of the commissioners in St. Andrews, Argyll and Lord James addressed to her a joint letter (printed in CALDERWOOD's *History*, i. 468-9), requesting the withdrawal of the garrison from Perth, 'that the same may be guided and ruled freely.' Receiving no reply, they advanced against the town, and the garrison, after some delay in hope of relief, surrendered on 26 June. In revenge for 'the slaughter of their citizens,' the inhabitants of Dundee then proceeded to sack the palace and church of Scone, which were saved for one night by the interposition of Argyll and Lord James. On the following night their restraint was withdrawn, as they were called away by the sudden message that the queen regent intended to stop the passage of the Forth at Stirling. Leaving Perth at midnight, they were again successful in defeating her purposes, and, proceeding immediately to Linlithgow, so disconcerted her by their rapid movements, that on hearing of their arrival there she retreated with her French troops to Dunbar; and, though only attended by a small following, Argyll and Lord James, without the necessity of striking a blow, entered Edinburgh on 29 June 1559. From Dunbar the queen regent issued a proclamation against them as rebels, to which they replied by a letter on 2 July 1559, asserting that their only purpose was 'to maintain and defend the true preachers of God's Word' (see documents in CALDERWOOD's *History*, i. 478-82). To their representations she at first answered so pleasantly as to awaken hope that all they stipulated for would be conceded, but in the midst of the negotiations she suddenly appeared in Edinburgh with a strong force, upon which the lords agreed to deliver up the city on condition that matters should remain *in statu quo* till the meeting of parliament on 10 Jan. Meantime Argyll hastened to the western highlands to counteract the intrigues of the queen regent with James Macdonald of Isla, the most powerful of the western chiefs, and was so successful that in October 1559 Macdonald was on his way to join the lords of the congregation with seven hundred foot soldiers. They did not arrive too soon, for the queen regent had begun to fortify Leith, and at the beginning of the siege by the forces of the congregation a sally of the French, which drove them to the middle of the Canongate and up Leith Wynd, was only stopped by Argyll and his highlanders. So stubborn was the resistance of the French, and so successful were the emissaries of the queen

regent in increasing her following, that the lords of the congregation found it advisable on 5 Nov. to evacuate the city and retire to Stirling. In February following a contract was entered into between them and Queen Elizabeth of England—part of which bound Argyll to assist Elizabeth in subduing the north of Ireland—by which an English army was sent to their assistance; but while they were still besieging Leith the queen regent died on 10 June 1560, having before her death sent for Argyll and the other protestant lords, to whom she expressed regret that matters had come to such an extremity, and laid the blame on Huntly and her other advisers. Peace was soon afterwards agreed upon, and at a parliament held in the ensuing August a confession of faith, drawn up by the protestant ministers, was sanctioned as the standard of protestant faith in Scotland. This was followed by a Book of Discipline, which the Earl of Argyll was the third of the nobility to subscribe. Soon afterwards the lords made an act 'that all monuments of idolatry should be destroyed,' and Argyll, with the Earls of Arran and Glencairn, was employed to carry out this edict in the west of Scotland.

Argyll was one of those who received Queen Mary on her arrival at Leith, 19 Aug. 1561, and shortly afterwards he was named one of the lords of the privy council. As before, he continued to act in concert with Lord James Stuart, the queen's half-brother, who had been created earl of Moray, and by whose advice Mary was content for some years to regulate her policy. Randolph, writing to Cecil, the minister of Elizabeth, on 24 Sept. 1561 (quoted in KERR's *History*, ii. 88), reports that, when on 14 Sept. high mass would have been sung in the Chapel Royal, the 'Earl of Argyll and Lord James so disturbed the quire that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears; but in reality their interference was of a totally different kind, and for resisting the attempt of the mob to stop the service they were warmly denounced by Knox, who, on account of their tolerant attitude towards catholic practices, was estranged from them for some years. Mary's power of fascination had had its effect in modifying the reforming zeal of Argyll, and to it must be partly attributed the inconsistencies of his subsequent course of action. Possibly it was chiefly with the view of cementing this influence that in May 1563 Mary sought the good offices of Knox in bringing about a reconciliation between Argyll and his wife, her half-sister and her favourite attendant, natural daughter of James V, by Elizabeth, daughter of John, lord Carmichael. The

letter which Knox wrote Argyll was 'not weall accepted of the said erle; and yit did he utter no part of his displeasur in public, but contrairrelie schew himself most familiar with the said John' (Knox, *Works*, ii. 379). But if the letter was unsuccessful Mary did not manifest any resentment against Argyll, for in August of this year she went on a visit to him in Argyllshire to witness the sport of deer-hunting (CALDERWOOD, *History*, ii. 229). With the determination of the queen to marry Darnley matters were, however, for a time completely changed. Moray, in disgust at the overweening insolence of Darnley, retired from the court, upon which Mary did not scruple to affirm her conviction that he aimed 'to set the crown on his head,' while at the same time she made use of expressions implying her 'mortal hatred' of Argyll (*Randolph to Cecil*, 3 May 1565). So much were Moray and Argyll in doubt regarding her intentions that when they came to Edinburgh to 'keep the day of law' against the Earl of Bothwell, then on trial for high treason, they deemed it prudent to bring with them seven thousand men, and at no time would be in court together, in order that one of them might be left on guard. The current rumour that Moray and Argyll about this time formed a plot to seize Mary and Darnley as they rode from Perth to Callander, and to convey Mary to St. Andrews and Darnley to Castle Campbell, though not improbable in itself, has never been sufficiently substantiated, but there can be no doubt that they used every effort to secure the aid of Elizabeth to prevent the marriage by force of arms. After the marriage Moray vainly endeavoured to promote a rebellion, and Argyll, on the charge of resetting him, was summoned before the council, and, failing to appear, was on 5 Dec. 1565 declared guilty of 'lese majesty' (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, i. 409). Meanwhile Moray had gone to the English court to lay his case before Elizabeth, and had been ignominiously dismissed from her presence as an 'unworthy traitor' to his sovereign. On learning the nature of his reception, Argyll bade Randolph inform his mistress that if she would reconsider herself he would stick to the English cause and fight for it with lands and life; but he demanded an answer within ten days; if she persisted he would make terms with his own sovereign (*Randolph to Cecil*, 19 Nov. 1565; *Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser., 1564-5, p. 522). This was the turning-point in the career of Argyll, although there is unquestionably exaggeration in the statement of Froude that he who had been 'the central pillar of the Reformation' from 'that



day forward till Mary Stuart's last hopes were scattered at Langside, became the enemy of all which till that hour he had most loved and fought for' (Froude, *History of England* (Lib. ed.), viii. 224). His negotiations with Elizabeth still continued, and what is chiefly manifest in his subsequent conduct is the absence of a settled and determined purpose, indicating that he was swayed by different motives at different times. Without the help of Elizabeth he had no option but to make terms with Mary, and it so happened that after the murder of Rizzio Mary was glad to be reconciled both to him and Moray. That the murder had their sanction there can be no doubt, but they were not present when it was committed, and Darnley, who had denounced Morton, Ruthven, and the other perpetrators of the deed, made no allusion to their connection with it. When it became known that Darnley was himself the principal contriver of the murder, the queen's attitude towards those who had all along opposed the marriage must have been somewhat changed, and, at least as regards Argyll, she gave strong proof of his restoration to her confidence when, on going to Edinburgh to be confined of a child, she ordered lodgings to be provided for him next her own. Shortly after this Argyll was caught in the toils which virtually bound him in honour or dishonour to the cause of Mary, so long as there was a party to fight for her in Scotland. His course of action was determined rather by circumstances than by his own will or choice. Possibly he became at first the tool of the queen and Bothwell in order to revenge himself on Darnley for his treachery towards Morton and the other banished lords, for at this time he was negotiating with Elizabeth to interfere on their behalf, on the promise that he would with his highlanders hold Shan O'Neil in check in Ireland, and would do what he could to hinder the 'practice between the queen and the papists of England.' That Argyll signed the bond at Craigmillar for the murder of Darnley there can be no doubt; and it was in the company of him and his countess that the queen spent the evening after she had left her husband to his fate. Thus irrevocably bound by his share in the murder to the fortunes of Mary and Bothwell, the part which Argyll had now to act was painful and humiliating to the last degree. Along with Bothwell he signed the proclamation offering 2,000*l.* for the discovery of the murderer, and as hereditary lord justice he presided at the trial, by a packed jury, of Bothwell, his co-conspirator. Along with other lords he

was present on 19 April 1567 at the supper given by Bothwell in Ainslie's tavern, when, after they were all excited by wine, Bothwell induced them to sign a bond in favour of his marriage with the queen. After the marriage took place Argyll manifested a temporary gleam of repentance by signing the bond for the defence of the young prince, and, notwithstanding the boast of the queen, 'for Argyll I know well how to stop his mouth' (*Drury to Cecil*, 20 May 1567), it was only after the flight of Bothwell that he joined the party of nobles who on 29 June met at Dumbarton to plan measures for her deliverance. On 20 July following he was summoned to attend a meeting of the general assembly of the kirk, but excused himself on the plea that the brethren assembled in Edinburgh were in arms, and that he had not yet joined himself to them, but promised meantime to continue in the maintenance of the true religion (CALDERWOOD, *History*, ii. 378). He was nominated one of the council of regency who, when the queen, on the suggestion of the assembly, consented to demit the government in favour of her son, were charged to carry it on till the arrival of Moray from France; but this did not reconcile him to the arrangement, and although Moray on his arrival, being 'in respect of old friendship loath to offend him,' sent him an invitation to meet him for consultation on public affairs, he declined to accept it, and only made his submission when he found further resistance to be for the time vain. Possibly the influence of Moray might have been effectual in restraining him from taking further measures in behalf of the queen, had it not been for their quarrel on account of the attempt of Argyll to divorce his wife, to which Moray, who was her half-brother, would not consent. Argyll was further exasperated by the action of the general assembly in regard to the divorce, for the assembly, doubtless with the view of punishing him for his political conduct, compelled him for separation from his wife and 'other scandalous offences' to submit to public discipline (*ib.* ii. 397). Nor could he have appreciated the impartiality which meted out similar justice to his countess, who, having acknowledged 'that she had offended God and slandered the kirk, by assisting the baptisme of the king in Papisticall maner with her presence,' was 'ordeaned to mak her publick repentance in the Chappell Royall of Stirlime, in time of sermoun' (*ib.*). But while these matters must have had their effect in estranging him from the regent and from the extreme protestant party as represented by Knox, the main influence that bound him to the cause of the queen and made him persevere in

conspiring for her rescue from Lochleven, was dread of the revelations made on the scaffold by the subordinate agents in the murder of Darnley. Something must moreover be attributed to the influence of his relations the Hamiltons, who knew how to work both on his hopes and fears. Subsequently he also asserted that in his efforts in behalf of Mary he had been secretly encouraged by Elizabeth (*Randolph's Cecil*, 21 Feb. 1573), and his appeals to her to support the cause of Mary after her escape would seem to favour the supposition. He signed the bond, 8 May 1568, to effect the queen's deliverance from Lochleven, and on her escape joined her at Hamilton, and was appointed lieutenant of the forces who mustered to her support. To his incapacity, owing to irresolution or his disablement by a fainting fit, is generally attributed the fatal hesitancy at the crisis of the battle of Langside on 13 May, which resulted in the rout of the queen's forces and the ruin of her cause. After the flight of the queen to England, Argyll retired to Dunoon, and, refusing to submit to the regent, appeared twice in Glasgow to concert measures with the Hamiltons for her restoration; but, as Elizabeth only supported the movement by promises never put in execution, he at last made an amicable arrangement with the opposite party, and gave in his submission to Moray at St. Andrews on 14 April 1569. After the murder of the regent, Argyll and Boyd sent a letter to Morton on 17 Feb. 1570 avowing ignorance of the perpetrators of the deed. It is perhaps only charitable to suppose that Argyll was not aware of the conspiracy against the life of one who so long had been his most confidential friend, and afterwards had dealt with him so leniently, but he continued for a time to act as formerly with the Hamiltons. Subsequently, finding the cause of Mary hopeless, he made terms with the faction of the king, and, after the death of Lennox on 4 Sept. 1571, was a candidate, with the Earl of Mar, for the regency. The choice fell on Mar, but Argyll was chosen a privy councillor. On Morton obtaining the regency in November 1572, Argyll was made lord high chancellor, and on 17 Jan. 1573 obtained a charter for that office for life. Chiefly through his agency a reconciliation was brought about between the two rival parties, on the secret understanding—of considerable importance to himself—that no further inquiry should be made into the murder of the late king. He died of stone on 12 Sept. 1573 (not 1575 as sometimes stated), aged about 43. After the death of his first wife, the half-sister of Mary, queen of Scotland, he married Johan-

neta Cunningham, second daughter of Alexander, fifth earl of Glencairn, but by neither marriage had he any issue, and the estates and title passed to his brother, Colin Campbell of Boquhan, sixth earl [q. v.]

[Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vols. i. and ii.; Calendar of State Papers (Scottish Series), vol. i.; ib. (Irish Series) for 1509–1573; ib. (Foreign Series) from 1559 to 1573; Knox's Works (Bannatyne Club), vols. i. ii. iii. and vi.; Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Society), vols. i. ii. and iii.; Bishop Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland (1835), vols. i. ii. and iii.; Donald Gregory's History of the Western Highlands; Letters to the Argyll Family from various Sovereigns (Maitland Club); Historie of King James the Sixth (Bannatyne Club); Crawford's Officers of State, i. 116–32; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 91–3; the Histories of Tytler, Burton, and Froude.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, seventh EARL OF ARGYLL (1576?–1638), eldest son of Colin, sixth earl of Argyll [q. v.], by his second wife, Agnes, eldest daughter of William, fourth earl Marischal, widow of the regent Moray, was born about 1576. Being only eight years of age on the death of his father, he was commended by his will to the protection of the king, and placed under the care of his mother, with the advice and assistance of six persons of the clan Campbell. Quarrels arose between his guardians, and Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, the nearest heir to the earldom, entered into a conspiracy with the Earl of Huntly to effect the murder of Campbell of Calder, of the Earl of Moray, and also of the young Earl of Argyll. Moray was murdered in February 1592 by a party of Gordons, under the command of the Earl of Huntly; Calder was shot by a hackbut; and Argyll, soon after his marriage, in 1592, to Lady Anne Douglas, fifth daughter of William, first earl of Morton, of the house of Lochleven, was attacked at Stirling by a serious illness, the result, it was supposed, of attempts to poison him by some of his household, bribed by Campbell of Lochnell. On 22 June 1594 Campbell of Ardkinglass, one of the conspirators, signed a document, in which he made a full confession of all that he knew of the plots against Calder and the Earls of Moray and Argyll. For some reason or other the confession was not immediately revealed to Argyll, and when, in the autumn of the same year, he was appointed king's lieutenant against the Earls of Huntly and Erroll, Campbell of Lochnell had command of one of the divisions of the army. With an army of six thousand men Argyll marched towards Strathbogie, and at Glenlivet fell in with Huntly and Erroll, in command of fif-

teen hundred men, mostly trained soldiers. Though advised to wait for the reinforcements which were approaching to his assistance, under Lord Forbes, Argyll, relying on his superiority in numbers, resolved to risk a battle, taking, however, the precaution of encamping on a strong position. Campbell of Lochnell treacherously made known to Huntly the disposition of Argyll's forces, and promised to desert to him during the engagement. At his suggestion an attack was suddenly made on the morning of 3 Oct., when the troops of Argyll were at prayers, by a discharge of artillery at Argyll's banner. Lochnell met with the fate which he had hoped might have befallen Argyll, and was struck down dead by a stray missile, but his followers seem to have faithfully carried out his instructions. A large number of the highlanders took to instant flight. Argyll, with only twenty men left around him, scorned to give up the conflict, and was forcibly led off the field by Murray of Tullibardine, shedding tears of grief and rage at the disgraceful cowardice of his followers. In his captured baggage several letters were found dissuading him from the fight. Shortly afterwards Argyll was informed of the conspiracy against his life, and also of the treachery of Lochnell. Hurrying to the north he proclaimed a war of extermination against Huntly and those who had deserted him at Glenlivet. To put an end to the conflict the king interfered, and in January following imprisoned Argyll in the castle of Edinburgh for oppression, said to have been committed by his followers (CALDERWOOD, *History*, v. 361). On finding caution he was shortly afterwards liberated, and on 13 Feb. 1603 the king, before leaving for England, succeeded in reconciling him with Huntly. In 1608 he and Huntly combined against the Macgregors, and almost extirpated the clan. He was also completely successful in suppressing the lawless Clandonalds, after which, in 1617, he received from the king a grant of their country, which included the whole of Kintyre, and the grant was ratified by a special act of parliament. But although successful in winning for his family an unexampled influence in the west of Scotland, he found himself impoverished rather than enriched by his conquests. 'So great,' says Sir John Scot in his 'Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen,' 'was the burden of debt on the house of Argyll, that he had to leave the country, not being able to give satisfaction to his creditors.' On the pretence of going abroad to the Spa for the benefit of his health, he obtained, in 1618, permission from the king to leave the country, but instead he went over to West Flanders to serve the King of Spain. In going

abroad he was actuated by another motive besides the desire to escape the importunity of his creditors. For his second wife he had married, 30 Nov. 1610, Anne, daughter of Sir William Cornwallis of Brome, and by her influence had become a convert to the catholic faith. For leaving his country to fight in support of a catholic king he was on 16 Feb. 1619 denounced as a traitor and rebel at the market-cross of Edinburgh (*ib.* vii. 357), but on 22 Nov. 1621 he was again declared the king's free liege (*ib.* 515). On the departure of Argyll, Alex. Craig, author of 'Poeticall Essayes,' wrote the following verses, preserved by Scot in his 'Staggering State,' but not to be found in any of Craig's collections of poems:

Now Earl of Guile and Lord Forlorn thou goes,  
Quitting thy Prince to serve his foreign foes,  
No faith in plaids, no trust in highland trews,  
Cameleon-like they change so many hues.

He afterwards returned to England, and died in London in 1638. His later years were spent in retirement. From the time that he left Scotland in 1619 his estates were held by his son Archibald (1598-1661), afterwards Marquis of Argyll [q. v.] By his first wife he had one son and four daughters, and by his second one son and one daughter. To his first wife William Alexander, earl of Stirling, inscribed his 'Aurora,' in 1604. There is a portrait of her in Walpole's 'Royal and Noble Authors' (ed. Park, v. 64); but it was the second countess, not the first, as Walpole states, who collected and published in Spanish a set of sentences from the works of Augustine.

[Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vols. iv. v. and vi.; State Papers, Scottish Series, vol. iv.; Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Society), vols. v. vi. and vii.; Sir John Scot's Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen (ed. 1872), pp. 40-1; Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, passim; Donald Gregory's History of the Western Highlands; A Faithful Narrative of the Great and Marvellous Victory obtained by George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, and Francis Hay, Earl of Erroll, Catholic noblemen, over Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, lieutenant, at Strathaven, 3 Oct. 1594, in Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, edited by Dalrymple, Edinburgh, 1801, i. 136; Douglas's Scottish Peerage, i. 93-4; The Histories of Tytler and Hill Burton.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, MARQUIS OF ARGYLL** and eighth EARL (1598-1661), was eldest son of Archibald, seventh earl of Argyll [q. v.], by his first wife, Lady Anne Douglas, daughter of the first Earl of Morton, and was born in 1598. During the last desperate struggle of the Clandonalds, in 1615, he was present with his father at the conflicts which

resulted in their subjugation. His father, before openly adopting the catholic religion and entering the service of Philip of Spain, had taken the precaution to convey to him the fee of his estates (letter of council to the king, 2 Feb. 1619: manuscript in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, quoted in GREGORY'S *Western Highlands*, ed. 1881, p. 401), and from this time he continued, while only lord of Lorne, to wield the vast territorial influence of the family. Clarendon affirms that the old earl afterwards, provoked by his son's disobedience and insolence, resolved to bequeath his estates away from him, but was compelled by the king 'to make over all his estates to his son' (*History*, ii. 58), and partial confirmation of the statement is to be found in the 'Acts of the Scottish Parliament,' v. 80 (1633), which contain a ratification to him of a charter to his father in life-rent and himself in fee of the earldom of Argyll, and of a renunciation to him by his father of his life-rent. In an act of 1660 (*Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, vii. 340) it is also asserted that after he obtained the life-rent he 'put his father to intolerable straits,' which gives a colour of credibility to the further statement of Clarendon that the old earl prophesied the king would live to repent having bestowed favours on him, for he was 'a man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood, and can love no man' (*History*, ii. 58). But while undoubtedly the father and son were thus not on the best of terms with each other, it is not so certain that the whole blame of this rested with the son. In common with the children of the earl's first wife, Lorne had been educated in the protestant religion, for it was not the son, as S. R. Gardiner states, but the father who 'threw off his religion,' and the religious feuds between the two families were so insuperable a barrier to confidence and trust as to render strict precautions on the part of Lorne absolutely necessary. The possessions of the Argylls had under the old earl been greatly extended by the suppression of the Clangregors, Clandonalds, and other outlawed races, and when Lorne entered on the life-rent of his father's estates he 'was by far the most powerful subject in the kingdom' (BAILLIE, *Letters and Journals*, i. 145). In a proclamation issued in 1639 in the king's name to free those who held their lands in certain tenures, to hold the same immediately of the king under easier conditions, it was estimated that the Earl of Argyll, by virtue of those tenures, held command of twenty thousand men (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1639, p. 5). Within his own territory he was, by virtue of his special office of justiciary, a potentate exercising almost royal power, and if dreaded

rather than loved by many who had been compelled to bear the name of the clan, he exercised over them a more thorough discipline and had welded their rival interests into more complete unity than prevailed elsewhere in the highlands.

In the great Scottish ecclesiastical dispute with the sovereign, which had reached a crisis in 1638, the side which Lorne should take was thus a matter of prime importance to both parties. He had not as yet committed himself to the covenanting party. For many years he had basked in the smiles of royal favour. On the occasion of the king's visit to Scotland in 1633 for coronation he was confirmed in his office of justiciary and the possession of the life-rent of the estates of his father. In 1634 he was chosen an extraordinary lord of session. From the time that in 1626 he was chosen a privy councillor he had acted, until 1637, with great caution in regard to ecclesiastical matters. The first indication of his decided opposition to episcopacy was when in the latter year he had a dispute with the Bishop of Galloway regarding the imprisonment of a tutor of Viscount Kenmure, who on the occasion of the communion being dispensed to the people kneeling had 'cryit out saying it wes plane idolatrie' (SPALDING, *Memorials of the Troubles*, i. 78). Lorne offered the bishop 500 merks of fine to free him, expecting that the offer would itself sufficiently heal the bishop's wounded *amour propre*. When the bishop took the money 'without ceremony,' Lorne was deeply offended, and at a private meeting which he convened he and other influential noblemen began 'to regrait their dangerous estait with the pryde and avarice of the prelates, seiking to overrule the haill kingdome' (*ib.* i. 79). After the renewal of the covenant in 1638, in opposition to the attempt of the king to introduce the Book of Common Prayer and other 'innovations,' Lorne, along with Traquair and Roxburgh, was summoned to London to advise the king, Lorne being 'sent for by a privy missive, not by a letter to the council as the other two' (BAILLIE, *Letters*, i. 69). Indeed, the main purpose of the king was to secure the support of Lorne to his schemes, and well might Baillie write, 'We tremble for Lorne that the king either persuade him to go his way or find him errands at court for a long time.' Courage of the highest kind was required to enable him to conduct himself with credit, and he displayed a straightforward honesty and resolution at least as remarkable as his wariness. He was, Baillie mentions, 'very plain with the king,' and, having been brought into controversy with Laud, 'did publicly avow his contempt of his

malice' (*ib.* i. 73). Clarendon states that the old earl, then in London, advised the king to retain him a prisoner at court, but he was permitted to depart, arriving at Edinburgh 20 May. The only motive Baillie could discover to 'make that man' to side with the covenanters 'in that necessary time, to the extreme hazard of his head,' was 'the equity of the cause,' and so far as this implies that Lorne was incapable of acting from mere headstrong impulse, no objection can be taken to it. As yet the king had not come to an open and irreconcilable breach with Lorne when he left London, but he gave a secret commission to the Earl of Antrim, the patron of the outlawed Clandonalds, to invade Argyllshire ostensibly on his own account. Lorne at once divined whom he had to thank for it, as is evident from his letter to Strafford of 25 July (STRAFFORD, *Letters*, ii. 187). To a hint of Strafford's that 'it behoves persons of your lordship's blood and abilities actively and avowedly to serve the crown,' he replies in a second letter, 9 Oct., containing much skilful parrying and dexterous home-thrusts, but winding up with the confident expectation 'of, God willing, a fair and happy conclusion very shortly' (*ib.* ii. 220). Possibly the only result of the insinuations and hints of Strafford was to increase Lorne's distrust of the policy of the king, and the death of the old Earl of Argyll, which happened shortly before the meeting of the assembly of the kirk at Glasgow in November, left him greater freedom of action. But though he attended the assembly he seemed more desirous to discover what its temper really was than to influence its opinion one way or another. So far from being the sour bigot he is sometimes represented, Argyll, as he states in 'Instructions to a Son,' had no preference for presbyterianism and extempore prayers over episcopacy and service books, except that the former was what the great bulk of his countrymen had adopted. He saw that the policy of the king was doing violence to the deepest convictions of the nation, and that the only chance of preventing a catastrophe was to present a firm front of resistance to his unreasonable demands. When advice and soft words proved of no avail in altering the bent of the king's purpose, he resolved to stake his all with the covenanters. Argyll was the only member of the privy council who did not retire with the Marquis of Hamilton when the assembly was dissolved from sitting any longer. Though not a member of the assembly he, at the request of the moderator, agreed to attend the subsequent meetings, at which episcopacy was abolished, and to 'bear witness to the righteousness of their proceedings.' On the

arrival of the king's proclamation, declaring the procedure of the assembly to be the act of traitors, the covenanters placed their forces under Alexander Leslie [q. v.] On 20 Feb. 1639 Argyll sent a letter to Laud in defence of the Scots, containing a statement which rested the position they had taken up on unassailable constitutional principles (Melbourne MSS., quoted in GARDINER'S *Hist. of England*, viii. 392). Meanwhile he took the precaution of raising a force of nine hundred men, a portion of whom he left in Kintyre to watch the Irish, another portion in Lorne to hold the Clandonalds in check, while with the remainder he passed over into Arran, where he seized the castle of Brodick, belonging to the Marquis of Hamilton. On learning that the king had decided on an invasion of Scotland, Argyll sent him a letter, 'which' Rossingham, writing under date 16 April, says 'his majesty does tear all to pieces as resolving to have his head' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1639, p. 52). The mood of Charles, however, underwent a rapid alteration after his arrival at Berwick, where he found Leslie encamped on Dunse Law barring his further progress with a superior force. As the Scots would 'not think to treat' without Argyll, he was sent for to conduct the negotiation. He had been lying with a considerable army round Stirling, in the heart of the country, to be ready in case of 'unexpected accidents' (BAILLIE, *Letters*, i. 211), and leaving the bulk of his followers there, he, in a few days, joined the main army and set up his tent on the hill, where, according to Baillie, the highlanders who accompanied him aroused the wonder of the English visiting the camp (*ib.* i. 212). The pacification of Berwick, 18 June 1639, substantially promised all that the covenanters asked, but its terms were not sufficiently clear. The substantial fruits of the victory Argyll therefore resolved to gather as quickly as possible. Episcopacy having been abolished, it was necessary that successors should be chosen for the bishops as lords of the articles. Montrose [see GRAHAM, JAMES, first Marquis], who here first indicated a divergence in opinion from Argyll, proposed that their place should be taken by fourteen laymen appointed by the king; but Argyll was too astute to let slip the magnificent chance of striking a fatal blow at the irresponsible influence of the king, and moved that each estate should in future choose its own lord of the articles, which was carried by a bare majority of one, the barons and burgesses being thenceforth represented by sixteen votes, the nobility by eight, and the king by none. The change was momentous, for the result was, in the words of S. R. Gardiner (*Hist. of*

*England*, ix. 54), to make the parliament and not the king 'the central force in Scotland.'

Meantime information had reached the English court of the draft of a letter written before the Berwick pacification by some of the Scottish leaders to Louis XIII, soliciting his interest in the affairs of the Scots (Letter in RUSHWORTH, part ii. vol. ii. 1120). The letter does not appear to have been sent, but Charles made it a pretext for committing the Earl of London to the Tower. He was soon afterwards liberated, but the incident was the occasion, if not the cause, of a renewal of hostilities. When the king ordered the prorogation of parliament, in May 1640, Argyll moved that it be held without his sanction, and in order to take measures against the hostile preparations of the king, a committee of estates was formed to which was entrusted the practical government of the kingdom. Of this committee Argyll was not a member, but he was 'major potestas,' and 'all knew that it was his influence that gave being, life, and motion to the new-modelled governors.' On 12 June a commission of 'fire and sword' was issued by the committee of estates to Argyll against the Earl of Atholl and the Ogilvies, who had taken up arms in behalf of the king. With a force of four thousand men he swept over the districts of Badenoch, Atholl, and Mar, according to the hostile chroniclers stripping the fields of the sheep and cattle. At the Fords of Lyon he found Atholl posted with a strong force, and, it is said, on promise of a safe return, inveigled him to an interview, when, failing in an attempt to win him over, he sent him a prisoner to Edinburgh, where, after making his submission, he was liberated. Argyll then descended into Angus, attacking the Ogilvies and burning their house to the ground. The incidents of its destruction, as recorded in the ballad 'The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie,' must not be accepted as literally true, for Lady Ogilvie did not treat the summons of Argyll with scorn, but had left the house for some time before its destruction, and the actual execution of the act was entrusted by Argyll to a subordinate, Dugald Campbell of Inverawe, whom he enjoined only to fire it if the operation of destroying it was 'langsome,' adding, with characteristic caution, 'You need not let know that you have directions from me to fire it' (Letter quoted in full in *Notes and Queries*, third series, vi. 383, from original in possession of the correspondent). The cruelties exercised by Argyll during the raid formed one of the charges in the indictment on which he was executed, but do not appear to have been for those times exceptionally severe.

Learning that Charles was again raising an army against them, the Scots, under Leslie, in August of this year passed into England in strong array 'to present their grievances to the king's majesty,' and taking possession of Newcastle remained quartered in Northumberland and Durham till negotiations were entered into with the king at Ripon on 1 Oct. Montrose had accompanied the army, but already ominous differences had arisen between him and Argyll. He had strongly opposed the motion of Argyll for holding a parliament in opposition to the king; he had already entered into correspondence with Charles on his own account, and before crossing the Tweed he and other noblemen signed, in August, at Cumbernauld, a bond 'against the particular and indirect practicking of the few' (see copy in BAILLIE'S *Letters and Journals*, ii. 468, and NAPIER'S *Memorials of Montrose*, i. 254). Shortly afterwards the bond was discovered by Argyll, but it was deemed sufficient to burn it by order of the committee of estates. The clemency only irritated more acutely Montrose's jealousy of Argyll, and drove him to more desperate courses. The predominant influence wielded by Argyll over the committee of estates Montrose interpreted into an assumption of dictatorship over the kingdom, which for the time being it undoubtedly was; and information he had received from various enemies of Argyll corroborated his own conviction that a plan was in preparation for the formal recognition of the dictatorship and the deposition of the king. He thereupon communicated what he had learned to Charles, who agreed to pay a visit to Scotland in the summer, when Montrose, according to arrangement, would in his place in parliament accuse Argyll before the king of meditating treason against the throne. Montrose was, however, ill fitted to manage a matter requiring such exceptional caution. Already he had bruited his charges against Argyll throughout the country, and Argyll called him to answer for his speeches. Montrose, acknowledging at once his responsibility for the charges, named his authorities, but his principal witness, Stewart of Ladywell, wrote a letter to Argyll admitting that he had, 'through prejudicate of his lordship,' wrested words which he had heard him speak at the Fords of Lyon from their proper meaning. The correspondence of Montrose with the king and the secret purpose of his majesty's visit were revealed in the course of the inquiry. While by his confession Stewart did not save his life, Montrose and other noblemen were on 11 June committed to the castle of Edinburgh on a charge of plotting.

With Montrose in prison, and Argyll probably in the secret of the whole conspiracy, Charles found the outlook in Scotland completely altered. On receipt of the news that the scheme had miscarried, he wrote on 12 June a letter to Argyll repudiating the rumour that his journey to Scotland was 'only desired and procured by Montrose and Traquair,' and asserting that, so far from intending division, his aim was 'to establish peace in state and religion in the church' (Letter in *Letters to the Argyll Family*, p. 36, and in *Memorials of Montrose*, i. 282). Argyll grasped the situation at once as regards both Scotland and England, and resolved to make the most of a golden opportunity. As the king, before setting out for Scotland, had on 12 Aug. given his sanction to an act confirming the treaty with the Scots, he was received on his arrival with the warmest manifestations of good-will. On 30 Aug., when he was entertained at a banquet in the parliament house, the rejoicings in Edinburgh resembled, it is said, the celebration of a jubilee. The king yielded, almost without a murmur, to the demands of Argyll that no political or judicial office should be filled up without the approval of parliament, and during six weeks' discussion of questions bristling with controversial difficulties the prevailing harmony between him and the estates was scarcely broken, when suddenly on 12 Oct. the city was roused to feverish excitement by the news that Hamilton, Lanark, and Argyll had on the previous night left the city and fled to Kenneil House. Gradually the rumour spread that a plot had been formed to arrest them by armed men under the Earl of Crawford in the king's bed-chamber. Of the existence of a plot of some kind the depositions of the witnesses leave no room for doubt (see copies of depositions relating to the 'Incident' in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 163-70), but probably Argyll's flight was chiefly a subtle stroke of policy to unmask his enemies. In any case the 'Incident,' as it afterwards came to be called, had rendered Argyll so completely master of the situation that he did not think it worth while to institute a prosecution against the authors of the plot. After a private examination of witnesses the result of the inquiry was stated in vague terms to be that Crawford had been plotting something desperate, and that 'nothing was found that touched the king.' Shortly afterwards Montrose and other 'incendiaries' were liberated, all outstanding difficulties were arranged, and the king, in token of his complete reconciliation with the covenanters, made a liberal distribution of honours among their leaders, the greatest

being reserved for Argyll, who on 15 Nov. was raised to the dignity of marquis.

The result of the king's journey to Scotland had been, in the words of Clarendon, 'only to make a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom' to the covenanting party. Argyll had been able by subtle and dexterous manoeuvring to transfer the whole administrative power in Scotland from the king to the parliament. The king had been completely outwitted. To obtain the aid of the Scots against the English parliament, he had granted to the Scottish parliament concessions with which the English parliament would have been perfectly satisfied. They were thus encouraged to be only the more importunate in their demands, while Argyll saw clearly that to pay Charles the price he desired for his concessions would be suicidal, and that the fruits of the great constitutional victory won in Scotland could only be secured by a similar victory of the parliament in England. In order to smooth the way towards a peaceful arrangement of the dispute, the Scottish privy council in January 1641-2 offered themselves as mediators, but their offers were rejected by Charles. Finding that his policy of concession had been a total failure, Charles endeavoured to win the support of the Scots against the English parliament by stratagem and force. On 25 May a special meeting of the privy council was fixed to be held, at which an effort was to be made to overawe a decision for the king. Kinnoul, Roxburghe, and other noblemen brought with them to Edinburgh a large body of armed retainers, but the rumour having spread that the life or liberty of Argyll was in danger, large crowds flocked into Edinburgh from Fife and the Lothians, and thus any intentions of violence were necessarily abandoned.

For some time after the outbreak of the civil war in England the Scots remained inactive, and it was only after the subscription by the English houses of parliament and the Westminster Assembly of the solemn league and covenant that in January 1643-4 a Scotch army, under the Earl of Leven, entered England by Berwick, Argyll accompanying it as representative of the committee of estates. This procedure roused into activity the ultra-royalists in Scotland, and seemed to give to Montrose the opportunity for which he had been waiting. Hostilities were begun in the north by the Marquis of Huntly, who, after making prisoner the provost and magistrates of Aberdeen and plundering the town of its arms and ammunition, began his march southward. Argyll, who had lately returned from England, was in April



despatched against him, and coming up with him near Montrose, which he had plundered and burned, compelled him to retreat to Aberdeenshire. On 12 July news reached the Scottish parliament of the landing at Ardnamurchan, in the north of Argyllshire, of two thousand Irish and Scots-Irish, and on the 16th Argyll received a commission to advance against the invaders. It was the territory of Argyll alone which was threatened, and no doubt was entertained that he would easily cope with the danger; but it suddenly became apparent that the incursion only formed part of a much more comprehensive scheme.

According to Clarendon, Argyll was the person whom Montrose 'most hated and contemned.' It was on Montrose's recommendation that the expedition from Ireland had been undertaken, and to act in concert with it he, on 1 Feb. 1643-4, received a commission appointing him lieutenant-general of all his majesty's forces in Scotland. While the question at issue between Argyll and Montrose was less that of king and covenant than personal rivalry, the highlanders who flocked to Montrose's banner were actuated more by hatred of Argyll than by loyal or religious motives; in the words of Macaulay, 'a powerful coalition of clans waged war nominally for King Charles, but really against MacCallum More.' To avoid Argyll, who was approaching from the west, Montrose, with a force of 2,500 Irishmen and highlanders, marched southwards across the Tay, and, after defeating a covenanting force of six thousand men under Elcho at Tippermuir on 1 Sept. 1644, entered Perth. Argyll hung on his skirts as he retreated northwards by Dundee and Aberdeen, but never could come within striking distance, and as Argyll approached Aberdeen he withdrew westwards towards the Spey, and descending through the wilds of Badenoch again entered Atholl. Disconcerted by the rapidity of his movements, Argyll induced the estates to proclaim him a traitor, and offered a reward of 20,000*l.* for his head. Only once, while at Fyvie Castle, which he had taken on 14 Oct., was Montrose almost caught in a trap; but making a feint of ostentatious preparation for a desperate resistance, he drew off his forces while Argyll was making his depositions. Passing northwards he went to Strathbogie with the hope of rousing the Gordons, but being unable to win them over he retired again into the wilds of Badenoch. Here he learned that Argyll, having sent his horse into winter quarters, was at Dunkeld with a number of his followers, tampering with the Atholl men. By a night march over the mountainous region that lay between him and Atholl, he endeavoured to

pounce on Argyll unawares, but the latter, learning his approach while he was yet sixteen miles off, broke up his camp and retreated to Perth, where there was a strong garrison (RUSHWORTH, *Historical Collections*, ed. 1692, pt. iii. vol. ii. 985). On his return to Edinburgh, Argyll, giving as his reason that he had been insufficiently supported with money and troops, resigned his commission, which was given to Baillie [see BAILLIE, WILLIAM, *A.* 1648]. Argyll then proceeded to his castle at Inverary, securely relying on the almost inaccessible mountain passes, when suddenly one morning in the middle of December 'the trembling cowherds came down from the hills and told him that the enemy was within two miles of him' (*ib.*) Barely making his escape in a fishing boat, he fled to his castle at Roseneath, on the Clyde, and from 13 Dec. to the end of January Montrose burned and devastated Argyll and Lorn at his pleasure. Towards the end of January news reached the committee of estates, in consultation with Argyll at Roseneath, that Montrose was marching northwards by Lochaber, as if to challenge the covenanters in the north under Seaforth. It was therefore determined that while Baillie should hold the central districts round Perth, Argyll, with a thousand lowland infantry lent him by Baillie, and as many of his own broken followers as he could hurriedly muster, should follow on the track of Montrose and fall on him when engaged with Seaforth, or cut off his retreat if he were defeated. On news reaching Montrose that Argyll was thirty miles behind him at Inverlochy, Montrose resolved to attempt the extraordinary feat of leading his hardy followers over the Lochaber mountains, so as to take the camp of Argyll on its flank and rear. On the evening of Saturday, 1 Feb., sounds were heard by the troops of Argyll as if a storm were gathering in the direction of Ben Nevis, and soon in the frosty moonlight the forces of Montrose were seen by the outposts descending from the skirts of the mountain. Having sent out skirmishers to feel the position of Argyll, Montrose delayed his attack till the morning, and Argyll took advantage of the respite to embark with other members of the committee of estates on board his galley in Loch Eil, the command of his troops being entrusted to an experienced officer, his kinsman Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck. It was stated that Argyll had been compelled by his friends to embark, because owing to a fall from his horse some days previously he was 'disabled to use either sword or pistol.' On the morrow Argyll witnessed from his galley the greatest disaster that had ever befallen his house, fifteen

hundred of the Campbells, including their leader, and five hundred duniwassels being either massacred or driven into the lake and drowned. Sailing down the lake, Argyll then proceeded to Edinburgh, arriving on 12 Feb., when, says Guthry, 'he went straight to the parliament, having his left arm in a sling as if he had been at bones-breaking.' The day previous Montrose had been declared guilty of high treason, but his victorious career was continued until, by his great triumph at Kilsyth on 15 Aug., all Scotland was for a time at his mercy. Baillie, the nominal commander of the covenanters, afterwards affirmed the real cause of the disaster to have been the unwarrantable interference of the committee of estates, the chief member of which was Argyll. From the battle Argyll escaped on horseback to Queensferry, where he got on board ship and sailed down the Firth to Newcastle. This has been attributed to panic, but may be sufficiently accounted for by a desire to be in communication with the Earl of Leven and his strong force of covenanters in England. Shortly afterwards Argyll was in Berwickshire endeavouring to counteract the negotiations of Montrose with the border lords. The victorious career of Montrose was terminated on 12 Sept. at Philiphaugh. Argyll, although again supreme in Scotland, had suffered almost as severely from the contest as Montrose. The flower of his clan had been slain either in cold blood during Montrose's terrible winter raid, or in the struggle at Inverlochy; the glens had been stripped of their cattle; the produce of the fields had been carried away or wasted by the Irish and highland marauders. Such was the terrible destitution that prevailed, that a collection for the relief of the people of Argyll was ordered to be made throughout all the churches in Scotland; and on 1 Jan. 1646-7 the parliament ordained 10,000*l.* to be paid to the marquis for subsistence, and 30,000*l.* for the relief of the shire (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vi. part i. pp. 643, 675). After the flight of the king to the Scots army, Argyll was sent in May 1646 to treat with him at Newcastle. He was, Charles wrote to the queen, 'very civil and cunning' (*Charles I in 1646*, Camden Society, p. 49). Writing on 10 June Charles says: 'Argyll went yesterday to London with great profession of doing me service there; his errand (as is pretended) is only to chasten down and moderate the demands that are coming to me from thence' (*ib.* 47). The professions of Argyll, as interpreted by Charles, were to a certain extent carried out in his speech on 25 June in the Painted Chamber before the committee of the lords and commons, in which he depre-

cated the persecution of 'peaceable men who cannot through scruple of conscience come up in all things to the common rule,' but he was careful to add that the personal regard for the king in Scotland 'hath never made them forget that common rule, "The safety of the people is the supreme law"' (*The Lord Marquis of Argyll's Speech*, London, printed for Laurence Chapman, 27 June 1646). Argyll did all that he thought could be done for the king with safety, and although admitting that the ultimatum was in certain respects too stringent, he impressed upon him the necessity of accepting it as inevitable. All along Argyll had supported joint action on the part of the two parliaments as the only safe course both for the cause of the king and the people. He was therefore entirely opposed to the secret treaty concluded by the Scots, by which the king bound himself to confirm the covenant, on condition that an army was sent into England to help in his restoration. On news reaching Scotland that the Scotch army sent into England under the Duke of Hamilton had been routed by Cromwell at Preston, the western covenanters, to the number of seven thousand, gathered under Leslie, earl of Leven, and marched towards Edinburgh. On his way to join them, Argyll, with a body of highlanders, was surprised by the Earl of Lanark while dining with the Earl of Mar at Stirling, but galloping across Stirling bridge he reached North Queensferry, and crossed the Firth in a small boat to Edinburgh, where the 'Whigamores,' as they were afterwards called, had already arrived. The incursion known as the 'Whigamore Raid' dealt the final blow to the cause of the king. At Edinburgh a new committee of estates was formed with Argyll at its head. Cromwell, who had been for some time in communication with Argyll, was met by him on the borders, and invited to the capital, which he entered in procession, accompanied by the civil authorities, on 4 Oct. As a condition of his friendship Cromwell demanded of the committee of estates that no person accessory to the 'engagement' should 'be employed in any public place or trust whatsoever' (CARLYLE, *Cromwell*, letter lxxvii.), and in accordance with the pledge of the committee to that effect, Argyll, at the ensuing meeting of the parliament in January, brought forward a motion against the 'Engagers,' whom he classed under five heads, the act passed against them being thus known as the 'Act of Classes' (BALFOUR, *Annals of Scotland*, iii. 377). On 7 Oct. Cromwell was entertained by the committee at a sumptuous banquet in the castle, and the same evening

he set out for England, leaving Lambert with some regiments to aid Argyll in maintaining the new arrangement.

While Cromwell was lodged at Moray House, Argyll and some others had held long conferences with him in private, and Guthry states that it was afterwards 'talked very loud that he did communicate to them his design in reference to the king and had their consent thereto' (*Memoirs*, 298). 'Nothing,' however, Guthry admits, 'came to be known infallibly.' Argyll moved for delay in giving instructions to the Scottish commissioners to protest against the trial of the king until after a fast that had been ordered (BALFOUR, *Annals*, iii. 386), but if not influenced in this by religious scruples, he may have hesitated to countenance their interference as more likely to endanger the life of the king than to save it. His asseverations at his own trial and on the scaffold must also count for something. In any case such was the universal horror awakened throughout Scotland by the news of the king's execution, that Argyll, if he had ventured to stand against the tempest, would have involved himself in hopeless ruin. The alliance with Cromwell was therefore repudiated without a dissenting voice, and on 5 Feb. 1649-50 Charles II was proclaimed king, not merely of Scotland, but of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, at the cross of Edinburgh. The situation in which Argyll now found himself may perhaps be best understood from his own pathetic description in 'Instructions to a Son.' 'By that confusion,' he says, 'my thoughts became distracted, and myself encountered so many difficulties that all remedies that were applied had the quite contrary operation; whatever therefore hath been said by me or others in this matter, you must repute and accept them as from a distracted man of a distracted subject in a distracted time wherein I lived.' The policy now entered upon by him was a desperate one. He supported the movement for inviting the king to Scotland, as it was deemed of prime importance that he should land in Scotland under the auspices of the covenanters, rather than in Ireland unfettered by any oaths and promises. The king favoured the Irish proposal, and upon a temporary gleam of hope broke off negotiations with the Scotch commissioners, and despatched Montrose to Scotland to attempt the restoration of the monarchy without the aid of the covenanters. After the dispersion of his small band of followers Montrose was captured, and on 1 May 1650 brought into Edinburgh. Argyll, as he afterwards affirmed in his defence at his own trial, refused to interfere one way or another

in regard to his fate; but when Montrose was paraded through the town bound on a cart on his way to the Tolbooth, 'the procession,' it was said, 'was made to halt in front of the Earl of Moray's house, where among the spectators was the Marquis of Argyll, who contemplated his enemy from a window the blinds of which were partly closed' (M. de Graymond's report to Cardinal Mazarin, quoted in NAPIER's *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 781). Writing to his nephew Lord Lothian on the day of Montrose's execution announcing the birth of a daughter, Argyll notes that 'her birthday is remarkable in the tragic end of James Graham at the cross,' and adds: 'He got some resolution after he came here how to go out of this world, but nothing at all how to enter another, not so much as once humbling himself to pray at all upon the scaffold' (*Ancrum Correspondence* p. 262).

Anticipating the pledge given by him at Breda on 13 May, Charles signed the covenant while the ship in which he had embarked for Scotland was still riding at anchor in the Moray Firth, but the covenanters were determined not to be thrown off their guard, and the sole direction of affairs was still continued in the hands of the committee of estates with Argyll at their head. For his browbeating by the presbyterian clergy Charles obtained some consolation from the assurances of Argyll that 'when he came into England he might be more free, but that for the present it was necessary to please these madmen' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1650, p. 310). Possibly Argyll chafed more under their domination than did Charles. Argyll took advantage of Charles's position to make overtures for a marriage between him and his daughter, but nothing came of it owing largely to the queen's opposition (see 'Instructions to Captain Titus' in HILLIER's *King Charles in the Isle of Wight*, 324-34). After the victory of Cromwell at Dunbar Argyll's policy changed. Charles saw the prime necessity of preventing him entering into communications with Cromwell, and by a private letter under his sign-manual dated Perth 24 Sept. recorded his purpose to make him Duke of Argyll and knight of the Garter, and as soon as royalty was established in England to see him paid 40,000*l*. (Letter in app. to EACHARD's *Hist.*) Argyll recognised that the cause of the king was hopeless so long as the presbyterian clergy had the sole direction of affairs. He had only to choose between a desertion of the king by coming to terms with Cromwell, and an endeavour to promote an alliance between the covenanters and the royalists in Scotland and England. Possibly

the actual decision of the point was taken out of his hands by the king himself, when on 4 Oct. he escaped or was permitted to escape from Perth, and joined the northern loyalists. Although the king returned to Perth on the 6th declaring that he had been treacherously deceived by some that suggested and made him believe that he was to be delivered up to the enemy (BALFOUR, *Annals*, iv. 118), not only was nothing done to punish those treacherous persons, but on 12 Oct. an act of indemnity was ordered to be passed to those in Atholl who had taken up arms upon his majesty's departure from Perth on 4 Oct. (*ib.* iv. 122), and shortly afterwards Argyll and others were sent to the western covenanting army 'to solicit unity for the good of the kingdom' (*ib.* iv. 123). In order to give solidity and weight to the combination against Cromwell, preparations were also begun for the coronation of the king, which took place at Scone 1 Jan. 1651, Argyll putting the crown on his head. From this time the supremacy of Argyll in the affairs of Scotland terminated both in name and reality. For some months, though retaining his place at the helm of affairs, he had been helplessly drifting at the mercy of contending factions. As the extreme covenanters now held aloof from the king, Argyll, at the parliament which met at Perth on 13 March, found his counsels completely overruled, and from this time the struggle of Charles II against Cromwell was directed by the Hamilton faction. Argyll strongly opposed the enterprise of leading an army into England, and when it was decided on excused himself from accompanying it on account of the illness of his lady. After the disaster at Worcester on 3 Sept. he defended himself for nearly a year in his castle at Inverary, but in August 1652 was surprised by General Deane, when he gave in his submission, making as usual a very astute bargain. It is generally stated that he absolutely refused to make an unconditional surrender, and only promised to live peaceably under that government, but the exact form of his declaration was as follows: 'My dewtie to religioun, according to my oath in the covenant, always reserved, I do agrie for the civill pairt that Scotland be maid a Commonwelth with England, that thair be the same government, without King or Hous of Lordis deryved to the pepill of Scotland, and yit in the meanetyme, quhill this can be practized, I sall leave quyetlie under the Parliament of the Commonwelth of England and thair authoritie' (NICOLL'S *Diary*, p. 100). On his making this declaration Deane engaged that he should have his

liberty, and his estates, lands, and debts free from sequestration (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1655-8, p. 111).

The fall of Argyll was complete and final, and he moreover found that with his power his reputation had vanished like a dream. Up to the time when he entered upon the ill-starred enterprise of recalling Charles II, his statesmanship had been masterly and triumphant. The execution of the king had completely upset his calculations, which had all along been founded on a close union between the parliaments of Scotland and of England. This union was by that event abruptly severed, but the responsibility for the disaster rested not with him but with Cromwell. The results of his safe and prudent policy were ruthlessly annihilated by an act which after events proved to have been a mistake, although the powerful personality of Cromwell was able to turn it into immediate good for England. Argyll lost his presence of mind, and therefore his control of events in this stupendous conjuncture, and became as much a puppet in the hands of contending factions as was Charles II. Consequently, when the scheme for recalling Charles II failed, Argyll was execrated by all parties. 'He was no less drowned in debt,' says Baillie, 'than in public hatred almost of all both Scottish and English' (*Letters and Journals*, iii. 387). To the reputation for cowardice which he had gained among his enemies from his conduct on the battle-field was now attached a deeper significance. Even the accidental cast in his vision was now interpreted as indicating a similar blemish in his moraleyesight. Among the hostile highland clans he was long known as 'Gillespie Grumach,' Gillespie the ill-favoured, and in the lowlands he was referred to disdainfully as the 'Glaed-eyed Marquis.' For the contempt of the outside world he did not find unmingled consolation in the bosom of his family. He was at feud with his own son Lord Lorne [see CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, ninth EARL OF ARGYLL], then a hot-headed royalist who, much to Argyll's disrelish, took part in the attempted rising in the highlands in 1653. 'These differences, according to Baillie, were so real as to make 'both their lives bitter and uncomfortable to them' (*ib.* iii. 288), and, indeed, Argyll had actually to ask a garrison to be placed in his house to keep it from his son's violence. His extreme pecuniary difficulties are graphically illustrated in a passage of Nicoll's diary recording Argyll's visit to Dalkeith in November 1654 to complain of his son Lord Lorne to General Monck. 'At quhich time,' says Nicoll, 'he resaved much efrontes and disgraces of his creditors, quha, being frustrat and defraudit

be the Marques of thair just and lauchfull dettis, spaired not at all times as he walked, ather in street or in the feildis abroad, [to call him] "a fals traitour." Besyde this, his hors and hors graith, and all uther household stuff were poyndit at Dalkeith and at Newbottill and brocht into Edinburgh, and thair comprysit at the Mercat Croce for dett' (*Diary*, 140). In order to push his suit with the Protector for payment of the money promised him by acts of the Scottish parliament, Argyll in September 1655 arrived in London. While there he was in November arrested at the suit of Elizabeth Maxwell, widow of the Earl of Dirleton, for debt, connected with the supply of meal to the Scots army in 1614-5 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1655-6, p. 7), who, however, was ordered to forbear further prosecution of him or of his bail, and to take her remedy in Scotland (*ib.* p. 34). For the payment of the moneys promised him by the Scottish parliament Argyll pleaded the engagement of Deane guaranteeing him the payment of his debts, and he did obtain a grant on the excise of wines and strong waters, not to exceed 3,000*l.* a year, till the whole sum due to him, 12,116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, should be paid (*ib.* 1656-7, p. 107). Possibly Argyll had even more ambitious intentions in his visit to London, but if so he was unsuccessful, and indeed was always regarded by Cromwell with suspicion as a royalist at heart. On the incorporation of the Scottish parliament with that of England, he exerted himself in opposition to the council of state to get Scotsmen returned (Letter of Monck to Thurloe, 30 Sept. 1658, *Thurloe State Papers*, vii. 584). He himself sat as member for Aberdeenshire.

After the Restoration, Argyll, on 8 July 1660, presented himself in the presence chamber at Whitehall to pay his respects to the king; but on asking for an interview instructions were given by Charles II for his apprehension, and he was committed to the Tower. For once in his life he had acted precipitately, and his rashness was fatal. Early in December he was sent to Edinburgh by sea for trial, on charges of compliance with the usurpation and of treasonable acts committed since 1638. The accusation embraced fourteen counts, the most serious being that of having been accessory to the death of Charles I.; and the trial, which was presided over by his inveterate enemy, the Earl of Middleton, lord high commissioner, continued through March and April. On the main count he was declared guiltless by a large majority (*BURNET'S Own Time*, i. 124), but after the evidence had been closed and a complete acquittal seemed probable, a

despatch, according to Burnet, arrived from Monck containing private letters of Argyll showing that he had been 'hearty and zealous on the side of the usurpation.' The reading of them, according to Burnet, silenced all further debate (*ib.* i. 125); but if they were sent, which is doubtful, as they are not mentioned by any one but Burnet, their exact purport cannot be ascertained, all the records of evidence against him having been destroyed after the trial. According to Burnet he made an attempt to escape out of the castle by pretending illness and endeavouring to pass for his wife, who took his place on the sickbed, but his heart failed as he was about to step into her chair in disguise (*ib.* i. 124). He was beheaded with the maiden at the cross of Edinburgh on 27 May 1661. The serenity with which he met his fate greatly surprised those who had given him credit for abject personal cowardice. While taking his last meal with his friends at twelve o'clock he comported himself with unaffected cheerfulness, and on the scaffold he addressed the crowd with dignified composure in a solemn and temperate speech about half an hour in duration. Cunningham, his physician, told Burnet that on touching his pulse he found it to 'beat at the usual rate clear and strong,' and as an evidence that his self-possession was internal and thorough it was noted on opening his body that the partridge he had eaten at dinner had been completely digested ('Anecdotes of the Marquis of Argyll,' by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, in *Argyll Papers*, 1834, p. 12). Among the royalists his bearing on the scaffold caused much perplexity, but they seem to have inclined to the opinion that it did not disprove his cowardice, but only his hypocrisy. The Earl of Crawford, convinced that Argyll's conduct on the occasion of a duel arranged between them at Musselburgh in August 1648 (see BALFOUR'S *Annals*, iii. 395) could only be accounted for by his being 'naturally a very great coward,' stoutly contested the proposition of Middleton that Argyll's 'soul was in hell,' asserting that such resolution as he showed on the scaffold must have been due to 'some supernatural assistance; he was sure it was not his natural temper' (*BURNET'S Own Time*, i. 126). The day before his execution Argyll wrote a letter to the king justifying his intentions in all his conduct towards him in regard to the covenant (see copy in WODROW'S *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, i. 54), and his last words on the scaffold were, 'I am free from any accession by knowledge, contriving, counsel, or any other way to his late majesty's death.' His body was carried to St. Margaret's Chapel in the

Cowgate, whence after some days it was removed to the burial-place of the family on the Holy Loch. His head was exposed on the west end of the Tolbooth, on the same spike previously occupied by that of Montrose; but in May 1664 there came 'a letter from the king to the council, commanding them to take down Argyll's head that it might be buried with his body, which was done quietly in the night time' (*Life of Robert Blair*, p. 469). The public hatred with which Argyll had been regarded in his later years was, says Laing, 'converted into general commiseration at his death. His attainder was justly imputed to the enmity, his precipitate death to the impatience and the insatiable desire of Middleton to procure a gift of his title and estates; and, as it generally happens whensoever a statesman suffers, whether from natural justice or revenge, his execution served to exalt and to relieve his character from the obloquy which would have continued to attend him had he been permitted to survive' (*History of Scotland*). By his wife Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second earl of Morton, he had two sons—the eldest of whom, Archibald [q. v.], succeeded him as ninth earl—and three daughters. His second son, Niel, of Ardmaddie (d. 1693), was father of Archibald Campbell (d. 1744) [q. v.]. He was the author of 'Instructions to a Son,' written during his imprisonment and published at Edinburgh in 1661. To an edition published in 1743 was added 'General Maxims of Life.' His speech on 'Peace' in 1642 and his speech in London in 1646 were published shortly after they were delivered, as well as his speech at his trial and on the scaffold.

[A general narrative of the events of the period is given in Rushworth's Historical Collections and in Balfour's Annals of Scotland. Many references will be found in the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vols. iv. v. vi. vii., and in the Calendars of the State Papers (Dom. Ser.) during the reign of Charles I and the Commonwealth. The narratives of contemporaries are coloured strongly by party prejudice. They are chiefly Spalding's Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland and England from 1624 to 1640 (Spalding Club); Memoirs of Bishop Guthrie from 1637 to the Death of Charles I; Wishart's Life of Montrose; Gordon's Scots Affairs during 1637–41 (Spalding Club); The Life of Robert Blair; Nicoll's Diary of Public Transactions from January 1650 to June 1667 (Bannatyne Club), and specially Robert Baillie's Letters and Journals (Bannatyne Club), which throw much light on Argyll's connection with the kirk. The accounts of Argyll by Burnet in History of his own Times and Lives of the Hamiltons, and by Clarendon in his History of the Rebellion, supply an accurate representation of

his reputation among the royalists of the period, which is mirrored in Sir Walter Scott's portrait of him in the Legend of Montrose. In Whitelocke's Memorials the references to him are numerous. Letters to or from him and other documents will be found in the Argyll Papers, 1834; Letters to the Argyll Family, 1839; Thurlow State Papers; Strafford's Letters; Correspondence of the Earls of Ancrum and Lothian; and in the various books on Montrose by Mark Napier, as well as in his Life of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. The proceedings at his trial, published first in 1661, occupy pp. 1370–1515 of vol. v. of State Trials, but no evidence is given. Among biographies may be mentioned those in Crawford's Scottish Peerage, pp. 20–1; Biographia Britannica, ed. Kippis, iii. 178–93; Douglas's Scottish Peerage, i. 95–100; Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen (ed. Thomson), i. 277–83; and there are also notices in Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, 2nd ed., iii. 25, 26; and Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, ed. Park, v. 103–8. See also Laing's History of Scotland, Gardiner's History of England, Macaulay's History of England, Hill Burton's History of Scotland, and especially, both for fullness and accuracy, Masson's Life of Milton.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, ninth EARL OF ARGYLL (d. 1685), was the son of the Marquis of Argyll [q. v.] executed in 1661, and of Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second earl of Morton. After a careful education from his father (*Biog. Brit.*), and after passing through schools and colleges (DOUGLAS, *Peerage of Scotland*), he travelled in France and Italy. His letter of safe-conduct from Charles I is dated 7 Jan. 1617 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 631 b), which, if the style is English, means 1648. He remained abroad until the end of 1649. Upon his return he married, 13 May 1650, Lady Mary Stuart, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Murray (LAMONT'S *Diary*, p. 20). When Charles II was invited to Scotland in 1650, Lorne was made captain of his majesty's foot life guards, appointed by parliament to attend on the king's person. The commission from Charles, without which he refused to act, though such commissions were usually given by parliament alone, is dated 6 Aug. 1650 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 491 a). He appears to have made himself especially grateful to Charles, who suffered under the restraints laid upon him by the presbyterian clergy, by bringing to him at all hours the friends he wished to see. In his zealous adherence to Charles he was in antagonism to his father, though it is supposed that this antagonism was feigned, in order that, whatever might happen, the family interests might be secured (BURNET, i. 57). Clarendon's account (*Life*, p. 499), that Lorne treated Charles with rude-

ness and barbarity, is evidently imaginary. Lorne was present with his regiment at Dunbar on 3 Sept. 1650, where he behaved with much bravery (THURLOE, *State Papers*, i. 164). On 12 Sept. he was the bearer of a letter from Charles at Perth to the committee of estates, urging the necessity of immediate recruiting (*ib.*) On 26 Sept. it was reported that Lorne had gone to raise his father's tenants, and that, finding his men would not follow him, Argyll had left the highlands (WHITELOCKE, *Mem.* pp. 546, 549). After the battle of Worcester he joined Glencairn, who was in arms in the highlands, with seven hundred foot and two hundred horse, in the winter of 1653, and with him prepared to invade the lowlands at Ruthven, with the commission of lieutenant-general (THURLOE, ii. 3, 27), and he was successful in surprising a ship laden with provisions for the English troops. His father, by whom he was 'but coarsely used' (BAILLIE, *Letters and Journals*, iii. 250), had submitted to Monck in the previous year, and we gain some information as to Lorne's action during 1653 from Argyll's letters to the English. He is not, Argyll says on 21 July, resolved to join the highlanders, but will not declare in the negative, 'though privately he says he intends not at all to join with them.' A little later Lorne has taken horse and gone to Glenurchie, to hold a meeting of his friends, and Argyll has sent him his last warning, but has not learned his resolution; finally, Lorne is reported to have gone with Kenmure and others to Menteith (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 617 a).

Between the various commanders of Glencairn's irregular force there were constant quarrels. Lorne and Glengarry 'fell out, and drew upon each other, but were prevented from fighting, yet parted great enemies' (THURLOE, i. 478). Glencairn distrusted and slighted Lorne. When Lorne and Kenmure went in joint command of a force to suppress the Kintyre remonstrants, Kenmure thought that Lorne treated them more mildly than they deserved, and left him in order to carry his complaints to Glencairn (BAILLIE, iii. 250). In March 1653-4 a quarrel took place, in which he was like to have been killed by young Montrose (WHITELOCKE, p. 566). Lorne shortly afterwards had a final dispute with his chief, as to whether the men of the district through which they were marching were subject, as his vassals, to his and to no other person's authority. Refusing to give way, or to accept orders from Glencairn, Lorne now left him with his men (1 Jan. 1653-4), and for a while there was fear of an encounter, as a stream alone separated them (THURLOE, ii. 4). The next night,

with Colonel Meyner and six horsemen, he left his troops and fled. The reason for this, according to Baillie (iii. 250), was that a letter written by Lorne to the king full of complaints of Glencairn had been intercepted, and Glencairn had ordered Glengarry to arrest him. Thurloe's correspondent gives a version more discreditable to Lorne: that the intercepted letter was written to the general of the English forces, acquainting him with the disposition of Glencairn's men, and with the best plan for attacking them (THURLOE, ii. 4). He states, too, that while he was in arms he was 'no way considerable with the enemy'; that 'he had raised a regiment of foote, and that they took away, and gave him a troop of horse, and that they took. He will not readily be brought to act again.' In May 1654 Cromwell published his 'Ordinance of Pardon and Grace to the Peopell of Scotland'; Lorne was among the numerous exceptions. On 10 June he was reported as being reconciled with his father, and as helping him to raise men for the English (WHITELOCKE, p. 574). This, however, is clearly erroneous. In September he managed to capture a vessel loaded with provisions for Argyll's men. There seems little doubt that he joined Middleton's expedition of this year, Glencairn having been 'slighted' upon his letters (BAILLIE, iii. 255). In November we find him sweeping his father's lands of cattle, and Argyll was compelled to ask for an English garrison to protect him from his son's insolence (WHITELOCKE, p. 590). In the beginning of December, however, he was in such distress that he had to retire to a small island with but four or five men (*ib.* p. 591), and on 16 Dec. Monck informed Cromwell that Lorne was to meet his father, and would probably come over to the Protector if admitted (THURLOE, iii. 28). Lorne, however, informed Argyll that he could not capitulate without the full concurrence of Middleton (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 617 a). He was suspected of having an agent with the king and of intriguing in England as well (THURLOE, iv. 49), and on 30 Dec. 1654 Charles wrote from Cologne, thanking him for his constancy to Middleton in all his distresses, acknowledging his good service upon the rebels, and promising future rewards (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 613 b). So obnoxious were he and his family to Cromwell that even Lady Lorne was on 18 Jan. 1654-5 driven out of Argyll by the English, since her presence there caused the rebels to collect (*ib.* 622 a). It has been stated, indeed (*Biog. Brit.*), that Lorne refused to make any engagements with the usurpers until he received the king's orders to capitulate, dated



31 Dec. 1655. This, however, is erroneous, and the error has arisen from a mistake in date. The instructions received through Middleton are dated Dunveaggan, 31 March. Lorne is urged to lose no time in taking such a course, by capitulation or otherwise, as he shall judge 'most fit and expedient to save his person, family, and estate.' He is spoken of as having been 'principallie engaged in the enlivening of the war, and one of the chief movers;' and his 'deportments in relation to the enemy and the last war are beyond all parallell' (*ib.*) Another letter to the same effect from Middleton reached him in April, dated from Paris, in which he is similarly praised. Both of these letters were produced in his favour at his trial in 1681. The next evidence that Lorne was treating for surrender is a letter in which he requests the Laird of Weem to be one of his sureties for 5,000*l.* This is dated 6 June 1655. The conditions, which appear to have been drawn up in May, and to have received Cromwell's approval in August, were (1) that Lorne and the heads of clans serving him should come in within three weeks; (2) that he should give good lowland security for 5,000*l.*, his officers and vassals giving proportional security; (3) that Lorne should have liberty to march with his horses and arms—the horses to be sold in three weeks; (4) that he and his party should enjoy their estates without molestation, and should be freed from all fines or forfeiture (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1655, 270). By 8 Nov. Monck had 'bound Lorne in 5,000*l.* as good security as could be had in Scotland, Lorne promising to live peaceably; and garrisons were admitted at Lochaber and Dunstaffnage to see that his promises were kept' (THURLOE, iii. 162; DOUGLAS).

Lorne was at this time carefully watched by Broghill, who corrupted his servants, and who sent Thurloe constant accounts of his movements. On 20 Nov. he urged Lorne's arrest, although he had done nothing to justify it, in order that enemies more dangerous at the time might think themselves secure and unobserved. On 25 Nov. the king is reported to have great confidence in him, and on 1 Jan. 1655-6 he is described as having again declared for Charles Stuart, and taken the island and garrison of Mull. On 8 Jan. notice is sent that he has had a meeting of all his friends. If such a meeting were held, however, it was nominally to take order with his debts (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 245, 372, 401), the great burden of which is emphatically noticed by Baillie (iii. 288). On 13 March other conditions were made between Argyll and the English, of

which one was that he or Lorne, whichever the parliament might direct, should repair to England whenever desired, provided they had freedom within a compass of twenty miles, and leave to have audience of the council whenever they wished. Evidently a reconciliation or arrangement had been come to between Argyll and Lorne. On 10 June it is noted that Lorne had saved his estate by capitulating (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1655-6, 222, 362). He was still, however, regarded with great suspicion. On 13 May 1656 Broghill reported that he was 'playing the roge,' and sending despatches to Charles, and declared that if ever the king made any stir it would be through him; and this warning was twice repeated in the following August, when he was charged as being appointed, with Fairfax, to head another Scottish revolt (THURLOE, v. 18, 319, 323). Probably in consequence of Broghill's information, a new oath was now imposed upon the Scottish nobility in the beginning of 1656-7, whereby they were compelled to swear their renunciation of the Stuarts, and their adherence to the protectorate (BAILLIE, iii. 430). Upon his refusal Lorne was at once imprisoned. He is mentioned on 28 Feb. as one of the considerable prisoners in Scotland (THURLOE, vi. 81). In August Broghill urged that he and Glencairn, as the only two persons still capable of heading a party, should be sent for to England, where they would be able to have 'less trinketing' (*ib.* p. 436). While confined in the castle of Edinburgh a strange accident befell him in March 1658, thus described by Lamont (p. 20): 'Being playing at the bullets in the castell, the lieutenant of the castell throwing the bullett, it lighted on a stone, and with such force started back on the Lord Lorne's head that he fell doune, and lay for the space of some houres dead; after that he recovered, and his head was trepanned once or twice.' From this he appears never fully to have recovered (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Observes*, p. 195). The date of his release is not known—probably it was in March 1659-60, when Lauderdale and the other prisoners taken at Worcester were set free (*ib.* p. 152). We find him asking for Lauderdale's advice as to his future action at that time (*Lauderdale MSS.*)

Upon the Restoration Lorne at once came to court, and was well received by the king. He asked leave for his father to come to London, and wrote to him saying that he need not fear, as the king bore himself kindly to all men. Upon this Argyll came up secretly, but was sent to the Tower so soon as Lorne ventured to tell Charles. Lorne remained to intercede, and found, or thought

he had found, a powerful auxiliary in Lauderdale, whose wife's niece he had married (MACKENZIE, *Mem.* p. 38), though Clarendon says that Lauderdale had in former years always written slightly of him, calling him 'that toad's bird' (p. 500).

After his father's death Lorne busied himself about his own restoration, with Lauderdale's active assistance against the influence of Clarendon and Middleton. The latter now hoped for the forfeited Argyll estates, in which design Lauderdale was bent upon baulking him (WODROW, i. 297). The opposition of Clarendon he hoped to rid himself of through the chancellor's friend, Lord Berkshire, to whom he promised 1,000*l.* if his efforts were successful. Unfortunately, he recorded this in a letter to Lord Duffus, which was intercepted, and which, from the accusations against his enemies—the incriminating words being 'and then the king will see their tricks' (MACKENZIE, p. 70)—afforded good ground for attack. Middleton produced the letter before parliament, which was under his control, and Lorne was indicted on the capital charge of leasing-making. On 24 June information of these proceedings was sent to the king, with a request that Lorne might be given up as a prisoner. Lauderdale, however, by offering himself as bail, life for life, succeeded so far that Lorne was only ordered to go to Edinburgh on parole, so that he might have the advantage of not appearing as a prisoner (BURNET, p. 149; MACKENZIE, p. 71). On 17 July he arrived in Edinburgh, and appeared at the bar that afternoon, when he was at once committed to the castle. On 26 Aug. he knelt to receive his sentence of death with forfeiture to the king, to whom the time and place of execution were remitted, and who had previously sent positive orders that the sentence should not be carried out. At the same time an act was passed at Middleton's dictation, directed against Lauderdale, forbidding any one to move the king in favour of the children of attainted persons (*Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society, i. 109, 113). Lorne remained in the castle until 4 June 1663, when, Middleton having in the meanwhile been disgraced, he was liberated by an order from Rothes, without any warrant from the king, from whom, however, Rothes had private instructions (MACKENZIE, p. 117). It is clear, therefore, either that his imprisonment was purely nominal, or that Burnet's statement that at the time of the Billetting plot he sent a horseman by cross roads to warn Lauderdale is incorrect, for the Billetting plot was in September 1662 (BURNET, p. 151; *Lauderdale Papers*, i. 110). At the same time, through the intercession of Lau-

derdale, the death sentence was rescinded (LAMONT, p. 204), and he was restored to his grandfather's title of Earl of Argyll, and to the estates, the patent being dated 16 Oct. (DOUGLAS). He appears from a casual notice on 12 Oct. 1663 to have been in London when this took place (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1663, 295). From the estates a provision of 15,000*l.* a year was secured; the rest was to be used for the payment of his creditors, of the justice of whose claims he and his sisters were first to be satisfied (WODROW, i. 380). This settlement was later renewed and ratified by Charles in a letter dated from Newmarket, 17 March 1682-3 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 615 b). Burnet says that the estates reserved did not pay off more than one-third of the debt. The family had been reduced almost to beggary, while by a decret of 16 April 1661 Montrose had established a claim upon him of 32,664*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Scots for Maydock rents, which had been given to Argyll on Montrose's forfeiture, as well as 5,000*l.*, being the price for the said lands with annual rent from Whitsun day 1655 (*ib.* 632 a). The constant litigation on these matters with Montrose intensified the natural enmity between the families. They were, however, reconciled by February 1667 (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 54; and *Argyll Correspondence*, Bannatyne Club). Montrose visited Argyll at Inverary in August (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23727, f. 211), and in March 1669 Argyll travelled all the way to Perthshire from Inverary to attend the funeral of his former enemy, to whose son he became guardian (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 609a), returning to find one of his own children dead. We may here mention that on 2 Oct. 1660 Lorne had had a lease granted to him by Charles of assyse herring of the western seas of Scotland for nineteen years, for 1,000*l.* yearly, which was renewed on 26 Jan. 1667, and it is interesting to find Charles speaking in September 1668 enthusiastically of the present of herrings and aqua vitæ which Argyll had sent him. Sir R. Moray, who wrote to tell him this, urged him to take immediate steps for supplying the London market. On 29 April 1664 Argyll was placed on the Scotch privy council (WODROW, i. 416). On the 21st Rothes speaks of him as likely to be active in support of the government against the conventiclers (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23122, f. 139). In September 1664, however, we find him complaining that he is falsely reported to be slack in the king's service, and that pains are taken to misconstrue all he does. During 1664 and 1665 he was regarded as one of Lauderdale's chief adherents (*ib.* ii. App. xxvii), Lauderdale being godfather to

one of his children (*ib.*), and is frequently consulted as to the best means of settling the country (*ib.* i. 195, 201, 210). In May 1665 he was busy disarming the covenanters in Kintyre, as he had formerly done in 1654 (*ib.* 23123, f. 38), and in October was instrumental in seizing Rallston and Hackett. He took, however, as little part as possible in public affairs; his main object was evidently to raise the fallen estate of his family, in doing which he is accused of great harshness to his creditors; and he remained for the most part quietly at Inverary, exercising his hereditary office of grand justiciar of the highlands, and composing the differences between highland chiefs (*ib.*). Many instances of his jurisdiction, especially against the McCleans, are recorded (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 624 a, b, 609 b, &c.) At this time, it may be noted, his family consisted of four boys and two girls (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23123, f. 224). As one of Lauderdale's confidants he was, with Tweeddale, Kincardine, and Moray, opposed to the oppression of Rothes, Sharp, Hamilton, Dalrymple, and the needy nobility. There was naturally violent animosity against him on the part of the majority of the council, and especially on that of James Sharp, of which Lauderdale was informed by Bellenenden. Bellenenden urges that Argyll should be set right with the king (*ib.* i. 247). It is somewhat surprising to find his signature appended, on 6 Aug. 1666, to the letter of the privy council to Charles, in which the iniquitous act compelling landlords to be sureties for their heritors and tenants is suggested. He had been summoned to Edinburgh by Rothes for this purpose (*ib.* ii. App. lxxv). The jealousy of Sharp and others was evidenced by an attempt to challenge his formal restoration to his hereditary offices in October 1666, and still more when the Pentland revolt took place. According to a letter to England, dated 28 Nov., he was forward in the attack (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1666, 295). As a matter of fact he was not even present. He had raised a force of 1,500 or 2,000 men (BURNET, p. 234; DOUGLAS, *Peerage of Scotland*), but Sharp, who in Rothes' absence had the direction of affairs, would not allow him to come on the scene, fearing that he and his men would join the rebels (BURNET, p. 234). On 6 Dec. 1666, however, Rothes expressed to Lauderdale his surprise at Argyll's absenting himself, 'never having been so much as heard of all this while,' and pointed out that if he had studied his own interests by bestirring himself he would have undeceived thousands who had no good opinion of him. Rothes added that he had placed Argyll on the commission

that was going west, and urged Lauderdale to write to him, if he was his friend, to bestir himself (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23125, f. 183). Argyll, however, writes to Lauderdale to contradict the reports of his lukewarmness, and to complain of the fact that he has never been sent for in spite of his readiness (*ib.* 23125, ff. 101, 177), and in another letter speaks of himself as almost killed with toil and ill weather in Kintyre (*Argyll Correspondence*, Bannatyne Club). After the rout the principal leaders of the rebels endeavoured to reach the western coast to cross over to Ireland, and on 14 Dec. Argyll received instructions from the privy council to capture them if possible (*Lauderdale Papers*, i. 261). He is reported as having done so on 25 Dec. (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1666, 369).

In January 1667, however, he again complained of the unfair jealousy that keeps him from employment, and in February compelled Sharp to retract his charge against him of hostility to the bishops. His twin children died in June of this year. The treasurership was now taken from Rothes and placed in commission, and Argyll was made one of the commissioners; he also received from Charles a new charter of all his lands, offices, &c. On 3 Aug. he was appointed, with Atholl and Seaforth, to have the oversight of the highlands, which were in a disturbed state, with a grant of the effects of all thieves and the forfeiture of their associates, and the duty of making up to every person the value of what has been stolen from them (*ib.* 1667, 356). In 1669 he made a celebrated proposition regarding the putting down of the thieves, viz. that some private gentleman should have put into his hands a list of all the notorious freebooters, and that he should be bound to produce them dead or alive by a certain date before being able to claim a reward. Nevertheless, he more than once remonstrates against the language used of the highlanders, which is such, he says, as would be used if they did not belong to Christendom (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 136). On 10 Jan. 1667 he came forward at the convention of estates, and named 6,000*l.* a month for a year as the sum to be raised for the king's use (*ib.* i. 270), although only two years before, 11 March 1665, he had spoken against endeavouring to raise money from so impoverished a country (*ib.* i. 210). He was still on good terms with Lauderdale, and upheld him against the party headed by Rothes. In September he wrote to Lauderdale urging him to secure Rothes's resignation of the commissionership, and on 12 Dec. he exposes the designs and characters of Sharp, Hamilton, and Rothes in the most felicitous

language (*Argyll Correspondence*, Bannatyne Club).

In May 1668 Argyll's wife died, and the letter in which, on 5 June, he describes her last moments and his own desolation is extremely touching (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23129, f. 138). In October 1669 Lauderdale came down as high commissioner. The nobility went to meet him at Berwick, and the 'Earl of Argyll outwent them all in his journey and compliment, and is looked upon as a great favourite' (MACKENZIE, p. 141). Possibly this is connected with the fact that, as stated by Burnet (245), Argyll was aware that Lady Dysart, who shortly became Lauderdale's second wife, was using her influence against him. At the opening of the session he carried the sceptre (LAMONT, p. 267). On 9 Nov. he is recorded as speaking strongly against any advances being made to England in the matter of the union (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 155). It was supposed that one great object of this parliament was to ratify Argyll's gift of forfeiture. This ratification was vehemently opposed by Erroll and other creditors, but Lauderdale carried it through by high-handed action. The reasons which, through Tweeddale's jealousy, brought about the breach with Lauderdale, it is not necessary to recount (MACKENZIE, p. 180). The final cause, however, appears to have been Argyll's second marriage with that very remarkable woman, Anna Scaforth [see CAMPBELL, ANNA MACKENZIE], dowager Lady Balcarres, on Friday, 28 Jan. 1670 (LAMONT), whereby Lauderdale and Tweeddale thought that their godson, the young earl, would be injured. The enmity with Tweeddale was strengthened by the action of the latter in frustrating Argyll's desire to be made justice-general over all the isles. In May 1670 he raised a regiment of militia, and in writing to Lauderdale accidentally mentions his own slight stature thus: 'The colonel, you may be sure, is the least of the regiment' (*ib.*). The only other purely personal notice of him is that in Fountainhall (*Hist. Observes*, p. 195): 'He was so conceitly he had neir 20 several pockets, some of them very secret in his coat and breeches, and was witty in knacks.'

Both from conviction and policy Argyll was opposed to the persecution of the western covenanters, and on 7 Dec. 1671 we find him pleading for gentler methods (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 218). On 2 April Argyll received an order from the privy council to suppress the conventicles in his jurisdiction (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 622 b). In this year Lauderdale endeavoured, by means of Gilbert Burnet, to renew the friendship with Argyll; but through Lady Dysart's desire for a family

alliance with Lord Atholl, Argyll's hereditary enemy, this was partially frustrated (BURNET, p. 299). Burnet, however, is completely in error in stating that in 1673, when Hamilton led the attack upon Lauderdale, Argyll joined him (p. 362). Mackenzie (p. 256) contradicts this, and that Mackenzie is right is shown by the fact that, along with Atholl and Kincardine, Argyll spoke on 19 Nov. against Hamilton's proposals (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 242), and was named as one of Lauderdale's representatives in the discussions which followed. On 11 July 1674 he was made an extraordinary lord of session (DOUGLAS). He had in May been made a member of the committee for public affairs appointed to do its utmost to put down conventicles (WODROW, ii. 234), and was employed upon this work in June following, and in May 1676 (*ib.* pp. 281, 324), though he is stated as in favour of moderate measures in 1677 (*ib.* p. 349).

Very little is known of Argyll's life during the few following years. In September 1677 we find him successfully engaged in a suit against James, duke of York, who had contested his claim to a sunken ship, supposed to contain vast treasures (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 613 b), and who wrote to confess himself defeated, and to assure Argyll that their dispute would in no way be to his disfavour. In February of the same year Lauderdale had again applied for his assistance against his opponents (*ib.* 621 b). His alliance with Lauderdale was strengthened by the marriage of the daughter of the second Duchess of Lauderdale with his eldest son, Lord Lorne, in this year (WODROW, ii. 348). On 10 Oct. 1678 he received a commission to seize, with the aid of three companies, the island of Mull. For the possession of this island continued fighting, characterised by great barbarity on both sides, had been going on between Argyll and the McCleans since 1674 (DOUGLAS).

In the following November he received notice of the king's satisfaction with his prudence and moderation in carrying out the commission (WODROW, iii. 144). It was not, however, until 1680 that he possessed the island without disturbance (LAW, *Memorials*, p. 159). On 12 April 1679, in consequence of the popish terror in England, he received a special commission to secure the highlands, to disarm all papists, and to reduce several highland chiefs suspected of popery (WODROW, iii. 39; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 632 b), and in May had special armed assistance for this purpose from the sheriffs of Dumbarton and Bute (WODROW, iii. 61). From this expedition, however, he was recalled.

He was entirely opposed to the shameful measure of quartering the highland host upon the disaffected western shores, and had sent none of his men to join it. Accordingly, on 7 June 1679, he received an order from the council to leave his highland expedition and at once repair with all his forces to Linlithgow's camp. The language of this peremptory notice points to considerable suspicion on the part of the council as to his intentions (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 622 *b*). There is, however, no account of his being present at the fights of Drumclog, of Bothwell Brigg, or at any of the operations against the insurgents. Doubtless his slackness increased the animosity of the government. He was, however, in 1680 one of the lords of the secret committee, which was in constant communication with Lauderdale (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23247, f. 22). In 1680 James, whose sitting in the council without taking the oath of allegiance he had strongly opposed in the previous year (*ib.* 23245, ff. 3, 5), came as high commissioner to Scotland, and a parliament was held in 1681, Argyll bearing the crown at the opening on 13 Aug. He was, too, a member of the committee of religion in this parliament (Wodrow, iii. 291). It seems probable that his downfall had been already determined upon. Mackenzie, writing to Lauderdale on 17 Feb., represents James as much displeased with a paper he handed in upholding Argyll's right in some 'affair of the highlands' (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23245, f. 86). James expressly states that the king thought his power too great for any one subject, his hereditary judicatories practically rendering him the real king of a large part of the west of Scotland. He had, too, but few friends among the nobles, while his arbitrary and selfish conduct in his own courts and his policy in the highlands, especially against the McCleans, had occasioned a confederacy of principal highland chiefs against him (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Notices*, p. 108). Moreover, he was the prominent representative of the staunch protestant interest, and as such was obnoxious to James. Argyll, however, assured James that he would firmly adhere to his interest, and we find his signature, on 17 Feb., to a letter of the council to Charles, in which the doctrine of the divine right is asserted in its extremest form. James also paid a solemn visit of ceremony to Argyll at Stirling in this same month (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Observes*, p. 27). In his declaration to James, however, he expressly reserved his loyalty to the protestant religion, a reservation met by the duke with marked coldness. In the first two acts that were passed, to secure the observance of all

the laws against popery and the unalterable succession to the crown, Argyll eagerly concurred. In the first, however, parliament, in deference to James, omitted the clause 'and all acts against popery.' Argyll moved its restoration, and thus still further discredited himself in James's eyes. With regard to the second, a test was enacted compelling all who served in church or state to declare their firm adherence to the protestant religion. To this the court party subjoined a recognition of the supremacy, and a disavowal of all resistance without the king's authority, or attempts to change the government either in church or state. Argyll opposed this addition to the multiplicity of oaths, and especially the proposal to exempt the royal family from the action of the test, desiring that the exemption might be confined to James himself. The act passed, however, and Argyll was called upon to take the test. He was warned by Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, that his opposing the exemption had 'fired the kiln,' and that a refusal now would insure his ruin. In the late parliament he had been significantly attacked. Erroll gave in a claim for a large sum, for which, he said, he had been cautioner in favour of Argyll's father; and an act was brought in to take from him his heritable judicatories, which had twice been confirmed, in 1663 and 1672. This failing, a special commission was proposed by parliament, having parliamentary power, to investigate Argyll's right, and to examine, or rather resume, the gift of his father's forfeiture; but the illegality was so patent that James quashed it (Wodrow, iii. 313). When parliament rose it was determined to get a commission from Charles for the same purpose, but this design was again frustrated. He now wrote for leave to come to court; this was refused until he should take the test, and on 1 Nov. his name was omitted in the new list of lords of session (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Observes*, p. 51). As privy councillor and commissioner of the treasury he was now forced to declare himself. He was suddenly cited by one of the clerks of council to take the oath; he remonstrated with James, as the interval allowed had not elapsed, and was abruptly informed that he must appear next council day, 3 Nov. He would have given up his employments in preference, but his various public and private engagements prevented it. He therefore took and signed the oath, which was a mass of contradictions, 'so far as consistent with itself and the protestant faith,' but refused to bind himself against 'endeavouring any alteration of advantage' to church and state not

repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty. To this explanation, which Lockhart, Dalrymple, Lauder, Pringle, and four other lawyers had informed him he was entitled to make (OMONT, *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, i. 217), he obtained James's assent on the day on which he resumed his seat in the council; he did not vote in the general explanation given by the council, as the debate was over before he arrived (WODROW, iii. 315). The next day he had, as Commissioner, to go through the same scene. This time he was required to put his reservation in writing, and to sign it. The latter, however, though at first willing, he skilfully avoided doing. He was thereupon immediately dismissed the council, as not having properly taken the test, and a few days later, 9 Nov., was committed to the castle on the charge of leasing-making, treason, perjury, and assuming the legislative power. On the 8th the council had written to Charles, who replied at once, requiring full notice before sentence was declared. A request for a private interview with James was refused, and though, through the activity of Gilbert Burnet, the intercession of Halifax, who declared that in England they would not hang a dog on such a charge, was not wanting with Charles, nothing came of it. It was clear that conviction was determined upon. The assistance of Lockhart, who, with Dalrymple, Stuart, and others, had given an opinion in Argyll's favour, was twice denied, James declaring, 'If he pleads for Argyll, he shall never plead for my brother or me,' and only granted when Argyll took the necessary legal steps to secure it. The trial, so far as the relevancy of the libel was concerned (OMONT, *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, i. 218), that is whether or no his explanation brought him in law under the acts against leasing-making, began on 12 Dec. 1681, before Queensberry and four other judges, and was marked by shameless quibbling and illegality on the part of the crown. After Lockhart's defence the court adjourned, but the judges continued sitting until midnight. They were equally divided in opinion; their president, who had the casting vote, had himself offered an explanation. To save him from voting, Nairn, a superannuated judge, was brought from his bed, and the depositions were read to him, during which he fell asleep, and was awakened for his vote. The relevancy of the libel, as to treason and leasing-making, was then pronounced, and the question of fact was next day brought before a jury composed in great measure of his enemies; Montrose, his hereditary foe, sat in court as chancellor. Before such a tribunal Argyll refused to defend himself. The jury similarly acquitted him of per-

jury in receiving the oath in a false acceptance, and agreed with the judges on the other counts. Application was made to Charles for instructions by the council, and for justice by Argyll. Charles ordered that sentence should be pronounced, but execution suspended. Upon 22 Dec. the king's letter reached the council; and, though strictly illegal, inasmuch as forfeiture could only be pronounced in absence of the offender in cases of perduellion and riotous rebellion, sentence of death as well as of forfeiture was pronounced in Argyll's absence on the 23rd. His estates were confiscated, and his hereditary jurisdictions assigned to Atholl, in order to perfect his ruin (LINDSAY'S *Mem. of Anna Mackenzie*, p. 121). Every intimation, however, was given to Argyll that execution was immediately to follow. He was lying then in daily expectation of death, when about 9 p.m. on 20 Dec. his favourite stepdaughter, Sophia Lindsay (afterwards married to his son Charles), obtained leave to visit him for one half-hour. She brought with her a countryman as a page, with a fair wig and his head bound up as if he had been engaged in a fray. He and Argyll exchanged clothes, and she left the castle in floods of tears, accompanied by Argyll. But for her extreme presence of mind they would have been twice discovered. At the gate Argyll stepped up as lackey behind Sophia Lindsay's coach. On reaching the custom-house he slipped quietly off, dived into one of the narrow wynds adjacent, and shifted for himself (*ib.* p. 116). He first went to the house of Torwoodlee, who had arranged for the escape, and by him was conducted to Mr. Veitch, in Northumberland, who in turn brought him under the name of Hope to London (M'CRIB, *Memoirs of Veitch*). From London he wrote a poetic epistle of five hundred lines to his stepdaughter, expressing himself as in safety amid noble friends and surrounded by comforts. This comfort appears to have been chiefly afforded by Mrs. Smith, wife of a rich sugar-baker. He also found refuge with Major Holmes, the officer who had arrested him when Lord Lorne in 1662. After a delay of some time Mrs. Smith brought him to her country house at Brentford. Wodrow states that offers were made to him on the king's part of favour if he would concur in the court measures; that he refused, and that then, in the loyal reaction before which Shaftesbury and Monmouth fled, he also went to Holland. It is certain that no real steps were taken to recapture him. Charles is said to have known that he was in London, but when a note was put into his hands naming the place of concealment, he tore it up, ex-

claiming, 'Pooh! pooh! hunt a weary partridge? Fye, for shame!' Probably this clemency may have arisen from the fact that the temper of people, and especially in London, was at that time such that any attempt to reimprison so noted a sufferer for protestantism might have caused considerable embarrassment to the government. Fountainhall expressly says that the persecution that Argyll suffered for being a protestant caused more pity than his oppression of his creditors and non-payment of his own and his father's debts caused hatred. As has been said, the moment the court was triumphant over the whigs Argyll evidently thought it unwise to reckon any longer upon its forbearance. In 1682 he was supposed to be in Switzerland, but Lord Granard, to whom he had many years before been of great assistance, received a message from him in London, and held a meeting with him, on account of which he was accused of complicity in his crimes (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. 213 b). In June 1683, when Baillie of Jerviswood and others were taken on account of the Rye House plot, letters of Argyll's were found among their papers. These letters, however, were in a cipher so curious that all attempts to read them were for long unavailing (*ib.* 6th Rep. 315). They were sent to Scotland, and the countess was summoned in December 1683 to decipher them. She, however, replied that she had burnt the only key she had. Both she and Lorne, however, admitted that they were in Argyll's writing (*ib.* 7th Rep. 377 b). The cipher was, however, at length read by Spence, Argyll's private secretary (Wodrow, iv. 97), or, according to Law (*Mem.* p. 251), by two experts, George Campbell and Gray of Crigie. Argyll, it appears, expostulated with the other conspirators upon their rejection of his proposals, viz. that he should be provided with 30,000*l.* and 1,000 English horse. They, however, offered 10,000*l.* with 600 or 700 horse, the money to be paid by the beginning of July, and Argyll was then to go at once to Scotland and begin the revolt. He gave an account of the standing forces, militia, and heritors of Scotland, who would be obliged to appear for the king, to the number of 50,000. Half of them, he said, would not fight. He represented too that his party needed only money and arms; and he desired Major Holmes to communicate fully with his messenger from Holland (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 364 a, b, 377 a). Holmes was himself taken and examined on 28 June 1683, and from his replies it would seem that Argyll was in London. In October Preston wrote from Paris, informing Halifax that Argyll had his agents in France, and added his belief

that he had, after consultation with his friends in Holland, gone back to Scotland (*ib.* 7th Rep. 342, 396-8). On 28 and 29 June 1684 William Spence was examined before the privy council, but he said nothing to Argyll's discredit (*ib.* 6th Rep. 633 b). In July he was sent to Scotland, where he was put to the torture; but no more was learnt from him then. He appears from Fountainhall's 'Hist. Notices' to have read the cipher on 22 Aug. In September 1684 Argyll's charter chest and family papers were found concealed in a tenant's house in Argyllshire, a further stroke towards the extinction of the family (LAW, p. 304).

While in Holland Argyll appears to have devoted himself to private religious exercises and preparations for the death that he anticipated, and he refused to have any connection with Shaftesbury. He speedily, however, became involved in the cabals which took place under Monmouth upon the death of Charles. He came from Friesland to Rotterdam upon the news (DOUGLAS), and was present at a meeting of Scotchmen in Amsterdam on 17 April 1685, at which an immediate invasion of Scotland was determined on, and himself appointed captain-general. He was among those who insisted that Monmouth should engage never to declare himself king. He carried on his preparations with great secrecy, and, furnished with 10,000*l.* by a rich English widow in Amsterdam, possibly the Mrs. Smith before referred to, supplemented by 1,000*l.* from Locke (BURNET, p. 629), he collected arms as if for a trader of Venice. He sailed from the Vlie on 1 or 2 May 1685 with about three hundred men in three small ships, well provisioned, accompanied by Patrick Hume, Cochran, a few more Scots, and the Englishmen Ayloffe and Rumbold. They anchored at Cariston in Orkney on 6 May, where unluckily his secretary Spence—apparently the one formerly mentioned, though this is doubtful—went ashore, was seized by the bishop, and the design discovered.

Argyll immediately sailed by the inside of the western islands to the coast of his own country, but was compelled by contrary winds to go to the Sound of Mull. At Tobermory he was delayed three days, and then with three hundred men whom he picked up there he went across to Kintyre, the stronghold then, as always, of the extreme covenanting party. At Campbelltown Argyll issued his declaration which had been drawn up by Stuart in Holland. In this declaration he intimates that James had caused the death of Charles, that Monmouth was the rightful heir, and that by him he had been restored to title and estates. He had previously sent his son Charles to raise his former vassals, who now held of the king;



but very few answered the summons of the fiery cross, the results of former insurrections having frightened the people, and all his son could do was to garrison the castle of Carnasory. Here he spent much time to no useful purpose, and then marched to Tarbet, whence he sent out a second declaration in which he combated the statements of his enemies that he had come for private advantage, and promised to pay both his father's debts and his own. Here he was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell with a large body of men. The invasion of the lowlands appears to have been settled by a council of war against his wish; and it is certain that any chance of success which he had was ruined both by his own want of mastery over his followers, and by the divided counsels in his camp. At Bute he was again detained for three days, and his forces then marched to Corval in Argyllshire. After a purposeless raid on Greenock he struck off to Inverary, but contrary winds and the appearance of two English frigates compelled him to shelter under the castle of Ellangreig. He took Ardkinglass castle, and in a skirmish for its possession he had the advantage; he was, however, compelled to give up his design of taking Inverary, and to return to Ellangreig. He then proposed to attack the frigates, but this was frustrated by a mutiny among his men. The garrison of Ellangreig deserted, the king's ships took those of Argyll, with their cannon and ammunition as well as the castle of Ellangreig, and the great standard on which was written 'For God and Religion, against Poperie, Tyrannie, Arbitrary Government, and Erastianism,' and then Argyll in despair determined again on the lowland enterprise. A little above Dumbarton he encamped in an advantageous position in the face of the royal troops; but further disputes led to his proposal to fight being overruled, and to an immediate retreat without any engagement towards Glasgow (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Observes*, p. 179). His force, which crossed to the south side of the Clyde at Renfrew by Kirkpatrick ford, rapidly dwindled from two thousand to five hundred men; and after one or two skirmishes with the troops commanded by Rosse and Cleland, Argyll, who appears to have previously left his men, found himself alone with his son John and three personal friends. To avoid pursuit they separated, only Major Fullarton remaining with Argyll. Having been refused admittance at the house of an old servant to whom they applied for shelter, they crossed the Clyde to Inchinnan, where, after a violent personal struggle, Argyll was taken prisoner on 18 June by the militia. He was led first to Renfrew

and thence to Glasgow. On 20 June he arrived at Edinburgh. He was brought along the long-gate to the water-gate, and from thence 'up the street, bareheaded, and his hands behind his back, the guards with cocked matches, and the hangman walking before him;' finally he was carried to the castle and put in irons (WODROW, iv. 299). It was, however, so late in the evening that the procession caused but little notice (FOUNTAINHALL, p. 185). He was now closely questioned before the council as to his associates; his replies are not preserved, but he states in papers which he left that he answered only in part, and that he did all in his power to save his friends. And Fountainhall notices that 'he pled much for his children, and especially for John, who followed him without arms.' While in prison he was visited by his sister, Lady Lothian, and by his wife, who, with Sophia Lindsay, had been placed in confinement on the first news of his landing. On the 29th a letter arrived from James ordering summary punishment. It was long debated whether he should be hanged or beheaded, and the less ignominious sentence was carried with difficulty. He behaved with the utmost fortitude, and on the morning of his execution wrote to his wife, his stepdaughter, and his sons, as well as to Mrs. Smith, who had sheltered him in London, letters of calm resignation. It should be observed that he was never brought to trial for his rising, but was beheaded on Tuesday, 30 June, upon the sentence of 1681. His head was placed on a high pin of iron on the west end of the Tolbooth; his body was taken first to Newbottle, the seat of Lord Lothian (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1st Rep. 116 b), and afterwards to Inverary. His son Charles was taken by Atholl a few days later while lying sick of fever.

Argyll's execution apparently took place on his former sentence because Mackenzie, the advocate who insisted on this course, trusted that so manifestly illegal a sentence would be afterwards removed, while had he been tried and executed for this later treason, this could not have been the case (HAILES, *Catalogue*, note 77). Fountainhall, however (*Hist. Observes*, p. 193), states that the reason was merely that a new indictment would have reflected upon his former judges.

His children by his first wife (Lady Mary Stuart) were Archibald, first duke of Argyll [q. v.], John, father of John, fourth duke, and grandfather of Lord Frederick Campbell [q. v.], Charles, James, and three daughters.

[Authorities cited above.]

O. A.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, first DUKE OF ARGYLL (d. 1703), was the eldest son of

Archibald, ninth earl [q. v.], by his first wife, Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth earl of Moray or Murray. During his father's lifetime he received a grant out of his forfeited estates, and on receiving intelligence of his father's descent on Scotland in 1685, he put himself in the king's hands, and offered to serve against him (Barillon to Louis XIV, 4 June 1685, in appendix to Fox's *History of James II*). But although, according to Lockhart (*Papers*, i. 63), he also endeavoured to curry favour with King James by becoming a convert to catholicism, he was unsuccessful in obtaining a reversal in his favour of the attainder of the title and estates. He had therefore special reasons for welcoming with eagerness the proposed expedition of William of Orange, whom he joined at the Hague and accompanied to England. At the convention of the Scottish estates in March 1689, only a single lord protested against his admission as earl of Argyll on account of his technical disqualification. Argyll was one of the commissioners deputed to proceed to London to offer to William and Mary the Scottish crown, and it was he who administered to them the coronation oath. On 1 May he was elected a privy councillor, and on 5 June following an act was passed rescinding his father's forfeiture. Among the highland clans the news of his restoration to his estates was received with general consternation; and when they mustered in strong force under Dundee, they were influenced more by hatred and fear of the Argylls than by loyal devotion to James II. When, through the mediation of Breadalbane [see CAMPBELL, JOHN, first earl of Breadalbane], and the threats of military execution, all the clans, with the exception of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, gave in their submission within the prescribed time, Argyll immediately informed the government of the failure of Maclean of Glencoe to comply with the letter of the law, and along with Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple [q. v.] he concerted measures for their massacre, the regiment which he had lately raised in his own territory being entrusted with its execution. Lockhart (*Papers*, i. 63) states that, though Argyll was 'in outward appearance a good-natured, civil, and modest gentleman,' his 'actions were quite otherwise, being capable of the worst things to promote his interest, and altogether addicted to a lewd, profligate life.' He adds that 'he was not cut out for business, only applying himself to it in so far as it tended to secure his court interest and politics, from whence he got great sums of money to lavish away upon his pleasures.' Once invested with his titles and property, he was regarded by the

presbyterians with the traditionary respect paid to his ancestors. In the differences which occurred between the government and the Scottish estates, he took the popular side, but after matters were satisfactorily arranged he joined in the support of the ministers, the importance of securing his services being recognised by a lavish distribution of honours. In 1690 he was made one of the lords of the treasury, in 1694 an extraordinary lord of session, and in 1696 colonel of the Scots horse guards. Argyll was frequently consulted by the government in the more important matters relating to Scotland, and there are a large number of his letters in the Carstairs 'State Papers.' By letters patent dated at Kensington 23 June 1701, he was created duke of Argyll, marquis of Lorne and Kintyre, earl of Campbell and Cowal, viscount of Lochow and Glenisla, lord Inverary, Mull, Morven, and Tyree. He died on 20 Sept. 1703. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, he had two sons and one daughter. Both sons, John, second duke of Argyll and duke of Greenwich, and Archibald, third duke of Argyll, have separate biographies. For several years he lived in separation from his wife, who resided chiefly at Campbelltown, and is said, on pretence of revising the charters which had been given to various members of the clan after the conquest of Kintyre, to have got the documents into her hands and destroyed them.

[Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 22; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 106-7; Lockhart's Memoirs; Carstairs State Papers; Memoirs of Sir Even Cameron (Bannatyne Club, 1842); Leven and Melville Papers (Bannatyne Club, 1843); Burnet's Own Time; Macaulay's History of England.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD (d. 1744), bishop of Aberdeen, was second son of Lord Niel Campbell, second son of Archibald, marquis of Argyll (1598-1661) [q. v.], and Lady Vere Ker, third daughter of the third earl of Lothian. According to Dr. Johnson, as reported by Boswell, he engaged in the rebellion attempted by his uncle, the ninth earl of Argyll, in 1685, and on its failure made his escape to Surinam. Though a violent whig in his early years, he afterwards, Johnson states, 'kept better company and became a violent tory.' On his return from Surinam he showed great zeal for episcopacy and monarchy, and at the Revolution not only adhered to the ejected church, but refused to communicate in the church of England or to be present at any place of worship where King William's name was mentioned. He was more than once apprehended in the reign of King William,

and once after the accession of George I. On 25 Aug. 1711 he was consecrated a bishop at Dundee by Bishops Rose, Douglas, and Falconer, but continued to reside in London. In 1717 he made the acquaintance of Arsenius, the metropolitan of Thebais, and with some of the nonjuring clergy entered into negotiations for a union with the Eastern church. The proposal was communicated by Arsenius to the emperor, Peter the Great, who expressed his approval of the proposition, but it was ultimately found impossible to come to an agreement in regard to certain points, and the negotiation was broken off. In a letter to the chevalier, George Lockhart thus refers to the bishop: 'Archibald Campbell (who, though adorned with none of the qualifications necessary in a bishop, and remarkable for some things inconsistent with the character of a gentleman, was most imprudently consecrated some time ago) is coming here from London with the view of forming a party' (*Lockhart Papers*, ii. 37). The result of his visit to Scotland was that on 10 May 1721 he was chosen by the clergy of Aberdeen their diocesan bishop, upon which the college wrote signifying their approval on condition that he would undertake to propagate no new doctrine or usage not sanctioned by the canons of the church. After his election Campbell still continued to reside in London, where he was of considerable service to the Scottish episcopal communion, especially in assisting to project a fund for the support of the clergy in the poorer districts. On account, however, of a divergence of views in regard to certain usages, he resigned his office in 1724. In his later years he formed a separate nonjuring communion distinct from that of the Sancroftian line, and ventured upon the exceptional step of a consecration by himself without any assistant. The community obtained a slight footing in the west of England, but is now wholly extinct. Campbell succeeded, by means regarding which no satisfactory explanation has been given, in obtaining possession of the registers of the church of Scotland from the Reformation to 1590, which Johnston of Warriston had restored to the general assembly of 1638, and in 1737 he presented them to Sion College, London, for preservation. Endeavours were made by the general assembly of the church of Scotland at different times to obtain their restoration, but Campbell had made it a condition that they should not be given up till episcopacy should be again established, and having been borrowed by the House of Commons, they perished in the fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament in 1834. Campbell

died in London in 1744. He is described by Johnson as 'the familiar friend of Hickeys and Nelson; a man of letters, but injudicious; and very curious and inquisitive, but credulous.' His most important contribution to theology was 'The Doctrine of the Middle State between Death and the Resurrection,' 1731. He was also the author of 'Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland,' 1702; and 'A Query turned into an Argument in favour of Episcopacy,' 1703. 'Life of John Sage, Scotch Protestant Bishop,' 1714, often ascribed to Campbell, is stated in the 'Brit. Mus. Cat.' to be by John Gillane. Many other books commonly attributed to the bishop are by his namesake, Archibald Campbell (1691-1756), professor at St. Andrews [q. v.]

[Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland; Dawson's History of the Scottish Episcopalian Church since 1688; Lockhart Papers; Boswell's Life of Johnson.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD** (1691-1756), divine, was born in Edinburgh 24 July 1691. His father was a merchant, and of the Succoth family. He studied at Edinburgh and Glasgow, was licensed to preach in 1717, and in 1718 ordained minister of the united parishes of Larbert and Dunipace, Stirlingshire. In 1723 he married Christina Watson, daughter of an Edinburgh merchant. In 1726 he published an anonymous treatise on the duty of praying for the civil magistrate. The same year he travelled to London with a manuscript treatise on 'Moral Virtue.' He trusted this to his friend Alexander Innes, who had been an accomplice of the well-known Psalmanazar. Innes published this as his own in 1728, as 'Ἀρετηλογία, an Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue.' Innes not only won reputation by the work, but a good living in Essex. In August 1730 Campbell went to London, saw Innes, and says that he 'made him tremble in his shoes.' He consented, however, to an advertisement claiming his own book, but only saying that 'for some certain reasons' it had appeared under the name of Innes. Even this was delayed for a time that Innes might not lose a post which he was expecting. Stuart, physician to the queen, was a cousin of Innes, and interceded for him. Campbell was appointed professor of church history in St. Andrews in 1730, and published a 'Discourse proving that the Apostles were no Enthusiasts.' In 1733 he republished his former treatise under his own name as an 'Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue.' He maintains self-love to be the sole motive of virtuous actions. In the same year he published an 'Oratio de Vanitate Luminis Nature.' In 1735 he was

charged with Pelagianism, on account of this and other works, before the general assembly, but was acquitted in March 1735-6, with a warning for the future. 'Remarks upon some passages in books by Professor Campbell, with his Explications,' was issued in 1735 by the committee of the general assembly 'for purity of doctrine.' In 1736 Campbell issued 'Further Explications with respect to Articles . . . wherein the Committee . . . have declar'd themselves not satisfy'd.' In 1739 he published 'The Necessity of Revelation,' in answer to Tindal. He died at his estate of Boarhill, near St. Andrews, on 24 April 1756, leaving twelve children. His eldest son, Archibald (*Jl.* 1767) [q. v.], was author of 'Lexiplanets.' A book entitled 'The Authenticity of the Gospel History justified' was published posthumously in 1759.

[Acts of Assembly; Moncrieff's Life of Erskine; McKerrow's Secession Church; Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot. ii. 707; Irving's Scottish Writers, ii. 325-7; Judicial Testimony, information kindly supplied from family papers by Rev. H. G. Graham.] L. S.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, third DUKE OF ARGYLL (1682-1761), brother of John, second duke [q. v.], and younger son of Archibald, first duke [q. v.], by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, was born at Ham House, Petersham, Surrey, in June 1682. He was educated at Eton, and in his seventeenth year entered Glasgow University. His studies were continued at Utrecht, where he devoted himself especially to law, with the view of practising that profession; but after his brother succeeded to the dukedom he renounced his intention. Entering the army, he served under Marlborough, and while still very young he was appointed colonel of the 30th regiment of foot and governor of Dumbarton Castle. He soon abandoned the military profession, to devote his chief attention to politics. In 1705 he was constituted lord high treasurer of Scotland, and in the following year one of the commissioners for treating of the union. His services were recognised by his being created, on 19 Oct., earl of Ilay; and after the conclusion of the treaty he was chosen one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, and constantly elected in every parliament till his death, with the exception of that which met in 1713. In 1708 he was made an extraordinary lord of session; in 1710 was appointed justice-general of Scotland; and the following year was called to the privy council. On the accession of George I he was appointed lord register of Scotland. When the rebellion broke out in 1715, he was entrusted with the

task of raising the Argyllshire highlanders, and throwing himself into Inverary he prevented General Gordon from penetrating into the western highlands. With his troops he afterwards joined his brother, the Duke of Argyll, at Stirling, and took part in the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he was wounded. In 1725 he was appointed lord keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, and having, along with his brother, the Duke of Argyll, agreed to assist the government in carrying through the malt tax in Scotland, he was despatched to Edinburgh armed with full powers by the government, and privately instructed by Walpole to adopt the measures he deemed expedient for suppressing the serious riots caused by the imposition of the tax. It was chiefly owing to him that the combination against it was broken and tranquillity finally restored. From this time he was entrusted by Walpole with the chief management of Scotch affairs, his influence being so great that he received the name of the King of Scotland. In this position he did much to increase its trade and manufactures and improve its internal communication. As chancellor of the university of Aberdeen he took an active interest in the furtherance of the higher education of the country, and he also especially encouraged the Edinburgh school of medicine, then in its infancy. In 1734 he was appointed keeper of the great seal, which office he enjoyed till his death. After the execution of Porteous by the Edinburgh mob, he was sent by Walpole to adopt measures for bringing the offenders to justice. Throughout the whole of Walpole's administration he gave him consistent and unwavering support. Though he possessed none of the brilliant oratorical gifts of his brother, his practical shrewdness and acute and solid reasoning gave him great parliamentary influence. For many years he assisted to hold in check his brother's intractable perversity, and when his brother broke with the government still retained Walpole's special confidence. Succeeding to the dukedom of Argyll in October 1743, he continued to be much consulted in regard to Scotch affairs, his knowledge of the various parties in church and state being remarkably comprehensive and minute. Of his practical sagacity he gave proof of the very highest kind after the rebellion of 1745, when he recommended, as a means of pacifying the highlands, the formation of the highland regiments, thus affording scope for the warlike propensities of the clans in the loyal service of the crown. He possessed wide and varied accomplishments, and collected one of the most valuable private libraries in Great Britain. In his

later years he rebuilt the castle at Inverary. He died suddenly on 15 April 1761. By his wife, the daughter of Mr. Whitfield, paymaster of the forces, he left no issue, and the title descended to his cousin John, son of John Campbell of Mamore, second son of Archibald, ninth earl of Argyll [q. v.] His whole property in England was left to Mrs. Anne Williams or Shireburn, by whom he had a son, William Campbell, auditor of excise in Scotland, and a colonel in the army.

[Coxe's *Life of Walpole*, containing several of his letters; Lockhart Papers; Culloden Papers; Macpherson's Original Papers; MSS. Add. 19797, 23251, ff. 46, 48, 50, 58, 22627, f. 23, 22628, ff. 47-52; Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 114-5; Biog. Brit. (Kippis), iii. 208-9.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD** (Æ. 1767), satirist, was a son of Archibald Campbell (Æ. 1756) [q. v.] His works prove that he was a classical scholar, and he states that he had 'all his lifetime dabbled in books' (*Lexiphanes*, Dedn., p. v); but he became pursuer of a man-of-war, and remained at sea, leading 'a wandering and unsettled life.' In 1745 William Falconer, author of the 'Shipwreck,' was serving on board the same ship with him, became his servant, and received some educational help from him (CHALMERS, *English Poets*, xiv. 381). About 1760, being on a long voyage, Campbell read the 'Rambler,' and staying shortly after at Pensacola wrote there his 'Lexiphanes' and 'Sale of Authors'; the works remained in manuscript for some two years, till he reached England. 'Lexiphanes, a Dialogue in imitation of Lucian,' with a subtitle, saying it was 'to correct as well as expose the affected style . . . of our English Lexiphanes, the Rambler,' was issued anonymously in March 1767, and was attributed by Hawkins to Kenrick (BOSWELL, *Johnson*, ii. 55). The 'Sale of Authors' followed it in June of the same year. Campbell called Johnson 'the great corrupter of our taste and language,' and says, 'I have endeavour'd to . . . hunt down this great unlick'd cub' (*Lexiphanes*, preface, p. xxxix). In the 'Sale of Authors' the 'sweetly plaintive Gray' was put up to auction, with Whitefield, Hervey, Sterne, Hoyle, &c.

'Lexiphanes' itself found an imitator in 1770 in Colman, who used that signature to a philological squib (*Fugitive Pieces*, ii. 92-7); and a fourth edition of the real work, still anonymous, was issued at Dublin in 1774. After this there is no evidence of anything relating to this author. 'The History of the Man after God's own Heart,' issued anonymously in 1761, generally attributed to Peter

Annet [q. v.], is asserted to have been written by Archibald Campbell (*Notes and Queries*, 1st series, xii. 204, 255), and this view has been adopted in the 1883 edition of Halkett and Laing's 'Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature,' ii. 1160. If so, the 'Letter to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler, from the Writer of the History of the Man after God's own Heart,' is also Campbell's.

[Lexiphanes and Sale of Authors, Horace Walpole's copies, Grenville Coll., author's Prefaces; Walpole's Letters, Cunningham's ed. vi. 76 and 80 n.; Boswell's Johnson, 1823 ed., ii. 55, iv. 359; Anderson's *Life of Johnson*, 1816 ed., p. 230 text and note; Chalmers's *English Poets*, xiv. 381; *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. xii. 204, 255, 3rd ser. iii. 210, 357, xii. 332, 449; Halkett and Laing's *Dict. of Anon. and Pseudon. Lit.* ii. 1160, where p. 255 of *Notes and Queries* (supra) is by error put 205, and p. 1405.] J. H.

**CAMPBELL, SIR ARCHIBALD** (1739-1791), of Inverneil, general and governor of Jamaica and Madras, second son of James Campbell of Inverneil, commissioner of the Western Isles of Scotland, chamberlain of Argyllshire, and hereditary usher of the white rod for Scotland, was born at Inverneil on 21 Aug. 1739. He entered the army in 1757 as a captain in the Fraser Highlanders, when Simon Fraser, the only son of Lord Lovat [q. v.], raised that regiment for service in America by special license from the king on the recommendation of Mr. Pitt. With it he served throughout the campaign in North America, and was wounded at Wolfe's taking of Quebec in 1758. On the conclusion of the war in 1764 the Fraser Highlanders were disbanded, and Campbell was transferred to the 29th regiment, and afterwards promoted major and lieutenant-colonel in the 42nd Highlanders, with which he served in India until 1773, when he returned to Scotland, and he was elected M.P. for the Stirling burghs in 1774. In 1775 Simon Fraser again raised a regiment of highlanders for service in the American war of independence, and Campbell was selected by him as lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd battalion. On his arrival in America, however, the ship which carried him took him unfortunately into Boston harbour while that city was in the hands of the rebels, and he consequently remained a prisoner until the following year, when he was exchanged for Ethan Allen. On securing his exchange he was appointed a brigadier-general, and took command of an expedition against the state of Georgia. The expedition was entirely successful, and Campbell seized Savannah, which contained forty-five guns and a large quantity of stores, with a loss of only four killed and five

wounded. He remained as commanding officer in Georgia until the following year, when he was superseded by Major-general Burton; and when the general refused to carry into effect his measures for raising a loyal militia, Campbell returned to England on leave, and married (1779) Amelia, daughter of Allan Ramsay the painter, and granddaughter of Allan Ramsay the poet (*d.* 8 July 1813). His capture of Savannah had greatly recommended him to the king's favour. He was promoted colonel on his return, and on 20 Nov. 1782 he was promoted major-general, and in the following month appointed governor of Jamaica. This appointment was at the time of immense importance. Matters were going badly with the British forces in America, and the French had joined the insurgents, with the express purpose of seizing the British West India islands. The Marquis de Bouillé, who commanded the French troops, succeeded in capturing Tobago, St. Eustache, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat; but the dispositions of Campbell were so good, his measure of raising black troops was so successful, and his vigilance so unwearied, that the French did not dare to attack Jamaica without reinforcements. At the same time Campbell did all in his power, by sending good information, reinforcements, and supplies, to assist the British forces in America; and by lending his best troops to serve as marines on board the ships of Admiral Rodney's fleet, he was largely instrumental in securing that admiral's great victory over the Comte de Grasse. For his services he was invested a knight of the Bath on 30 Sept. 1785, on his return from Jamaica, and was in the same year appointed, through the influence of his friend, Henry Dundas, the president of the board of control, to be governor and commander-in-chief at Madras. He reached Madras in April 1786, and had at once to occupy himself with the difficult matter of the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, whose territories had been sequestered by Lord Macartney. The matter was extremely complicated; but eventually, through the instrumentality of Mr. Webbe, the ablest Indian civil servant of his day, a treaty was concluded with the nabob on 24 Feb. 1787, by which he was to pay nine lacs of rupees a year to the East India Company for the maintenance of a force in British pay to defend his dominions, and twelve lacs a year to his creditors, and to surrender the revenues of the Carnatic, to be collected by civil servants, as security. The advantages of this treaty were obvious, and were seen in the next war with Tippoo Sultan. Lord Cornwallis highly approved of it; but both the

court of directors and the board of control were inclined to think that sufficiently good terms had not been made for the company, and too good terms for the creditors; while the creditors, on the other hand, and the nabob himself, who had a regular party in his interest in the House of Commons, complained bitterly that they were unfairly treated. Lord Cornwallis, however, the governor-general, who had known the governor in America, supported him with all his might. 'No governor was ever more popular than Sir Archibald Campbell,' he wrote to Lord Sydney. 'I must do Sir Archibald Campbell the justice to say that he seconds me nobly,' he wrote on another occasion. 'By his good management and economy we shall be relieved of the heavy burden of paying the king's troops on the coast;' and 'his retirement from the government might be attended with fatal consequences' (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 218, 272, 307). After completing this business, Campbell was occupied in issuing new regulations for the discipline of the troops, and on 12 Oct. 1787 he was appointed colonel of the 74th Highlanders, one of the four new regiments raised especially for service in India. In 1789, overcome by ill-health and the abuse of the opponents of his Arcot treaty, he resigned his appointment and returned to England, and was at once re-elected M.P. for the Stirling burghs. He did not long survive his return; for he caught a severe cold in coming up hurriedly from Scotland in 1790, on being sent for to take a command in the Spanish armament, which was got ready on the occasion of the dispute about Nootka Sound; and though a journey to Bath somewhat restored him, he died at his house in Upper Grosvenor Street, on 31 March 1791. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to him in Poets' Corner. He left his fortune to his elder brother, Sir James Campbell, knt., who succeeded him as M.P. for the Stirling burghs, and whose son, Major-general James Campbell (1763-1819) [q. v.], was created a baronet in 1818.

[Stewart's Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Highlanders, with an Account of the Highland Regiments; Edwards's History of the British West Indies; Cornwallis Correspondence; Mill's History of British India; the Papers on the Arcot Treaty, &c., printed by order of the House of Commons, 1791.]

H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR ARCHIBALD** (1769-1843), general, son of Captain Archibald Campbell, and grandson of Duncan Campbell of Milntown, in Glenlyon, county Perth, was born on 12 March 1769. He entered

the army on 28 Dec. 1787 as an ensign in the 77th regiment, having obtained his commission by raising twenty men, and sailed for India in the spring of 1788. He joined the army in the Bombay presidency under the command of Sir Robert Abercromby at Cannanore, and was perpetually engaged with that western division throughout the campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792, and was present at the first siege of Seringapatam, by Lord Cornwallis, in 1792. In 1791, in the midst of the campaign, he was promoted lieutenant and made adjutant of his regiment, in which capacity he served at the reduction of Cochin in 1795 and of the Dutch factories in Ceylon in 1796. In 1799, on the breaking out of the second Mysore war, Campbell was appointed brigade-major to the European brigade of the Bombay division, which advanced from the Malabar coast, and was present at the battle of Seedaseer and the fall of Seringapatam. For his services he was promoted captain into the 67th regiment, and at once exchanged into the 88th Connaught Rangers, in order to remain in India, but his health broke down and he had to return to England. Wellesley had, however, observed Campbell's gallant conduct at Seringapatam and his usefulness as a staff officer, and he was in consequence made brigade-major in the southern district, and on 14 Sept. 1804 promoted major into the 6th battalion of reserve, then stationed in Guernsey. On its reduction in 1805 he was transferred to the 71st Highland light infantry, and generally commanded the second battalion in Scotland and Ireland for the next three years. In June 1808 he joined the first battalion of his regiment under Pack, and served at the battles of Roliça and Vimeiro, and throughout Sir John Moore's advance into Spain and his retreat on Corunna.

In 1809 he was, on Wellesley's recommendation, one of the officers selected to accompany Marshal Beresford to Portugal to assist him in his task of reorganising the Portuguese army, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 16 Feb. 1809. He commanded the 6th Portuguese regiment with Beresford's high approval (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vi. 346), and as colonel he was present at the battle of Busaco, and in 1811, as brigadier-general commanding the 6th and 18th Portuguese regiments, was engaged at Arroyo dos Molinos and in the battle of Albuera. In 1813 Campbell received the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword, and his brigade was ordered to form part of an independent Portuguese division under the command of Major-general John Hamilton, attached to General Hill's corps, and under that general he was present at the battles of

Vittoria, the Pyrenees, the Nivelle, when he was mentioned in despatches, and the Nive, and was afterwards attached to Sir John Hope's corps before Bayonne, where he remained until the end of the war. On the declaration of peace he received a gold cross and one clasp for the battles of Albuera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, the Nivelle, and the Nive, was knighted, promoted colonel in the army on 4 June 1814, and made an aide-de-camp to the prince regent, and in January 1815 he was made a K.C.B. In 1816 he was made a Portuguese major-general, and commanded the division at Lisbon. In 1820, during the absence of Lord Beresford, he offered to put down the rising at Oporto, but his services were declined; he at once threw up his Portuguese commission and returned to England.

On arriving in England he was, in 1821, appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 38th regiment, which he joined at the Cape and took to India, where he was stationed at Berhampore. He was soon after nominated to command the expedition against the Burmese. He arrived at Rangoon in May 1824 at the head of 11,500 men, including four British regiments, and at once took Rangoon. His first attack on the great Dagon Pagoda, at Kimendine, was repulsed with loss on 3 June, and he had to take the command in person; under his personal directions the Pagoda was stormed on 10 June 1824. In July he detached a force under Colonel H. F. Smith, C.B., to Pegu, which stormed the Pagoda at Syriam on 4 Aug., and the heavy rains then put an end to further operations, and caused much disease among the troops. He wrote earnestly for reinforcements during the winter months of 1824-5, for in November 1824 he was besieged in Rangoon by the ablest Burmese chief, Maha Bundoola. He was joined by the 47th regiment and two brigades of sepoys, and after storming the stockade of Kokein on 16 Dec., he left Rangoon on 11 Feb. 1825 and marched along the banks of the Irrawaddy towards Prome, accompanied by about forty gunboats under Commodore Chads and Captain Marryat. On 7 March the advanced brigades, under Brigadier-general Cotton, were utterly defeated in an attack on the stockades of Donabaw, but Campbell at once moved to the front, and directed a fresh attack on 1 April, which was entirely successful, and Maha Bundoola was killed. He entered Prome on 5 May 1825 and established his headquarters there for the rainy season, and again lost no less than one-seventh of his forces between May and September. Towards the close of the rainy season Campbell, who had been pro-



moted major-general on 27 May 1825 for his services, prepared to advance from Prome on Ava, the capital of Burma, when Burmese envoys came into Prome and asked for terms. Campbell, who had been specially entrusted by Lord Amherst with the political as well as the military conduct of the campaign, announced that peace would only be granted on terms which were rejected, and Campbell again advanced. An assault upon the stockades of Wattee-Goung failed, and Brigadier-general Macdowall was killed on 16 Nov., but Campbell was again able to make up for the failures of his subordinates by storming the stockades on 26 Nov. On his approach towards the capital the king of Burma sent envoys to his camp once more, and a truce was made on 26 Dec. But Campbell soon discovered that the negotiations were only intended to gain time, so he continued his advance on 2 Jan., and by storming Melloon, the last fortified place on the way to Ava, so frightened the king that he accepted the terms offered, and signed a treaty of peace at Yandaboo on 26 Feb. 1826. The successful termination of this war was received with enthusiasm in England and India. Campbell was made a G.C.B. on 26 Dec. 1826, voted a gold medal and an income of £1,000 a year by the court of directors, and thanked by the governor-general, Lord Amherst. For three years after his success he governed the ceded provinces of Burma, and acted as civil commissioner to the courts of Burma and Siam, but in 1829 he had to return to England from ill-health.

He was received with great distinction on his arrival; was on 30 Sept. 1831 created a baronet, and on 11 Nov. 1831 was granted special arms, and the motto 'Ava' by royal license. From 1831 to 1837 he filled the office of lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and was in the latter year nominated to command in chief in Canada if Sir John Colborne left the colony. In 1838 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1840 became colonel of the 62nd regiment; in August 1839 he was appointed commander-in-chief at Bombay, but had to refuse the appointment from ill-health, and on 6 Oct. 1843 he died at the age of 74. He married Helen, daughter of Sir John Macdonald of Garth, by whom he had a son, General Sir John Campbell (1816-1855) [q. v.]

[Royal Military Calendar; Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches; obituary notice in Colburn's United Service Magazine. For the Burmese War: Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, compiled and edited by H. H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1827; Snodgrass's Narrative of the Burmese War, London, 1827

Havelock's Memoir of the Three Campaigns of Major-general Sir A. Campbell's Army in Ava, Serampore, 1828; Wilson's Narrative of the Burmese War in 1824-6, London, 1852; and Doveton's Reminiscences of the Burmese War, 1824-5-6, London, 1852.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN**, second LORD CAMPBELL and first EARL OF ARGYLL (*d.* 1493), was the son of Archibald, second, but eldest, surviving son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, created Lord Campbell in 1445. He succeeded his grandfather in 1453. On the death of his father he was placed under the care of his uncle, Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, who concluded a match between him and Isabel Stewart, the eldest of the three daughters, and coheirresses of John, third lord of Lorne. Having acquired the principal part of the landed property of the two sisters of his wife, he exchanged certain lands in Perthshire for the lordship of Lorne with Walter, their uncle, on whom the lordship of Lorne, which stood limited to heirs male, had devolved. In 1457 he was created, by James II, Earl of Argyll. He was one of the commissioners for negotiating a truce with Edward IV of England, in 1463. In 1465 he was appointed, along with Lord Boyd, lord justiciary of Scotland on the south of the Forth, and after the flight of Lord Boyd to England he acted as sole justiciary. In 1474 he was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the treaty of alliance with Edward IV, by which James, prince of Scotland, was affianced to Cecily, youngest daughter of Edward. Early in 1483 he received the office of lord high chancellor of Scotland. He was one of the commissioners sent to France in 1484 to renew the ancient league with the crown, which was confirmed at Paris 9 July, and also one of the commissioners who concluded the pacification at Nottingham with Richard III, 21 Sept. of the same year. In 1487 he joined the conspiracy of the nobles against James III, and at the time of the murder of the king, after the battle of Sauchieburn, he was in England on an embassy to Henry VII. After the accession of James IV he was restored to the office of lord high chancellor. He died 10 May 1493. He had two sons and seven daughters. It is from him that the greatness of the house of Argyll properly dates. Besides the lordship of Lorne he also acquired that of Campbell and Castle Campbell in the parish of Dollar, and in 1481 he received a grant of many lands in Knapdale, along with the keeping of Castle Sweyn, which had formerly been held by the lords of the Isles. In the general political transactions of Scotland he acted a leading part,

and as regards the south-western highlands he laid the foundation of that unrivalled influence which the house of Argyll has enjoyed for many centuries.

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Rymer's Fœdera; Crawford's Officers of State, i. 43-7; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 88-9.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN**, third EARL OF ARGYLL (*d.* 1530), eldest son of Archibald, second earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Lennox, immediately after succeeding his father in 1513 was charged with the suppression of the insurrection of Lachlan Maclean of Dowart and other highland chiefs in support of Sir Donald of Lochalsh, whom they had proclaimed Lord of the Isles. By his powerful influence Argyll succeeded, without having recourse to arms, in inducing them to submit to the regent; but though even Sir Donald himself agreed to terms of reconciliation, this was only a feint to gain time. In 1517, by giving out that the 'lieutenantry' of the Isles had been bestowed on him by the regent, he secured the assistance of a number of chiefs, with whom he proceeded to ravage the lands which, according to his statement, had been committed to his protection. The deception could not be maintained, and finding that the chiefs had determined to deliver him up to the government he made his escape. It was principally through the representations of Argyll that the designs of Sir Donald had been defeated, and he now presented a petition that 'for the honour of the realm and the commonweal in time coming' he should receive a commission of 'lieutenantry' over all the Isles and adjacent mainland, with authority to receive into the king's favour all the men of the Isles who should make their submission to him, upon proper security being given by the delivery of hostages and otherwise; the last condition being made imperative, 'because the men of the Isles are fickle of mind, and set but little value upon their oaths and written obligations.' He also received express power to pursue the rebels with fire and sword, and to possess himself of Sir Donald's castle of Strone in Lochcarron. Sir Donald for some time not only succeeded in maintaining a following in the wilder fastnesses, but in 1518 took summary vengeance on MacIain of Ardnamurchan, one of the principal supporters of the government, by defeating and slaying him and his two sons at the Silver Craig in Morvern. Argyll thereupon advised that sentence of forfeiture should be passed against him, and on this being refused he

took a solemn protest before parliament that neither he nor his heirs should be liable for any mischiefs that might in future arise from rebellions in the Isles. The death of Sir Donald not long afterwards relieved Argyll from further anxiety on his account, and he took advantage of the interval of tranquillity which followed to extend his influence among the chiefs, and to promote the aggrandisement of his family and clan. These were the motives which, rather than that of loyalty to the government, had chiefly influenced his zeal in the suppression of rebellion. The authority of Argyll in the western highlands also greatly increased his general influence in Scotland, a fact sufficiently evidenced by his appointment, in February 1525, to be one of the governors of the kingdom after the retirement of the Duke of Albany to France. Several documents in the State Papers of England indicate that special efforts were made to 'separate' Argyll from the regent (*State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. iii. pt. ii. entry 3228), and render it probable that he was won 'with a sober thing of money' (entry 3339). He was intimately concerned in the scheme for the 'erection' of King James in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in 1526, and it was agreed that the earls of Angus, Argyll, and Erroll should each have the monarch in charge for a quarter of a year in succession. Angus had the charge for the first quarter, but at the end of it refused to give him up, 'quhillk causit great discord' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 10). After the escape of King James from Falkland in May 1528, where he had been kept in close confinement by Angus, Argyll joined him in Stirling, and accompanied him to Edinburgh as one of his most trusted counsellors. On 6 Dec. he received a charter for the barony of Abernethy, in Perthshire, forfeited by Angus. The same year he was appointed lieutenant of the borders and warden of the marches, and was entrusted with the task of suppressing the insurrection raised on the borders by Angus, whom he compelled to flee into England. Afterwards he received confirmation of the hereditary sheriffship of Argyllshire, and of the offices of justiciary of Scotland and master of the household, by which these offices became hereditary in his family. On 25 Oct. 1529 he had the renewal of the commission of lord justice-general of Scotland. On account of an insurrection in the south Isles, headed by Alexander of Isla and the Macleans, he demanded extraordinary powers from the king for the reduction of the Isles under the dominion of law; but James suspecting his purposes resolved to try con-

ciliatory measures, and while negotiations were in progress the Earl of Argyll died, in 1530. By his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of the third earl of Huntly, he left three sons and one daughter, the latter of whom was married to James, earl of Moray, natural son of James IV. He was succeeded in the earldom by his eldest son Archibald, fourth earl (*d.* 1558) [q. v.]

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Calendar of State Papers (Scottish Series), pp. 9, 12, 21, 23; State Papers, Reign of Henry VIII (Dom. Ser.), vol. iii. pt. ii.; *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences* (Bannatyne Club, 1833); Bishop Lesley's *History of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, 1830); Donald Gregory's *History of the Western Islands*; Douglas's *Scotch Peerage*, i. 90-1.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN**, sixth EARL OF ARGYLL (*d.* 1584), was the second son of Archibald, fourth earl of Argyll [q. v.], his mother being the earl's second wife, Margaret Graham, only daughter of William, third earl of Menteith. He succeeded to the estates and title on the death, in 1573, of his half-brother, Archibald, fifth earl of Argyll [q. v.], having previously to this been known as Sir Colin Campbell of Boquhan. After the death of his first wife, Janet, eldest daughter of Henry, first lord Methven, he married Agnes Keith, eldest daughter of William, fourth earl Marischal, and widow of the regent Moray. During the regency Moray had been entrusted with the custody of the queen's jewels, and his widow had thus come into possession of the famous diamond, 'the Great Harry' as it was called, which had been given to Mary as a wedding present by her father-in-law, King Henry of France, and which she, on her demission, had bequeathed to the Scottish crown as a memorial of herself. After her second marriage the lady, at the instance of Morton, had been summoned to deliver up the jewels belonging to the queen, and for not doing so the Earl and Countess of Argyll were, 3 Feb. 1573-4, 'put to the horn' (*Register of the Privy Council*, ii. 330). The countess appealed to parliament, and even sought the intervention of Elizabeth, but the result was that on 5 March 1574-5 the earl, in his own name and that of his wife, delivered up the jewels (*ib.* p. 435). The version of the story which represents the countess summoned as the fifth countess of Argyll, the half-sister of Moray, is erroneous, and had its origin in placing the death of the fifth earl in 1575 instead of in 1573. The circumstance, as was to be expected, caused a complete estrangement between Argyll and Morton, and other events soon happened to aggravate the quarrel. In virtue of his hereditary

office of justice-general of Scotland, Argyll claimed that a commission of justiciary, formerly given by Queen Mary to the Earl of Atholl over his own territory of Atholl, should be annulled. The question as to their jurisdictions had been raised by Atholl seizing a dependant of Argyll, who was charged with a crime committed on the territory of Atholl. To settle their differences the two earls were mustering their forces for an appeal to arms, when Morton interfered, and obliged them to disband, and it is also said that they learned that he meditated a charge of high treason against them for appearing in arms. In any case each had serious cause of resentment against Morton, and no sooner was their quarrel with each other suspended than they resolved to make common cause against him, and oust him from the regency. On the secret invitation of Alexander Erskine, the governor of the king and the commander of Stirling Castle, Argyll appeared suddenly at Stirling, 4 March 1577-8, and, being admitted to an interview with the young king, complained to him of the overbearing and insolent behaviour of Morton to the other nobles, and implored him to appoint a convention to examine their grievances, and, if he found them true, to take the government on himself. Afterwards he was joined by Atholl and other nobles, who, as well as George Buchanan [q. v.], the king's tutor, gave strong expression to similar views. The result was that at a convention of the nobles the king was unanimously advised to take the government on himself, and Morton, seeing resistance vain, publicly, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, resigned with seeming cheerfulness the ensigns of his authority. Argyll was then appointed one of the council to direct the king, but while he was in charge of him at Stirling Castle the Earl of Mar, at the instance of Morton, suddenly, at five of the morning of 20 April, appeared before it and surprised the garrison. An agreement was shortly afterwards come to between Argyll, Atholl, and Morton that they should repair together to Stirling and adjust their differences, but after they had reached Edinburgh together, Morton, starting before day-break, galloped to Stirling and again resumed his ascendancy over the king. At the instance of Morton a parliament was then summoned to be held in the great hall of Stirling, upon which Argyll, Atholl, and their adherents, after protesting that a parliament held within an armed fortress could not be called free, and refusing therefore to attend it, occupied Edinburgh, whence they sent out summonses to their vassals to assemble in defence of the liberties of the king. With

a force of a thousand men they marched to the rendezvous at Falkirk, where their supporters mustered nine thousand strong. By the mediation of Sir Robert Bowes [q. v.], the English ambassador, the conflict was, however, averted, and an agreement entered into which, for the time being, proved acceptable to both parties. On 10 Aug. 1579, shortly after the death of Atholl, Argyll was appointed lord high chancellor. On 26 April 1580 Argyll and Morton were reconciled (CALDERWOOD, *History*, iii. 462) by the king, but enmity still lurked between them, and Argyll was one of the jury who brought in a verdict against Morton, 1 June 1581, for the murder of Darnley. Though he took part in the raid of Ruthven, at which the person of the king was seized by the protestant nobles, Argyll also joined the plot, 24 June 1583, for his restoration to liberty. He died in October 1584. By his first wife he had no issue, but by his second he had two sons, of whom the elder, Archibald, seventh earl [q. v.], succeeded him in the earldom, and the second, Colin, was created a baronet in 1627.

[Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii.; Calendar State Papers, Scottish Series, vol. i.; Inventaires de la Roynie Descoesse Douairière de France (Bannatyne Club, 1863); Registrum Honoris de Morton (Bannatyne Club, 1853); Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Society), vols. iii. and iv.; Historie of King James the Sext (Bannatyne Club, 1825); Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 93; Crawford's Officers of State, 136-7; the Histories of Tytler and Hill Burton.] T. F. II.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN** (1644-1726), Scottish divine, was the younger son of Patrick Campbell of Invergeldies (called Patrick Dubh Beg, i.e. 'Little Black'), ancestor of the Barcaldine family, and descended from Sir Duncan Campbell, first baronet of Glenorchy, of the noble house of Breadalbane. He was born in 1644, studied at St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, and afterwards accompanied his relative, John, first earl of Breadalbane [q. v.], to one of the English universities. In June 1667 he was admitted minister of the parish of Ardehatten and Muchairn. On 12 Jan. 1676 he was suspended from the ministry, on the charge of ante-nuptial intercourse; but on 8 March following a letter from the Bishop of Ross gave permission for his readmission. At the Revolution he conformed, and he continued in the active discharge of his parochial duties till his death on 13 March 1726, in the fifty-ninth year of his ministry, after he had been for some time the father of the church. Campbell had the reputation of being one of the most profound mathematicians and astronomers of his day, and

was a correspondent of Sir Isaac Newton, who said of him, in a letter to Professor Gregory, 'I see that were he among us he would make children of us all.' Several letters to Campbell from Professor Gregory, written in 1672 and 1673, annotated by Professor Wallace, have been published in vol. iii. of the 'Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland.' He wrote some Latin verses prefixed to the Rev. Daniel Campbell's 'Frequent and Devout Communicant,' 1703; and to another work by the same author, published in 1719, he contributed 'A Brief Demonstration of the Existence of God against the Atheists, and of the Immortality of Man's Soul.' This treatise, with another entitled the 'Trinity of Persons in the Unity of Essence,' was printed for private circulation at Edinburgh in 1876. In the former three chief heads and several subordinate ones are made to converge in demonstrating the necessity in the rational nature of a Being without beginning, boundless and uncompounded; the second seeks to prove the natural necessity for a Trinity in the unity of the already demonstrated Divine Being. Campbell's manuscripts and correspondence, formerly in the possession of his descendant, John Gregorson of Ardtornish, are now deposited in the library of the university of Edinburgh.

[Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot. iii. 62-5; Good Words for 1877, pp. 33-8.] T. F. II.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN** (d. 1729), architect, was a native of Scotland. Of his birth-place, parentage, or education, we can recover no particulars. The best of his works was Wanstead House, Essex, built about 1715-20, and pulled down in 1822. Its sumptuousness greatly impressed contemporary critics, by whom it was pronounced 'one of the noblest houses, not only in England, but in Europe.' It was of Portland stone, with a front extending 260 feet in length, in depth 70 feet, and had in the centre a Corinthian portico of six columns, 3 feet in diameter. The wings which Campbell designed were not added. Campbell also built the Rolls House in Chancery Lane, 1717-18; Mereworth in Kent, an imitation from Palladio of the celebrated Villa Capri, near Vicenza, completed in 1723; Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, 'a poor mixture of the classic and grotesque,' and other mansions. By his patron, Lord Burlington, he was entrusted with the latter's designs for the improvement of his house in Piccadilly, and, if his own statement in the 'Vitruvius Britannicus' is worthy of credit, designed himself the centre gateway, the principal feature in the façade, in 1717. He

was appointed architect to the **Prince of Wales** in 1725, and in the following year surveyor of the works of Greenwich Hospital.

Campbell died at his residence in Whitehall on 13 Sept. 1729, leaving no issue (*Hist. Reg.* 1729, p. 53; *Probate Act Book*, 1729). His will, as of Whitehall in the county of Middlesex, dated 16 Jan. 1721, was proved by his relict Jane on 18 Sept. 1729 (*Reg. in P. C. C.* 243, Abbott). His widow died in the parish of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, London, in February 1738 (*Will reg. in P. C. C.* 32, Brodrepp). Campbell's 'least pretentious designs are the best, his attempts at originality leading him into inharmonious combinations' (REDGRAVE, *Dictionary of Artists*, 1878, pp. 68-9). Acting upon a hint received from Lord Burlington, he published three useful volumes of three hundred illustrations of English buildings, with the title, 'Vitruvius Britannicus: or the British Architect; containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular Buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with a variety of New Designs,' folio, London, 1717-25. Of this work another edition, with a continuation by John Woolfe and James Gandon, both architects of repute, was published at London in five folio volumes, 1767-71. Shortly before his death Campbell was announced (*Present State of the Republic of Letters*, iii. 229) as being engaged upon the revision of an English edition of Palladio's 'I quattro Libri dell'Architettura,' but we do not find that it ever appeared.

[Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painters* (Wornum), ii. 696.] G. G.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN** (d. 1782), of Kilberry, major of 100th foot, obtained an unenviable notoriety in consequence of a fatal assault committed by him on Captain John McKaarg, a brother officer, while stationed at the island of Martinico in 1762. The cause of difference is said to have originated at Jersey, where Campbell, at that time major-commandant of the 100th foot, was obliged to take the payment of McKaarg's company out of his hands, owing to the latter's pecuniary difficulties. On the arrival of the regiment at Martinico, McKaarg took every opportunity of vilifying Campbell, who demanded in writing an explanation. McKaarg replied in a curt letter. Campbell immediately proceeded to McKaarg's tent armed with a bayonet and a small-sword, and demanded satisfaction. McKaarg, having a broad sword only, endeavoured to evade a meeting. Thereupon Campbell struck him several times with his sword. McKaarg was

compelled by his antagonist to beg for his life, and immediately expired. He had received eleven wounds, two of which were mortal. Campbell was arrested, and on 6 April 1762 was tried for murder by a general court-martial held at Fort Royal. He endeavoured to prove that McKaarg had fallen in a fair duel. On 14 April the court adjudged Campbell to be cashiered, and declared him incapable of serving his majesty in any military employment whatsoever.

Pending the king's consideration of the sentence, Campbell escaped from the island. Owing to some informalities the proceedings were not confirmed, but he was immediately dismissed from the army. On his return to England Campbell presented a memorial to the secretary-at-war, charging Major-general the Hon. Robert Monckton, who commanded in the island of Martinico, 'with many wrongs and deliberate acts of oppression.' A general court-martial was, in consequence, held at the judge advocate-general's office, at the Horse Guards, in April 1764, and Monckton was honourably acquitted. The relatives of Captain McKaarg subsequently brought an action of assytlment against Campbell, and ultimately damages to the extent of 200*l.* were awarded to them. Campbell chiefly resided in Edinburgh, where he attracted notice by his foppery, and was well known as an antiquated old beau. In the summer he visited Buxton and the other fashionable watering-places of the day. He died unmarried at Edinburgh in 1782, and his estate at Kilberry in Argyllshire descended to his nephew. An excellent portrait of Campbell will be found in Kay, ii. No. 172.

[Kay's *Original Portrait and Caricature Etchings* (1877), ii. 5-7; Proceedings of a General Court-martial held at Fort Royal, in the Island of Martinico, upon the Tryal of Major-commandant Colin Campbell (1763); *The Case of Colin Campbell, Esq., late Major-commandant of His Majesty's 100th Regiment* (1763); Proceedings of a General Court-martial held at the Judge-advocate's Office for a Trial of a Charge preferred by Colin Campbell, Esq., against the Hon. Major-general Monckton, 1764.] G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN** (1754-1814), general, second son of John Campbell of the Citadel, deputy-keeper of the great seal of Scotland, was born in 1754. He entered the army as an ensign in the 71st regiment in March 1771, and was promoted lieutenant in 1774. He accompanied the 71st to America; was promoted captain in 1778 and major into the 6th on 19 March 1783. While stationed in New York he married Mary, eldest daughter of Colonel Guy Johnstone,

who lost most of his property by remaining a sturdy loyalist. In 1786 his regiment was ordered to Nova Scotia, and remained there until the outbreak of the war with France, when it formed part of Sir Charles Grey's expedition to the West Indies, and distinguished itself both at Martinique and Guadeloupe. Campbell was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the 6th on 29 April 1795, and returned from the West Indies in July. In February 1796 he was ordered with his regiment to Ireland, where he was actively employed till 1803, and gained his reputation. Throughout 1798 he was employed in putting down the various attempts at rebellion in his neighbourhood, in which he was uniformly successful; he made it a rule never to separate his companies. He was present at the battle of Vinegar Hill and the defeat of the French at Ballynahinch. On 1 Jan. 1798 he was promoted colonel, and on 1 Jan. 1805 he was promoted major-general and given the command of the Limerick district. In January 1811 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar (the Duke of Kent being the nominal governor) at the most critical period of the Peninsular war. During Soult's occupation of Andalusia he insisted on keeping Gibraltar well garrisoned, even in spite of Wellington's repeated requisitions; he insisted on regarding Tarifa as an integral part of his Gibraltar command, and thus deprived Soult of a port to which he could import supplies from Morocco; he did all in his power to help the armies in Spain with supplies, in spite of perpetual hindrances from the Spanish junta and even of Wellington himself, who at last did him full justice. Napier speaks conclusively as to the importance of his work (NAPIER, *Peninsular War*, book x. chap. v. and xv. chap. v.) Campbell was promoted lieutenant-general on 4 June 1811, but he died at Gibraltar on 2 April 1814. His son, Colonel Guy Campbell, C.B. [q. v.], who was wounded at Echalar, and commanded the 6th, his father's old regiment, at the battle of Waterloo, was created a baronet on 22 May 1815, with remainder to the heirs male of General Colin Campbell, in recognition of his father's eminent services.

[Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, for which he was allowed to consult General Campbell's manuscripts, and made great use of them; Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches; Historical Record of the 6th Regiment.]

H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR COLIN** (1776-1847), general, fifth son of John Campbell of Melfort, by Colina, daughter of John Campbell of Auchalader, was born in 1776. From his boyhood he gave evidence of a daring

disposition, and in 1792, at the age of sixteen, he ran away from the Perth Academy, and entered himself on a ship bound for the West Indies. He was met in the fruit market at Kingston in Jamaica by his brother (afterwards Admiral Sir) Patrick Campbell, then serving on H.M.S. Blonde, who brought him home. His parents yielded to his wishes, and in 1793 he became a midshipman on board an East Indiaman and made one or two voyages. In February 1795 he became a lieutenant in the 3rd battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles, then commanded by his uncle; on 3 Oct. 1799 entered a West India regiment as ensign, and in 1800 acted as brigade-major in the island of St. Vincent. On 21 Aug. 1801 he was gazetted a lieutenant in the 35th regiment, and at once exchanged into the 78th or Ross-shire Buffs, which was then stationed in India. He joined his new regiment at Poona, accompanied Wellesley's advance against the Maharajah Scindia and the Rajah of Nagpore, and so greatly distinguished himself by leading the flank companies at the storming of the 'pettah' or inner fortress of Ahmednuggur on 8 Aug. 1803 that Wellesley at once appointed him brigade-major. In this capacity he served at the battles of Assaye, where he was severely wounded and had two horses killed under him, at Argaum, and at the storming of Guzzulgaum. On leaving India Wellesley strongly recommended Campbell to Lord Wellesley, who made him his aide-de-camp, and to Lake, who, on 9 Jan. 1805, gave him a company in the 75th Highlanders. He returned to England with Lord Wellesley in 1806, and Sir Arthur Wellesley at once asked that he should be appointed brigade-major to his brigade, then stationed at Hastings. As brigade-major he accompanied Wellesley to Hanover and to Denmark, when his services at the battle of Kioge were conspicuous. In 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed him his senior aide-de-camp, when he took command of the expeditionary force destined for Portugal, and sent him home with the despatches announcing the victory at Rolica on 17 Aug. Campbell, however, wind-bound and hearing the guns, disembarked, and was present at Vimeiro. Sir Harry Burrard then gave him the Vimeiro despatch, and Campbell was promoted a major in the army by brevet on 2 Sept. 1808, and major of the 70th regiment on 15 Dec. 1808. On the same day he was appointed an assistant adjutant-general to a division of the reinforcements intended for the Peninsula. He was present at the passage of the Douro, at Talavera, and at Busaco, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel by brevet on 3 May 1810. He was frequently en-

gaged during the pursuit of Masséna and was present at Fuentes de Onoro. He obtained the post of assistant quartermaster-general at the headquarters of the army in the Peninsula, at Wellington's special request, in the spring of 1812, and acted in that capacity till the end of the Peninsular war, doing much, it is said, to smooth Wellington's relations with the quartermaster-general, George Murray. He was present at the storming of Badajoz and in nine general actions, for which he received a cross and six clasps. On 4 June 1814 he was promoted colonel in the army by brevet, and on 25 July made a captain and lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstream guards. He was also appointed assistant quartermaster-general at the Horse Guards, and made a K.C.B., and a knight of the Tower and Sword of Portugal. In 1815 he was attached to the staff of the Duke of Wellington, as commandant at headquarters, and was present at the battle of Waterloo; he held the post throughout Wellington's residence at Paris, from 1815-18. He then exchanged his company in the guards for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 65th regiment, which he held until he was promoted major-general in 1825. He held the command of the southern district for some years, and in 1833 was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. In 1839 he was promoted from this colonial governorship to that of Ceylon, where he remained from September 1839 to June 1847. It was during his tenure of the latter office that the Duke of Wellington, to whose faithful friendship he owed so much, wrote to him: 'We are both growing old; God knows if we shall ever meet again. Happen what may, I shall never forget our first meeting under the walls of Ahmednuggur.' In June 1847 he returned to England, and on 13 June he died at the age of 71, and was buried in the church of St. James's, Piccadilly.

[The only full memoir of Sir Colin Campbell is to be found in *A Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort* (pp. 21-6), by M. O. C. (Margaret Olympia Campbell), London, 1882; some additional information has been obtained from his son, Melfort Campbell, colonial treasurer, Gibraltar.] H. M. S.

sion in the army, in 1807. The commander-in-chief cried out, 'What, another of the clan!' and a note was made of his name as Colin Campbell, and when the boy was about to protest, his uncle checked him and told him that Campbell was a good name to fight under. On 26 May 1808 he was gazetted an ensign in the 9th regiment, and sailed with the 2nd battalion of that regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel John Cameron, for Portugal, with the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley. He was first under fire at the battle of Roliça, and was subsequently present at Vimeiro, and then served with his regiment in Sir John Moore's advance to Salamanca, and the retreat to Corunna. He served with the first battalion of the 9th regiment in the expedition to Walcheren, where he was attacked with the fever of the district, which troubled him all through his life, and in 1810 joined the 2nd battalion of his regiment at Gibraltar. He had been promoted lieutenant on 28 Jan. 1809, and commanded the two flank companies of the 9th at the battle of Barossa, where his gallantry attracted the notice of General Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch, who never forgot him. He was then attached by Lieutenant-general Colin Campbell to the Spanish army under Ballesteros, and served with the Spaniards until December 1811, when he rejoined the 2nd battalion of his regiment in time to share in the glorious defence of Tarifa. In January 1813 he joined the 1st battalion of the 9th, under the command of his old chief, Colonel John Cameron [q. v.]. His regiment formed part of Graham's corps, in which Campbell served at the battle of Vittoria and the siege of San Sebastian. On 17 July 1813 Campbell led the right wing of his regiment in the attack on the fortified convent of San Bartholomé, and was mentioned in despatches, and on 25 July he led the forlorn hope in the unsuccessful attempt to storm the fortress itself. 'It was in vain,' says Napier, 'that Lieutenant Campbell, breaking through the tumultuous crowd with the survivors of his chosen detachment, mounted the ruins—twice he ascended, twice he was wounded, and all around him died' (*Peninsular War*, book xxi. ch. iii.) For his gallant conduct Campbell was recommended for promotion by Sir Thomas Graham, and on 9 Nov. 1813 he was gazetted to a company without purchase in the 60th rifles. Before, however, he left the 9th, Campbell again distinguished himself. He left his quarters in San Sebastian before his wounds were healed or the doctors gave him leave, and headed the night attack of his regiment

✓ **CAMPBELL, SIR COLIN, LORD CLYDE** (1792-1863), field marshal, eldest son of Colin MacIver, a carpenter in Glasgow, and Agnes Campbell, of the family of the Campbells of Islay, was born at Glasgow on 20 Oct. 1792. He was educated at the expense of his mother's brother, Colonel John Campbell, and was by him introduced to the Duke of York, as a candidate for a commis-



on the batteries on the French side of the Bidassoa after fording that river, and was again seriously wounded. Colonel Cameron severely reprimanded him for leaving his quarters without leave, but on account of his gallantry did not report his disobedience. His wounds and his promotion made it necessary for him to leave the army, and he reached England in December 1813, when he was awarded a pension of 100*l.* a year for his wounds, and ordered to join the 7th battalion of the 60th rifles in Nova Scotia.

Campbell had fought his way to the rank of captain in five years; it was nearly thirty before he attained that of colonel. He spent the years 1815 and 1816 on the Riviera on leave, and joined the 5th battalion 60th rifles at Gibraltar in November 1816. In 1818 he was transferred to the 21st regiment, or royal Scotch fusiliers, which he joined at Barbadoes in April 1819. In 1821 he went on the staff as aide-de-camp to General Murray, the governor of British Guiana, and as brigade-major to the troops at Demerara, and was continued in the same double capacity by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who succeeded Murray in 1823. In 1825 an opportunity occurred for him to purchase his majority, and a generous friend in Barbadoes lent him the requisite sum. On 26 Nov. 1825 he was gazetted major, and in the following year resigned his staff appointment and returned to England. His gallantry at San Sebastian had assured him powerful friends at headquarters: his former commanders, Sir John Cameron and Lord Lynedoch, never forgot him, while Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Fitzroy Somerset remembered his former services; and on 26 Oct. 1832 he was promoted to an unattached lieutenant-colonelcy on payment of 1,300*l.* Out of his scanty pay he contrived to support his family, but meanwhile continued to solicit the command of a regiment. In 1832 he went to the continent and watched the siege of Antwerp, of which he sent valuable reports home. At last, in 1835, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of his old regiment, the 9th, on condition that he should at once exchange to the 98th, of which he assumed the command on its return from the Cape in 1837. For some years he commanded that regiment in garrison in the north of England, and got it into such a state of efficiency as to win repeated encomiums from the general commanding the northern district, Sir Charles Napier. In 1841 Campbell was ordered to proceed to China with the 98th to reinforce the army there under Sir Hugh Gough. He reached Hong Kong on 2 June 1842, joined Sir Hugh Gough's army in North China, and was attached to Lord Saltoun's brigade. He

covered the attack on Chin-keang-foo, and co-operated in the march on Nankin. At the peace his regiment, decimated by fever, was ordered to Hong Kong, where Campbell assumed the command of the troops. He was most favourably mentioned in despatches by the general, who had known him in the Peninsula, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the queen and promoted colonel, and made a C.B. In January 1844 he was made a brigadier-general, and took over the command of the brigade in Chusan from Major-general Sir James Schoedde, K.C.B. He remained at Chusan till 25 July 1846, and reached Calcutta on 24 Oct. 1846 at the head of his regiment.

Soon after his arrival in India, in January 1847, he was appointed to the command of the brigade at Lahore, and there made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Lawrence, the commissioner, whose intimate friend he became. Upon the insurrection of Moolraj and the siege of Mooltan Campbell advocated prompt measures, and was bitterly disappointed when he was not allowed to serve in the relief of the besieged fortress. At the close of the year he was appointed to the command of a division by Lord Gough, and offered the post of adjutant-general to the forces, which he refused owing to his earnest desire to return to England on the conclusion of the war. His services in the second Sikh war were most conspicuous; he covered the rout of the cavalry at Ramnuggur, and by a forward movement prevented the Sikhs from following up their first success at Chillianwallah. He commanded the right wing and the pursuit at the crowning victory of Goojerat. He commanded a brigade in Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert's pursuit of the Afghans, and afterwards received the command of the brigade at Rawul Pindi, and of the frontier division stationed at Peshawur. His services in the second Sikh war were recognised by his being made a K.C.B. in 1849. The great wish in Campbell's mind seems at this time to have been to retire and return to England, for he was now in a situation to save his family from any privation. 'I am growing old and only fit for retirement,' he wrote in his journal on 20 Oct. 1849 (SHADWELL, *Life of Lord Clyde*, i. 239). The earnest requests of Lord Dalhousie and Sir Charles Napier, however, prevailed on him to remain, and he spent three years in the harassing work of a frontier post. In February 1850 he cleared the Kohat pass of the wild tribes which infested it, with a loss of nineteen killed and seventy-four wounded. In February 1852 he proceeded in command of a force of two guns and 260 sowars against

the Momunds, and utterly defeated Sadut Khan, their leader, at Panj Pao on 15 April. In the following month he was ordered to punish the Swat tribes, and advanced into the mountains with more than 2,500 men and seven guns, and after many able operations and several engagements defeated over six thousand of them at Iskakote on 18 May 1852. He desired to follow up his victory, but the government refused to allow him to summon up the 22nd regiment to his assistance, and he had to return to Peshawur with his object unattained on 1 June, and resigned his command on 25 July. In March 1853 he reached England after an absence of twelve years, and at once went on half-pay, and took a year's holiday in visiting his many friends, including his 'fellow-criminal,' Sir Charles Napier.

On 11 Feb. 1854 Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief, offered him the command of one of the two brigades which it was at that time intended to send to the East. Campbell at once accepted, but by the time he reached Turkey the intended division had grown into an army, and he was posted to the command of the 2nd or Highland brigade of the 1st division, under the command of the Duke of Cambridge, consisting of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders. On 20 June 1854, while he was at Varna, he was promoted major-general. 'This rank,' he wrote in his journal, 'has arrived at a period of life when the small additional income which it carries with it is the only circumstance connected with the promotion in which I take any interest' (SHADWELL, *Life of Lord Clyde*, i. 319). At the head of his brigade he landed in the Crimea, and he it was who really won the victory of the Alma. He led his brigade steadily against the redoubt which had been retaken by the enemy after being carried by the light division, and with his highlanders in line overthrew the last compact columns of the Russians. His horse had been shot under him, and he had won the victory, but the only reward he asked was leave to wear the highland bonnet instead of the cocked hat of a general officer. When the army encamped before Sebastopol, Campbell was appointed commandant at Balacclava. At home his services were recognised by his being made colonel of the 67th regiment on 24 Oct. 1854. As commandant at Balacclava he directed the famous repulse of the Russian infantry column by the 93rd Highlanders, but he was not engaged at Inkerman. In December 1854 he assumed the command of the first division, consisting of the guards and highland brigades, when the Duke of Cambridge returned to England,

and encamped them around Balacclava, and continued to command at Balacclava and to do all in his power for the comfort of the army during the trying winter season. He received continual thanks for his services from Lord Raglan, at whose request he did not press for the command of the expedition to Kertch in May 1855, and he was made a G.C.B. on 5 July 1855. On 16 June 1855 he led the 1st division up to the front, and commanded the reserve at the storming of the Redan on 8 Sept. But his position had ceased to be a pleasant one. Lord Panmure first proposed that he should undertake the government of Malta, and then that he should serve under Codrington, his junior, who had never seen a shot fired until the battle of the Alma. This was too much for the veteran, and on 3 Nov. he left the Crimea on leave. Personal interviews with the queen, however, softened his resentment, and on 4 June 1856 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and again went to the Crimea to take command of a corps d'armée under Codrington. The latter would not organise the corps, and Campbell only commanded the highland division for a month, and then returned to England. He received many tokens of recognition for his services. He was made a grand officer of the Legion of Honour, a knight grand cross of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and a knight of the first class of the order of the Medjidie. He received a sword of honour from Glasgow, his native city, and was made an honorary D.C.L. by the university of Oxford.

In July 1856 Campbell assumed the command of the south-eastern district, and in September was appointed inspector-general of infantry. In December 1856 he was charged with the honour of going to Berlin to invest the Crown Prince of Germany, afterwards the Emperor of Germany, with the grand cross of the Bath. In March 1857 he was offered the command of the expedition then forming for China, which he refused. On 11 July arrived the news of the outbreak of the mutiny of the sepoys in India, and the death of General Anson, the commander-in-chief in India. On the same day Lord Palmerston sent for Campbell and offered him the command-in-chief. He accepted the position, and started the next day for India. He arrived at Calcutta in August, and heard at once the news of the recovery of Delhi by Major-general Archdale Wilson, of the capture of Cawnpore by Havelock, and his great preparations for the first relief of Lucknow. Campbell hurried up to Cawnpore the troops intended for the China expedition, which Lord Elgin [see BRUCE, JAMES] had wisely

sent to Calcutta, and assembled there also certain picked troops from the army which had taken Delhi, and after two months of terribly hard work in organising the troops and clearing Lower Bengal, he assumed the command of the army at the Alumbagh, and, leaving General Windham to hold Cawnpore, started with 4,700 men and 32 guns to save Lucknow on 9 Nov. The army consisted entirely of European troops, with the exception of two Sikh regiments, and fought its way step by step to the residency of Lucknow. On 14 Nov. the Dilkosha Palace was stormed, and on 16 Nov. the Secunder Bagh, and on 19 Nov. Campbell was able to concert further measures with Outram and Havelock. The operation of conveying four hundred women and children with more than a thousand sick and wounded men was one of immense difficulty, but was skilfully performed, and on 30 Nov. Campbell reached Cawnpore and was enabled to send off those whom he had rescued on steamers to Calcutta. Meanwhile his success had been endangered by the defeat of General Windham in front of Cawnpore, but he arrived in time to prevent a further disaster, and established his headquarters there. The winter months abounded in minor operations, all of which bore the trace of the guiding mind of Campbell, who, however, made up his mind that a thorough reduction of the mutineers in Oude must be the first great step towards re-establishing British ascendancy. By March 1858 he had assembled 25,000 men for this purpose, and then began a campaign second only in interest to that of the preceding November. After ten days' hard fighting he finally reduced Lucknow on 19 March, and then by a series of masterly operations in Oude and Rohilkund restored entire peace in the north of India by the month of May. He then paused in his own personal exertions from ill-health; but it was owing to his careful organisation that Sir Hugh Rose was able to muster an adequate army for the campaign in central India, and to his combinations that the campaign was finally successful. Rewards were showered upon him. On 14 May 1858 he was promoted general; on 15 Jan. 1858 he was made colonel of his favourite regiment, the 93rd Highlanders; in June 1858, on the foundation of the order, he was made a K.S.I.; and on 3 July 1858 he was elevated to the peerage as Lord Clyde of Clydesdale. But his health was failing, and he felt it impossible to remain long at his post, and on 4 June 1860 he left India, where he had won so much glory, amidst every sign of regret.

The last few years of Lord Clyde's life abounded in honours. One of the last acts

of the old East India Company was to vote him a pension of 2,000*l.* a year; in July 1860 he was appointed colonel of the Coldstream guards, in the place of Sir John Byng, Lord Strafford; and on 9 Nov. 1862 he was made a field marshal. In December 1860 he was presented with the freedom of the city of London; in 1861 he represented the Horse Guards at the Prussian manoeuvres; and in April 1862 he commanded at the Easter volunteer review. Solaced in his last days by the respect of the whole people and the love of his family, the great soldier of fortune, who had saved the British empire in India, died on 14 Aug. 1863, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 22nd. A great soldier and a great general, Lord Clyde has made a reputation in the military history of England absolutely unrivalled in the records of the middle of the nineteenth century.

[Shadwell's *Life of Lord Clyde*, 1881; Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*; Kaye's and Malletson's *History of the Mutiny*; Russell's *Diary in India*, and all books treating of the history of the Indian Mutiny.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, DANIEL** (more correctly Donald) (1665-1722), Scotch divine, only son of Patrick Campbell of Quaycrook, Caithness, was born 1 Aug. 1665. On 15 July 1686 he graduated as M.A. in the university and King's College of Aberdeen, and thereafter studied divinity at Edinburgh (?). On 31 Dec. 1691 he was ordained minister of the parish of Glassary in Argyllshire. Of the forty-two who subscribed his call twenty-two were Campbells. In 1692 he married Jean, daughter of Patrick Campbell, minister of Glenary, and had issue several daughters, who all married in the county, and one son, James, afterwards minister of Kilbrandon. Campbell's father died in 1705, and he thereupon sold the Caithness property. The family had previously acquired the estate of Duchernan in Glassary, and they were henceforth designated by it till 1800, when it passed into other hands. The manse of Glassary was chiefly constructed at Campbell's expense. It was one of the first in Argyllshire, and was renowned for its 'nineteen windows.' Campbell died 28 March 1722. He was the author of several devotional works, of which one at least was very widely popular. This was '*Sacramental Meditations on the Sufferings and Death of Christ*' (Edinburgh, 1698). It is announced as 'the substance of some sermons preached before the communion in the Irish language in *Kilmichael, of Glasrie*' (title-page). This treatise went through a great many editions during the next hundred and twenty years. A Gaelic translation by

'D. Macphairlain, A.M.,' was published at Perth in 1800.

Campbell also wrote: 1. 'The Frequent and Devout Communicant;' to this is appended 'A Dialogue between a private Christian and a Minister of the Gospel concerning preparation for the Lord's Supper,' 1703. 2. 'Meditations on Death,' 1718 (reprinted Glasgow, 1741). 3. 'Dæmonomachie, or War with the Devil, in a short treatise by way of dialogue between Philander and Theophilus,' 1718. 4. 'Man's Chief End and Rule; the substance of Catechetical Sermons on the first three questions of the Shorter Catechism,' 1719; a continuation of this was announced, but apparently never published. 5. 'Meditations on Eternity,' Edinburgh, 1721. 6. Three manuscript volumes of sermons.

[Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scotiæ*, iii. 8, Edinburgh, 1870; Notes and Queries, 27 Aug. 1864, pp. 171-2; Brit. Mus. Cat.] F. W.-T.

**CAMPBELL, DANIEL** or **DONALD** (1671?-1753), of Shawfield and Islay, Glasgow merchant and member of parliament, was the eldest son of Walter Campbell of Skipnish, and was born about 1671. In many books of reference he is stated to have been born in 1696 and to have died in 1777, the former date being that of his son John Campbell's birth, and the latter that of his grandson Daniel Campbell's death. He was very successful as a merchant, and in 1707 purchased the estate of Shawfield or Schawfield from Sir James Hamilton. He also became possessed of the valuable estate of Woodhall. He represented Inverary in the Scottish parliament from 1702 till the union, and was one of the commissioners who signed the treaty. He also sat in the first parliament of Great Britain, 1707-8, and represented the Glasgow burghs from 1716 to 1734. In 1711 he built, for his town residence in Glasgow, Shawfield mansion, which became famous in connection with the Shawfield riots in 1725. Campbell had voted for the imposition of the malt tax in Scotland, and on this account the mob, after taking possession of the city and preventing the officers of excise from collecting it, proceeded to the Shawfield mansion and completely demolished the interior. The provost and magistrates were arrested on the ground of having favoured the mob, and Campbell received 9,000*l.* from the city as compensation for the damages caused by the riot. Soon afterwards he purchased the island of Islay, the sum obtained from the city forming a large part of the money paid for it. He died 8 June 1753, aged 82. By his first marriage to Margaret Leckie he had three sons and three

daughters, and by his second to Catherine Denham one daughter.

[Glasgow Past and Present, iii. 473-85; Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, 2nd edit. (1878), p. 233; Foster's *Members of the Scottish Parliament*, p. 50.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, DONALD** (d. 1562), abbot of Cupar (Coupar) Angus, and bishop-elect of Brechin, was the fourth and youngest son of Archibald, second earl of Argyll [q. v.], by his wife, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Lennox. He was appointed abbot of Cupar on 18 June 1526, and in this capacity was present at the parliaments held by James V in 1532, 1535, 1540, and 1541. On 15 March 1543 he was chosen a member of the privy council to the Earl of Arran, and on 14 Aug. 1546 one of the lords of the articles. He was again nominated a privy councillor on 18 March 1547, and elected one of the lords of the articles on 12 April 1554. He held the office of privy seal under the Earl of Arran, and it is supposed retained it till his death. On 2 July 1541 he was nominated by James V one of the senators of the College of Justice. In 1559 he was nominated to the see of Brechin, but the pope refused to confirm it on account of the abbot's inclination towards the new doctrines, and he never assumed the title. He was present at the convention of estates on 1 Aug. 1560, when acts were passed ratifying the new 'confession of faith,' annulling the authority of the pope, and prohibiting the hearing of mass, but did not accept any post under the new system of ecclesiastical government. He died shortly before 20 Dec. 1562. He is said to have left five illegitimate sons, to each of whom he gave an estate.

[Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii.; Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, p. 165; Haig and Brunton's *Senators of the College of Justice*, pp. 69-70; Rogers's *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar Angus*, i. 100-13.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, DONALD** (1751-1804), of Barbreck, Indian traveller, published at London in 1795 'A Journey over land to India . . . by Donald Campbell of Barbreck, who formerly commanded a regiment of cavalry in the service of the Nabob of the Carnatic: in a series of letters to his son.' The journey was made by way of Belgium, the Tyrol, Venice, Alexandria, Aleppo, Diyarbekr, Mosul, Baghdad, Bushire, Bombay, and Goa, about all which places and others on the route the traveller has something to say. He suffered shipwreck in the Indian Ocean, and was made prisoner by Hyder Ali, but subsequently released. The book enjoyed

much popularity. A new edition appeared in 1796, in 4to, like the first, and in the same year an abridged version was published, in 8vo, with the title 'Narrative of Adventures, &c. (London, 1796), and a preface signed 'S. J.,' of which a new edition, in 8vo, appeared in 1797, a third, in 12mo, in 1798, and a sixth was reached in 1808. The third part of the travels, relating to the shipwreck and imprisonment of the writer, was published as a chap-book, 'Shipwreck and Captivity of D. C.,' London, 1800 (?), 8vo. He also published a 'Letter to the Marquis of Lorn on the Present Times,' London, 1798, 8vo, which is a sensible protest against party factions in connection with the war with France. Campbell died at Hutton in Essex on 5 June 1804. He left a son, Frederick William Campbell [q.v.]

[Gent. Mag. 1804; Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books.] S. L.-P.

**CAMPBELL, DUNCAN** (1680 ?-1730), a professed soothsayer, was descended from a native of Argyllshire, who, having been shipwrecked in Lapland, married a 'lady of consequence' in that country, from whom the son professed to have inherited his gift of second sight. The father, after the death of his wife, returned to Scotland, bringing with him the boy, who was deaf and dumb. He received instruction in reading from a 'learned divine of the university of Glasgow,' and having already manifested the possession of remarkable gifts, went in 1694 to London, where his predictions soon attracted wide attention in fashionable society. So expensive, however, were his habits that, notwithstanding the large sums he obtained from those who consulted him, he became deeply involved in debt, and to escape his creditors went to Rotterdam, where he enlisted as a soldier. Returning in a few years to London, he read a wealthy young widow's fortune in his own favour, and having taken a house in Monmouth Street, he found himself a greater centre of attraction than ever. 'All his visitants, says a writer in the 'Tatler,' No. 14, 'come to him full of expectations, and pay his own rate for the interpretations they put upon his shrugs and nods;' and he is thus referred to in the 'Spectator,' No. 560: 'Every one has heard of the famous conjuror who, according to the opinion of the vulgar, has studied himself dumb. Be that as it will, the blind Tiresias was not more famous in Greece than this dumb artist has been for some years last past in the cities of London and Westminster.' Among those whom Campbell seems to have specially impressed was Daniel Defoe, who in 1720 published 'The History of the Life and Adventures of

Mr. Duncan Campbell, a gentleman who, though deaf and dumb, writes down any strange name at first sight, with their future contingencies of fortune. Now living in Exeter Court over against the Savoy in the Strand.' Like other persons of eminence, Campbell succeeded in obtaining the notice of royalty, as appears from the following in the 'Daily Post' of Wednesday, 4 May 1720: 'Last Monday Mr. Campbell, the deaf and dumb gentleman—introduced by Colonel Carr—kissed the king's hand, and presented to his majesty "The History of his Life and Adventures," which was by his majesty most graciously received.' On 18 June of the same year there appeared a pamphlet entitled 'Mr. Campbell's Pacquet for the Entertainment of Ladies and Gentlemen, containing: I. Verses to Mr. Campbell occasioned by the History of his Life and Adventures. II. The Parallel, a Poem comparing the Productions of Mr. Pope with the Prophetical Productions of Mr. Campbell, by Captain Stanhope. III. An Account of a most surprising Apparition, sent from Launceston in Cornwall. Attested by Rev. Mr. Ruddle, minister there.' The third section of the pamphlet was written by Defoe. A second edition of the 'Life of Campbell' appeared on 10 Aug. 1720; it was reissued 14 March 1721; and in 1728 the same book appeared under the title 'The Supernatural Philosopher; or the Mysteries of Magic in all its Branches clearly unfolded by Wm. Bond, Esquire.' In 1724 there was published 'A Spy upon the Conjuror; or a Collection of Surprising Stories with Names, Places, and particular Circumstances relating to Mr. Duncan Campbell, commonly known by the name of the Deaf and Dumb Man; and the astonishing Penetration and Event of his Predictions. Written to my Lord —, by a Lady, who for more than twenty years past has made it her business to observe all Transactions in the Life and Conversation of Mr. Campbell. London, sold by Mr. Campbell.' The pamphlet has been attributed to Eliza Haywood, but there is every reason to suppose that the real author was Defoe, Campbell supplying him with the necessary information. About a third of the pamphlet consists of letters—generally very amusing, sometimes of the most extraordinary character—written by Campbell's correspondents. Defoe also published in 1725 'The Dumb Projector; being a surprising account of a Trip to Holland made by Mr. Campbell, with the manner of his Reception and Behaviour there.' In 1726 Campbell appeared in the additional character of a vendor of miraculous medicines. He published 'The Friendly Demon; or the

**Generous Apparition.** Being a True Narrative of a Miraculous Cure newly performed upon that famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman, Mr. Duncan Campbell, by a familiar spirit that appeared to him in a white surplice like a Cathedral Singing Boy.' It consists of two letters, the first by Duncan Campbell, giving an account of an illness which attacked him in 1717, and continued nearly eight years, until his good genius appeared and revealed that he could be cured by the use of the loadstone; the second on genii or familiar spirits, with an account of a marvellous sympathetic powder which had been brought from the East. A postscript informed the readers that at 'Dr. Campbell's house, in Buckingham Court, over against Old Man's Coffee House, at Charing Cross, they may be readily furnished with his "Pulvis Miraculosus," and finest sort of Egyptian loadstones.' Campbell died after a severe illness in 1730. An account of his life appeared in 1732, under the title 'Secret Memoirs of the late Mr. Duncan Campbell, the famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman, written by himself, who ordered they should be published after his decease. To which is added an application by way of vindication of Mr. Duncan Campbell against the groundless aspersion cast upon him that he had pretended to be Deaf and Dumb.' A striking proof of the superstitious character of the times is afforded by the fact that among the subscribers to the volume were the Duke of Argyll and other members of the nobility.

[The pamphlets mentioned in the text; the Lives of Defoe by Walter Wilson and William Lee.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, LORD FREDERICK** (1729-1816), lord clerk register, was third son of John, fourth duke of Argyll, by his wife, Mary, daughter of John, second lord Bellenden, and was M.P. for the Glasgow burghs from 1761 to 1780, and for the county of Argyll from 1780 to 1799. In 1765, being very intimate with Mr. Grenville, he was active in the arrangements for transferring the prerogatives and rights of the Duke of Atholl in the Isle of Man, then a nest of smugglers, to the crown, and in fixing the compensation to be given; but he felt and complained that the compensation was inadequate. In the same year he was for a few months lord keeper of the Scotch privy seal, and was succeeded by Lord Breadalbane. He was sworn of the privy council 29 May 1765, made lord clerk register for Scotland in 1768, and confirmed in that office for life in 1771. In 1778 he was colonel of the Argyll fencibles, in 1784 a vice-treasurer for Ireland under Viscount Townshend, the lord-lieu-

tenant, and in 1786 a member of the board of control for India. In 1774 he had laid the foundation-stone for a register house at Edinburgh, and procured a permanent establishment for keeping the records, and received the thanks of the court of session. He was treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1803. As a member of parliament he seems to have been reticent; but it was on his motion in 1796 that Mr. Addington was elected speaker of the new parliament. He married, 28 March 1769, Mary, youngest daughter of Mr. Amos Meredith of Henbury, Cheshire, and widow of Laurence, fourth Earl Ferrars, and she was burnt to death at his house, Comb Bank, Kent, in 1807. He died 8 June 1816 in Queen Street, Mayfair, and was, by his own directions, buried in a private manner in the family vault at Sandridge, Kent.

[Hely Smith's MacCallum Mores; Gent. Mag. lxxxvi. 572. lxxxvii. 214; The Scotch Compendium; The House of Argyll, Anon., Glasgow, 1871, p. 68; Collins's Peerage, iv. 102; Parl. History, xxiv. 297, xxviii.] J. A. H.

**CAMPBELL, FREDERICK WILLIAM** (1782-1846), genealogist, was a descendant of the Campbells of Barbreck, an ancient branch of the Argyll family, and the eldest son of Donald Campbell (1751-1801) of Barbreck [q. v.]. He was born on 4 Jan. 1782, and entering the army became captain in the 1st regiment of guards. Some time after succeeding his father in 1804, he disposed of the estate in Argyllshire, retaining only the superiority to connect him with the county, and took up his residence at Birfield Lodge, near Ipswich, Suffolk. He was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of the county. In 1830 he printed privately a work entitled 'A Letter to Mrs. Campbell of Barbreck, containing an Account of the Campbells of Barbreck from their First Ancestors to the Present Time,' Ipswich. He died in 1846. He married, on 21 Feb. 1820, Sophia, daughter of Sir Edward Warrington, M.P., by whom he had one daughter.

[Burke's Landed Gentry; Cooper's Biog. Diet.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, GEORGE** (1719-1796), divine, was born on 25 Dec. 1719 in Aberdeen, where his father, Colin Campbell (*d.* 27 Aug. 1728), was a minister. Campbell was educated at the grammar school, and at Marischal College. He was articled to a writer to the signet, but in 1741 began to study divinity in Edinburgh, and afterwards at Aberdeen. He was licensed to preach in 1746, and on 2 June 1748 was ordained minister of Banchory Ternan in Aberdeenshire.

There he married Grace Farquharson, whose care prolonged his life in spite of delicate health. He became well known as a preacher, and in June 1757 was chosen one of the ministers of Aberdeen. A philosophical society was formed at the beginning of 1758, of which Campbell, Reid, Gregory, Beattie, and other well-known men were or became members. In 1759 he was appointed principal of Marischal College through the influence of his distant relation, the Duke of Argyll. In 1762 he published his 'Dissertation on Miracles,' expanded from a sermon preached before the provincial synod on 9 Oct. 1760. This was one of the chief answers to Hume's famous essay (published in 1748). Campbell's friend, Hugh Blair [q. v.], showed the sermon to Hume. Some correspondence (published in later editions of the 'Essay') passed between Campbell and Hume, who stated that he must adhere to a resolution formed in early life never to reply to an adversary, though he had never felt so 'violent an inclination to defend himself.' The courtesy shown by Campbell to Hume in the letters and in his book gave some offence to zealots (BURTON, *Hume*, i. 283, ii. 115-20). The 'Dissertation' was generally admired. The most original part is the argument that the highest anterior improbability of an alleged event is counterbalanced by slight direct evidence. Campbell became D.D. in 1764. In June 1771 he was elected professor of divinity in Marischal College. As professor he was also minister of Grey Friars, and resigned his previous charge. He lectured industriously both as principal and professor. He published his 'Philosophy of Rhetoric' in 1776, a course of lectures resembling those of Blair, and expounding the critical doctrines of the period. In 1789 he published a 'Translation of the Gospels,' with preliminary dissertations and notes, which reached a seventh edition in 1834. His 'Lectures on Ecclesiastical History' appeared posthumously in 1800. They contain a defence of presbyterianism, and were attacked by Bishop Skinner of the Scotch episcopal church in 'Primitive Truth and Order vindicated,' and by Archdeacon Daubeny in 'Eight Discourses.' Campbell also published a few sermons showing his sympathy with the moderate party. A fast sermon in 1776 on the duty of allegiance had a large circulation, but failed to rouse the American colonists to a sense of their duty.

When nearly seventy he learnt German in order to read Luther's translation of the Bible. A severe illness in 1791 impaired his strength. His wife's death (16 Feb. 1792) was hastened by her care of him in this illness. He was much shaken by the loss, and he of-

fered to resign his professorship on condition of being succeeded by one of three gentlemen named by himself. The offer was not accepted, but he soon afterwards resigned the professorship and the ministry of Grey Friars (worth 160*l.* a year) in favour of William Laurence Brown [q. v.], who had been forced to resign a professorship at Utrecht. He resigned the principalship, in which also Brown succeeded him, on receiving a pension of 300*l.* a year, but directly afterwards died of a paralytic stroke, 6 April 1796.

[Life by G. S. Keith prefixed to *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, 1800; *Hew Scott's Fasti*, iii. 455, 467, 522.] L. S.

**CAMPBELL, GEORGE** (1761-1817), Scotch poet, was descended from humble parents and was born at Kilmarnock in 1761. His father died when he was still very young, and he was brought up under the care of his mother, who earned her subsistence by winding yarn for the carpet works. Being apprenticed to a shoemaker, he made use of his leisure hours to educate himself with a view of entering the university of Glasgow, and while still a student there he published in 1787 a volume of 'Poems on several Occasions,' which was printed at the press of Kilmarnock, from which in the preceding year the first edition of the poems of Robert Burns had been issued. The poems, which are chiefly of a moral or didactic kind, are not written in the Scotch dialect. Though commonplace in thought, and not displaying much richness of fancy, their expression is often happy and the versification easy and flowing. He was ordained minister of the Secession church of Stockbridge, Berwickshire, on 19 Aug. 1794, and remained in that charge till his death on 23 Nov. 1817. In 1816 he published at Edinburgh a volume of 'Sermons on Interesting Subjects.'

[Contemporaries of Burns, pp. 122-34; Mackelvie's *Annals of the United Presbyterian Church*, p. 106; *Anderson's Scottish Nation*.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, SIR GUY** (1786-1849), major-general, eldest son of Lieutenant-general Colin Campbell, lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar [q. v.], was born on 22 Jan. 1786. He joined the 6th regiment as an ensign in 1795, and was promoted lieutenant on 4 April 1796. He was present at all his father's engagements during the Irish rebellion of 1798, and then accompanied the regiment to Canada in 1803, and was promoted captain on 14 Sept. 1804. He was present at the battles of Roliça and Vimieiro, and throughout the advance of



Sir John Moore into Spain and the retreat to Corunna. On 1 April 1813 Campbell was promoted major, and again accompanied his regiment to the Peninsula, and after the battle of Vittoria, where the colonel was severely wounded, he succeeded to the command of the regiment. The 6th regiment formed part of Barnes's brigade of the 7th division, and after bearing its share in the battle of the Pyrenees or Sorauren performed its greatest feat at Echalar on 2 Aug., when it defeated Clausel's division, more than six thousand strong (NAPIER, *Peninsular War*, bk. xxi. chap. v. v. 247 of the last revised edition). Campbell was severely wounded in this combat, and strongly recommended for promotion, and was accordingly promoted lieutenant-colonel by brevet on 26 Aug. 1813. At the end of the war he received a gold medal for the battle of the Pyrenees, and was made a C.B., and on 22 May 1815 was created a baronet in recognition of the important services rendered by his father, who had died in 1814, with remainder to the heirs of Lieutenant-general Colin Campbell. He rejoined his regiment in 1815, and commanded it at the battle of Waterloo, and went on half-pay in 1816. In 1828 he was appointed deputy quartermaster-general in Ireland, a post which he held until his promotion to the rank of major-general in 1841, when he received the command of the Athlone district. In 1848 Campbell was appointed colonel of the 3rd West India regiment, and he died at Kingstown on 25 Jan. 1849.

[Royal Military Calendar; Hart's Army List; Gent. Mag. March 1849.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, HARRIETTE** (1817-1841), novelist, daughter of Robert Campbell, was born at Stirling in 1817 (*Literary Gazette*, 1841, p. 170). She is said to have known many English, French, and Italian authors by her twelfth year (*ib.*). Her first published articles were 'Legends of the Lochs and Glens,' which appeared in 'Bentley's Miscellany' (*ib.*); other papers of hers appeared in the 'Monthly Magazine.' Her first novel, 'The Only Daughter,' finished in 1837, when she was twenty, was published in 1839. It was favourably received. Another novel, 'The Cardinal Virtues, or Morals and Manners connected,' was published in 1841, 2 vols. But her health broke down; she fell ill, and was taken to the continent for the winter. A third novel, 'Katherine Randolph, or Self-Devotion,' was written by Miss Campbell during her stay abroad; but she had a fresh attack of illness there, and died on 15 Feb. 1841, aged 23.

'Katherine Randolph, or Self-Devotion,'

was published in 1842, with a preface by Mr. G. R. Gleig; and 'The Only Daughter' was reissued under the same editorship in the 'Railway Library' as late as 1859.

[*Literary Gazette*, 1841, p. 170; *Gent. Mag.* 1841, p. 541.] J. H.

**CAMPBELL, HUGH**, third EARL OF LOUDOUN (*d.* 1731), was grandson of John, first earl of Loudoun [q. v.], and eldest son of James, second earl, by his wife, Lady Margaret Montgomery, second daughter of Hugh, seventh earl of Eglintoun. In 1684 he succeeded his father, who died at Leyden, where he had retired in consequence of his disapproval of the government of Charles II. The third earl took his seat in parliament on 8 Sept. 1696, and was sworn a privy councillor in April 1697. Through the influence of Archibald, tenth earl, afterwards first duke of Argyll [q. v.], Loudoun was appointed extraordinary lord of session, and took his seat on 7 Feb. 1699. Argyll, in a letter to Secretary Carstares, dated Edinburgh, 27 Sept. 1698, thus recommended Loudoun: 'Pray, let not E. Melvill's unreasonable pretending to the vacant gown make you slack as to E. Loudoun, who, though a younger man, is an older and more noted presbyterian than he. Loudoun has it in his blood, and it is a mettled young fellow, that those who recommend him will gain honour by him. He has a deal of natural parts and sharpness, a good stock of clergy, and by being in business he will daily improve' (*Carstares State Papers*, 1774, p. 451). He retained this office until his death, 'in which post,' says Lockhart (*Memoirs of Scotland*, 1714, p. 99), 'he behaved to all men's satisfaction, studying to understand the laws and constitution of the kingdom, and determine accordingly.' After the accession of Queen Anne, he was again sworn a member of the Scotch privy council, and from 1702-4 served as one of the commissioners of the Scotch treasury. In 1704 he was appointed joint-secretary of state with William, third marquis of Annandale, and afterwards with John, sixth earl of Mar. In March 1706 he was made one of the Scotch commissioners for the union, and on 10 Aug. in the following year was invested at Windsor with the order of the Thistle. On 7 Feb. 1707 Loudoun resigned his titles into the hands of the queen, which, on the following day, were regranted to him and the heirs male of his body, with other remainders over in default. The office of secretary for state for Scotland being temporarily suspended (it was not abolished until 1746), he was appointed keeper of the great seal of Scotland during the queen's pleasure on

25 May 1708, and in the same year was sworn a member of the English privy council. The office of keeper of the great seal had been created on the abolition of the post of lord chancellor, there being no further use for the judicial part of that office after the union. In addition to his salary of 3,000*l.* the queen granted him a pension of 2,000*l.* a year. In 1713 he was deprived of this office for refusing to comply with some of the measures of the tory administration. On the accession of George I in the following year he was again sworn a privy councillor, and in 1715 appointed lord-lieutenant of Ayrshire. He served as a volunteer under John, second duke of Argyll [q. v.], at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he behaved with great gallantry. In 1722, 1725, 1726, 1728, 1730, and 1731, he acted as lord high commissioner to the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland. In 1727 he obtained a pension of 2,000*l.* a year for his life. At the union he was elected by the Scotch parliament as one of the sixteen Scotch representative peers, and was re-elected at six following general elections. He died on 20 Nov. 1731. The earl married, on 6 April 1700, Lady Margaret Dalrymple, only daughter of John, first earl of Stair, by whom he had one son, John (1705–1782) [q. v.], who succeeded to the title, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. The countess, who was a highly accomplished woman, survived her husband for many years. She resided at Sorn Castle in Ayrshire, where she interested herself in agricultural pursuits, particularly in the planting of trees. After an illness of a few days she died, on 3 April 1777, at a very advanced age.

[Sir R. Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (1813), ii. 149, 150; Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1832), pp. 468–9; Sir H. Nicolas's *Orders of Knighthood*, 1842, iii., T. p. 32; Haydn's *Book of Dignities*.] G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, SIR ILAY** (1734–1823), of Succoth, lord president, was born on 23 Aug. 1734. He was the eldest son of Archibald Campbell of Succoth, one of the principal clerks of session, by his wife, Helen, only daughter of John Wallace of Eilerslie, Renfrewshire, and was admitted an advocate 11 Jan. 1757. Early in his career he obtained an extensive practice at the bar, and was one of the counsel for the appellant in the great Douglas peerage case. This important case engrossed the public attention at the time, and so great was young Campbell's enthusiasm that he posted to Edinburgh immediately after the decision of the House of Lords, and was the first to announce the result to the crowds in the street, who, unharnessing the horses from his carriage, drew him in triumph

to his father's house in St. James's Court. During his last fifteen years at the bar his practice had become so great that there were few causes in which he was not engaged. In 1783 he was appointed solicitor-general, in succession to Alexander Murray of Henderland, who was raised to the bench on 6 March in that year, but upon the accession of the coalition ministry he was dismissed, and Alexander Wight appointed in his place. Upon the fall of the coalition ministry he succeeded the Hon. Henry Erskine as lord advocate, and in the month of April 1784 was elected member for the Glasgow district of burghs. In parliament he never took a very prominent position, and but few of his speeches are recorded (*Parliamentary History*, xxiv–xxvii.). In 1785 he introduced a bill for the reform of the court of session, in which it was proposed to reduce the number of the judges from fifteen to ten, and at the same time to increase their salaries. The measure met with so much opposition that it was abandoned, and in the following year the salaries of the judges were increased, but their numbers were not diminished. After holding the office of lord advocate for nearly six years, he was appointed president of the court of session on the death of Sir Thomas Miller, bart. He took his seat on the bench for the first time on 14 Nov. 1789, and assumed the judicial title of Lord Succoth. In 1794 he presided over the commission of oyer and terminer which was opened at Edinburgh on 14 Aug. for the trial of those accused of high treason in Scotland. Both Watt and Downie were found guilty, and the former was executed (*State Trials*, xxiii. 1167–1404, xxiv. 1–200).

Campbell held the post of lord president for nineteen years, and upon his resignation was succeeded by Robert Blair of Avontoun. He sat for the last time on 11 July 1808, being the final occasion on which the old court of session, consisting of fifteen judges, sat together. After the vacation the court sat for the first time in two divisions. On 17 Sept. in the same year he was created a baronet. After his retirement from the bench he presided over two different commissions appointed to inquire into the state of the courts of law in Scotland. This work occupied him nearly fifteen years, during which he prepared a series of elaborate reports which to this day are most valuable as works of reference. During the later years of his life he chiefly resided at his estate of Garscube, Dumbartonshire, where he took a principal share in the transaction of county business, and amused himself in literary and agricultural pursuits. He died on 28 March 1823,

in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He was an able and ingenious lawyer, but without any powers of forensic oratory. His written pleadings were models of clearness and brevity, but his speaking, though admirable in matter, was the reverse of attractive. As a judge he was respected, and in private he was popular. The university of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws in 1784, and from 1799 to 1801 he held the office of lord rector. In 1766 he married Susan Mary, the daughter of Archibald Murray of Murrayfield, by whom he had two sons and six daughters. His eldest son Archibald, who succeeded to the baronetcy, was admitted an advocate 11 June 1791. He was appointed an ordinary lord of session 17 May 1809, and took his seat on the bench as Lord Succoth. On the resignation of Lord Arundale he became a lord justiciary, 1 May 1813. He resigned both these offices at the end of 1824, and died on 23 July 1846. Sir Ilay's third daughter, Susan, married Craufurd Tait of Harviestown, Clackmannan county, whose youngest son, Archibald Campbell, afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury. The present baronet is Sir Ilay's great-grandson. His portrait, painted by John Partridge, was exhibited in the loan collection of 1867 (*Catalogue*, No. 786), and two etchings of him will be found in the second volume of Kay, Nos. 202 and 300. He wrote the following works: 1. 'Decisions of the Court of Session, from the end of the year 1756 to the end of the year 1760.' Collected by Mr. John Campbell, junr., and Mr. Ilay Campbell, advocates, Edinburgh, 1765, fol. 2. 'An Explanation of the Bill proposed in the House of Commons, 1785, respecting the Judges in Scotland' (anon. 1785?), 8vo. 3. 'Hints upon the Question of Jury Trial as applicable to the Proceedings in the Court of Session' (signed I. C.), Edinburgh, 1809, 8vo. 4. 'The Acts of Sederunt of the Lords of Council and Session, from the Institution of the College of Justice in May 1532 to January 1553.' Published under the direction of Sir Ilay Campbell, bart., LL.D., Edinburgh, 1811, fol. This contains a preface of forty-three pages written by Campbell.

[Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1832), pp. 539-40, 547; Kay's *Original Portraits* (1877), i. 103, 125, 260, 302, 314, 375; ii. 89-91, 380-4, 442; Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland* (1883), ii. 65, 174-7; Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time* (1856), 99-102, 125-130, 136, 246; *Gent. Mag.* xciii. pt. i. 569; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]

G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (d. 1642).  
[See **CAMBELL**.]

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (1667-1745), of Lawers, general, third son of James Campbell, second earl of Loudoun, by Lady Margaret Montgomery, second daughter of the seventh earl of Eglintoun, was, according to the obituary notice in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' born in 1667, although in Douglas's 'Peerage of Scotland' it is pointed out that this date is probably some years too early. He entered the army as lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd dragoons or Scots Greys in 1708, through the influence of his brother, Hugh Campbell, third earl of Loudoun [q. v.], who was a commissioner for accomplishing the union between England and Scotland, and one of the first sixteen representative peers for Scotland, and he greatly distinguished himself at the hard-fought battle of Malplaquet on 11 Sept. 1709. In this battle the Scots Greys were stationed in front of the right of the allied line under the command of Prince Eugène, and when the obstinate resistance of the French made the issue of the battle doubtful, Campbell, though he had been ordered not to move, suddenly charged with his dragoons right through the enemies' line and back again. The success of this charge determined the battle in that quarter, and on the following day Prince Eugène publicly thanked Campbell before the whole army for exceeding his orders. He continued to serve at the head of the Scots Greys until the peace of Utrecht, and then threw himself, with his brother, Lord Loudoun, ardently into politics as a warm supporter of the Hanoverian succession. He was made colonel of the Scots Greys in 1717, and was returned to the House of Commons as M.P. for Ayrshire in 1727. When George II came to the throne, he showed his appreciation of military gallantry by promoting Campbell to be major-general and appointing him a groom of his bed-chamber, and in 1738 he was made governor and constable of Edinburgh Castle. The long period of peace maintained by the policy of Sir Robert Walpole prevented Campbell from seeing service for twenty-eight years, but in 1742, when war was again declared against France, he was promoted lieutenant-general and accompanied the king to Germany as general commanding the cavalry. At its head he charged the *maison du roi*, or household troops of France, at the battle of Dettingen on 16 June 1743, and was invested a knight of the Bath before the whole army on the field of battle by George II. He continued to command the cavalry after the king returned to England until the battle of Fontenoy on 30 April 1745, at which battle he headed many unsuccessful charges against the army of Marshal

Saxe, but towards the close of the day his leg was carried off by a cannon-ball, and he died while being put into a litter, and was buried at Brussels. Campbell married Lady Jean Boyle, eldest daughter of the first earl of Glasgow, and his only son, James Mure Campbell, succeeded as fifth earl of Loudoun, and was the father of Flora, countess of Loudoun and marchioness of Hastings.

[Historical Record of the Scots Greys; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland; Foster's Scotch M.P.s, p. 55.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (1763-1819), general, eldest son of Sir James Campbell of Inverneil (1737-1805), knighted 1788, hereditary usher of the white rod for Scotland, and M.P. for Stirling burghs, 1780-9, was born in 1763. He received his first commission as an ensign in the 1st regiment of Royal Scots on 19 July 1780, was promoted lieutenant into the 94th regiment 5 Dec. 1781, and at once exchanged into the 60th or American regiment, with which he served the last two campaigns of the American war of independence. On the conclusion of peace he was promoted captain into the 71st regiment on 6 March 1783, and exchanged to the 73rd on 6 June 1787, which he joined in India, where he acted as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Sir Archibald Campbell (1739-91) [q. v.], and, after again exchanging into the 19th dragoons, served in the three campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792 of Lord Cornwallis against Tippoo Sahib. On 1 March 1794 he was promoted major, and then returned to England, where he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Cheshire Fencibles on 17 Nov. 1794. Campbell served in the Channel Islands and in Ireland until 1800, when he was appointed assistant adjutant-general at the Horse Guards; on 1 Jan. 1801 he was promoted colonel by brevet, and on 16 Jan. 1804 lieutenant-colonel of the 61st regiment. In 1805 he was appointed adjutant-general to the force destined for the Mediterranean under Sir James Craig. He acted in that capacity from 1805 to 1813, and was only absent on occasion of the battle of Maida, and won the confidence of all the generals who held the command in Sicily. On 17 Sept. 1810 General Cavaignac managed to get 3,500 men safely across the straits of Messina, and had got one battalion posted on the cliffs, while the others were fast disembarking, when Campbell, by a rapid attack with the 21st regiment, repelled the disembarking battalions, and compelled those already landed to surrender. Forty-three officers and over eight hundred men were taken prisoners, with a loss to the English regiment of only three men wounded. During his tenure

of office he had been promoted major-general on 25 April 1808, and lieutenant-general on 4 June 1813, and in 1814 he was ordered to take possession of the Ionian islands. The French governor refused to hand over the government until Campbell threatened to open fire. He remained in the Ionian islands as governor and commander of the forces till 1816, when Sir Thomas Maitland was appointed lord high commissioner. A French authority states him to have acted in a most despotic way, and to have abolished the university, the academy, and the press established by the French. He returned to England in 1816, and was created a baronet for his services on 3 Oct. 1818; he did not long live to wear this distinction, but died on 5 June 1819, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. At his death, as he left no children, the baronetcy of Campbell of Inverneil became extinct.

[See the Royal Military Calendar (ed. 1815) for his services; Foster's Members of Parliament, Scotland, for his pedigree; Sir H. E. Bunbury's Narrative of some Passages in the great War with France for his services in Sicily, and especially Campbell's own Letters in the Appendix, pp. 163-71; and *Les Îles ioniennes pendant l'occupation française et le protectorat anglais* — d'après des documents authentiques, la plupart inédits, tirés des papiers du général de division Comte Donzelot, gouverneur-général des Îles ioniennes sous le premier Empire; suivis de la correspondance échangée en 1814 entre le gouverneur français, le lieutenant-général James Campbell et le contre-amiral Sir John Gore pour la remise des forteresses et de l'île de Corfou.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (1745-1832), author of 'Memoirs written by Himself,' was the eldest son of John Callander of Craigforth [q. v.], by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir James Livingstone of Quarter, and was born on 21 Oct. (O. S.) 1745. He was educated at the high school of Edinburgh, and afterwards under a private tutor. In 1759 he joined the 51st regiment as ensign, and served in the seven years' war. Under Sir John Acton he was inspector-general of troops at Naples, and at the request of Lord Nelson he went to the Ionian islands to confirm the inhabitants in their attachment to the English cause, remaining there till the peace of Amiens in 1802. On succeeding to the estate of his cousin-german, Sir Alexander Campbell of Ardkinglass, he adopted the name of Campbell. About this time he was resident in Paris, where he made the acquaintance of a French lady, Madame Lina Talina Sassen. Being detained by the order of Napoleon, he sent her as his commissioner to Scotland, designating her in

the power of attorney with which he furnished her as his 'beloved wife.' On his return to Scotland he declined to recognise the relationship, and in consequence she raised an action against him in the court of session, when, although the marriage was found not proven, she was awarded a sum of 300*l.* per annum. On appeal to the House of Lords the award was withheld, and the lady occupied the remainder of her life in conducting various actions against him, being allowed to sue *in forma pauperis*. Campbell died in 1832. He was three times married after a legal form and left a large family.

[Memoirs of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, written by himself, 1832; Anderson's Scottish Nation; Burke's Landed Gentry, i. 250.]  
T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (1773?–1835), general, entered the army as an ensign in the 1st royals, and was promoted lieutenant on 20 March 1794 in the same regiment, and captain into the 42nd Highlanders or Black Watch on 6 Sept. 1794. Campbell joined the 42nd at Gibraltar, and was engaged in the capture of Minorca by Lieutenant-general the Hon. Sir Charles Stuart in 1798. On 3 Jan. 1799 he was promoted major into the Argyll Fencibles, then stationed in Ireland; but on 7 April 1802 he exchanged for a captaincy in the 94th regiment, which he joined at Madras in September 1802, and with which he remained continuously until obliged to leave on account of wounds received at the battle of Vittoria in 1813. His first services were in the Mahratta war under Major-general the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, whose force he joined at Trichinopoly in January 1803, after a forced march of 984 miles. He greatly distinguished himself throughout the war; he was specially thanked for his services at the battle of Argaum, he led the centre attack on the fortress of Gawil Ghur, and headed the stormers of the inner fort, and was again mentioned in despatches; he forced the enemy's outposts and batteries at Chandore, and for a short period towards the close of the war commanded a brigade (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, iv. 291, 299). He was specially rewarded by being allowed batta for the rank of major, to which he had been gazetted on 4 July 1803, though the information did not reach India until the war was over. The order was dated 29 Aug. 1804, and he was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 27 Oct. 1804. In October 1807 the men of the 94th regiment, which was then the most effective in India, were drafted into other regiments, and the officers and headquarters under Campbell returned to England, and were stationed

in Jersey, where, by vigorous recruiting, the regiment soon completed its numbers, and in January 1810 it was ordered to Portugal, and from there to Cadiz. At that place he commanded a brigade, and for some time the garrison, but was ordered again to Lisbon in September 1810, when the 94th regiment was brigaded with the 1st brigade of the 3rd or fighting division under Picton, and Campbell, as senior colonel, assumed the command of the brigade until the arrival of Major-general the Hon. Charles Colville on 14 Oct. 1810. Under him the 94th regiment served in all the engagements in the pursuit after Mas-séna and at the battle of Fuentes de Onoro, and in December 1811, when Colville took the command of the 4th division, Campbell again assumed the command of the brigade, which he held at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, the storming of Badajoz, when, owing to the wounds of Picton and Kempt, he commanded the 3rd division, which took the castle and thus the city, and at the battle of Salamanca, where he was wounded, and he did not again surrender the command of the brigade to General Colville until June 1813. At the battle of Vittoria he only commanded his regiment, and was very severely wounded early in the action, and he had in consequence to return to England and leave the 94th for the first time since he joined it in India in 1802. His wound prevented him from again seeing service, but he received some rewards for his long service. He was promoted colonel on 4 June 1815, and made a C.B. and K.T.S. in 1814, and received a gold cross and one clasp for Fuentes de Onoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, and Vittoria. A regulation had been made on the extension of the order of the Bath in January 1815, that only officers with a cross and two clasps should receive the K.C.B., which excluded Campbell; but both Lord Wellington and Lord Bathurst felt the hardship of this rule, which excluded such men as Campbell, and included many who had only been present and not much engaged at a greater number of battles; and in a letter dated 28 Feb. 1815 Lord Bathurst, the secretary of state, specially proposed to make five most distinguished officers, headed by Colonel Campbell, K.C.B. (*ib.* ix. 581). The project was not, however, carried out, and he was not made a K.C.B. until 3 Dec. 1822. Sir James Campbell never again saw active service. On 18 March 1817 he married Lady Dorothea Cuffe, younger daughter of the first Earl of Desart; on 12 Aug. 1819 he was promoted major-general, and in 1830 was made colonel of the 74th, and in 1834 of the 94th regiment, and he died at Paris on 6 May 1835.

[Royal Military Calendar; Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches; Gent. Mag. July 1835.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN** (*d.* 1563), of Lundy, Scotch judge, was, according to Crawford (*Officers of State*, p. 370), the son of John Campbell of Lundy (who was nominated lord high treasurer of Scotland in 1515, and was succeeded by the Master of Glencairn in 1526), by Isabel, daughter of Patrick, lord Gray, and widow of Sir Adam Crichton of Ruthven; but Haig and Brunton (*Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 25) are of opinion that the treasurer and judge are one and the same person. From an entry in the records of the court, 20 July 1532, it would appear that Sir John Lundy, the judge, had been treasurer. On account of his wide knowledge of the laws, Sir John Lundy was appointed one of the first lords of session when the College of Justice was instituted by James V in 1532. He was also a member of the privy council from 1540. When an alliance was proposed between King James and the Queen of Hungary, Campbell was sent to Flanders to 'inquire of her manners and ways her person, and to assay how the marriage might be concluded, but without any commission to conclude until the king had taken counsel' (*Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. iv. pt. iii. app., entry 239). He was also employed on various diplomatic services—among others, that of concluding a peace ratifying the privileges of the Scots in the countries under the dominion of the emperor in 1531, and in 1541, as ambassador from James V to Henry VIII (*Cal. State Papers*, Scottish Series, pp. 39, 42). On 16 May 1533 he was appointed captain-general of 'all the fute-bands in Scotland.' In February 1548 he arrived with troops at Dundee, which, however, immediately beat a retreat (*ib.* 81). In the books of sederunt of the court of session, 25 Feb. 1560, there is a letter to him from Queen Mary, regarding 'a pretendit testament of the queen-regent, our mother, whom God assoilzie, wherein ye are executer, the nullity of which is evidently known, as we made evidently appear by the letters we despatch instantly away to our realm for that effect.' On 11 Feb. 1563 he was succeeded as justice by Henry Balnaves of Halhill, who had previously held the same office between 1538 and 1546.

[Crawford's *Officers of State*, 370; Haig and Brunton's *Senators of the College of Justice*, 21–3; *Cal. State Papers*, Scottish Series, vol. i.; Brewer's *Cal. State Papers*, Reign of Henry VIII; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. i.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, first EARL OF Loudoun (1598–1663), was the eldest son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, by his wife, Jean, daughter of James, first lord Colvill of Culross. He was born in 1598, and on his return from travelling abroad was knighted by James VI. In 1620 he married Margaret, the eldest daughter of George Campbell, master of Loudoun. Upon the death of her grandfather, Hugh Campbell, first baron Loudoun, in December 1622, she became baroness Loudoun, and her husband took his seat in the Scotch parliament in her right. He was created earl of Loudoun, lord Farriyene and Mauchline by patent dated at Theobalds on 12 May 1633, but in consequence of his joining with the Earl of Rothes and others in parliament in their opposition to the court with regard to the act for empowering the king to prescribe the apparel of churchmen (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, v. 20–1), the patent was by a special order stopped at the chancery, and the title superseded. Soon after the passing of this act, the Scotch bishops resumed their episcopal costume, and in 1636 the Book of Canons Ecclesiastical and the order for using the new service-book were issued upon the sole authority of the king without consulting the general assembly. By his opposition to the policy of the court Loudoun became a favourite of the adherents of the popular cause; and on 21 Dec. 1637, at the meeting of the privy council at Dalkeith, in an eloquent speech, he detailed the grievances of the 'Supplicants,' and presented a petition on their behalf. In 1638 the 'tables' were formed and the covenant renewed. In these proceedings he took a very prominent part, and being elected elder for the burgh of Irvine in the general assembly, which met at Glasgow in November 1638, he was appointed one of the assessors to the moderator. In the following year, with the assistance of his friends, he seized the castles of Strathaven, Douglas, and Tantallon, and garrisoned them for the popular party. He marched with the Scotch army, under General Leslie, to the border, and acted as one of the Scotch commissioners at the short-lived pacification of Berwick, which was concluded on 18 June 1639. On 3 March 1640 Loudoun and the Earl of Dunfermline, as commissioners from the estates, had an interview with Charles I at Whitehall, and remonstrated against the prorogation of the Scotch parliament by the king's commissioner (the Earl of Traquair) before the business which had been brought before them had been disposed of. No answer was given to the remonstrance, but a few days after Loudoun was committed to the

Tower upon acknowledging that a letter produced by the Earl of Traquair was in his own handwriting. This letter was addressed 'Au Roy,' and requested assistance from the French king. It was signed by the Earls of Montrose, Rothes, and Mar, Lords Loudoun, Montgomery, and Forester, and General Leslie, but was not dated. Loudoun protested without avail that it had been written before the pacification of Berwick, that it had never been sent, and that if he had committed any offence, he ought to be questioned for it in Scotland and not in England. According to Dr. Birch, a warrant was made out for Loudoun's execution without trial, but this has not been sufficiently corroborated, and after some months' confinement in the Tower he was liberated upon the intercession of the Marquis of Hamilton, and returned to Scotland. On 21 Aug. in the same year the Scotch army entered England, and Loudoun with it. He took part in the battle of Newburn on the 28th, and was one of the Scotch commissioners at Ripon in the following October. Having come to an agreement for the cessation of hostilities on the 25th of the same month, the further discussion of the treaty was adjourned to London, where the Scotch commissioners 'were highly caressed by the parliament.' In August 1641 the king opened the Scotch parliament in person, the treaty with England was ratified, and offices and titles of honour were conferred on the 'prime covenanters who were thought most capable to do him service.' Accordingly Loudoun, 'the principal manager of the rebellion,' as Clarendon calls him, was appointed lord chancellor of Scotland on 30 Sept. 1641, and on 2 Oct. took the oath of office, and received from the king the great seal, which, since the resignation of Spotiswood, the archbishop of St. Andrews, had been kept by the Marquis of Hamilton. A pension of 1,000*l.* a year was also granted him, and his title of Earl of Loudoun was allowed him, with precedence from the date of the original grant. When the king found that the estates would not give their consent to the nomination either of the Earl of Morton or of Lord Almond, as lord high treasurer, the treasury was put into commission, and Loudoun appointed the first commissioner. In 1642 Loudoun was sent by the conservators of the peace to offer mediation between the king and the English parliament. He had several conferences with Charles at York, but, failing in the object of his mission, returned to Scotland. After the outbreak of the civil war, Loudoun was sent to Oxford as one of the commission to mediate for peace. Charles, however, would not admit that the

act of pacification gave the Scotch council any authority to mediate, and refused to allow the commissioners to proceed to London for that purpose. In 1643 Loudoun was again chosen elder for the burgh of Irvine to the general assembly, but this time declined the nomination. In the same year he was with the other Scotch commissioners invited to attend the discussions of the assembly of divines at Westminster. In 1645 he was appointed one of the Scotch commissioners to the treaty of Uxbridge, and though he did his best to convince the king of the impolicy of holding out any further against the parliamentary demands, his efforts were unavailing. At Newcastle he again unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the king, then virtually a prisoner of the Scotch army. In 1647 Loudoun, with the Earls of Lauderdale and Lanerick, was sent to treat with Charles at Carisbrook. On his return from England he was chosen president of the parliament which met on 2 March 1648. Persuaded by the more violent party of the covenanters, who denounced the 'engagement' as 'an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God,' he changed sides and opposed the measure. He was, however, obliged to do public penance in the high church of Edinburgh for the part which he had originally taken. When Montrose was brought to the bar to receive sentence, Loudoun commented with severity upon his conduct. As lord chancellor he assisted at the coronation of Charles II at Seome on 1 Jan. 1650, and was present at the battle of Dunbar, where some of his letters to the king fell into Cromwell's hands. These letters were afterwards published by the order of parliament.

After the battle of Worcester Loudoun retired into the highlands, and in 1653 joined the Earl of Glencairn and other royalists who had risen in the king's favour. Divisions arising among the leaders, Loudoun left them and retired further north. He at length surrendered to Monk, whose brilliant success had demonstrated the uselessness of further resistance on the part of the royalists. Loudoun and his eldest son, Lord Mauchline, were both excepted out of Cromwell's act of indemnity, by which 400*l.* was settled on the Countess Loudoun and her heirs out of her husband's estates. Upon the Restoration, notwithstanding all that Loudoun had suffered for the royal cause, he was deprived of the chancellorship, which had been granted to him 'ad vitam aut culpam;' his pension, however, was still continued to him.

In the first session of parliament in 1681 he spoke strongly in defence of his friend, the Marquis of Argyll, who was then under an



impeachment for high treason. Argyll was executed, and Loudoun became apprehensive lest he too might share the same fate. In the following year, by an act 'containing some exceptions from the Act of Indemnity,' he was fined 12,000*l.* Scots. He died at Edinburgh on 15 March 1663, and was buried in the church of Loudoun, Ayrshire. Several of his speeches were printed in the form of pamphlets, and will be found among the political tracts in the British Museum. By his wife, Margaret, who survived him, he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, James, succeeded to the title, and died at Leyden. On the death of James, the fifth earl (a grandson of the second earl), the title descended to his only daughter, Flora, who married Francis, second earl of Moira, afterwards first marquis of Hastings. Upon the death of Henry, fourth marquis of Hastings, in 1868, his eldest sister became the Countess of Loudoun, and the title is now held by her son Charles, eleventh earl of Loudoun.

[George Crawford's *Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland* (1726), i. 195-216; Sir R. Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (1813), ii. 148-9; Bruntton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1832), pp. 300-5; Clarendon's *History*, (1826); Sir James Balfour's *Historical Works*, (1825), vols. ii. iii. iv.; *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* (Bannatyne Club Publications, No. 71), 3 vols.] G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, first **EARL OF BREADALBANE** (1635-1716), was descended from the Glenorchy branch of the Campbell family, and was the only son of Sir John Campbell, tenth laird of Glenorchy, and Lady Mary Graham, daughter of William, earl of Strathearn. He actively assisted the rising under Glencairn for Charles II, which was suppressed by General Monck in 1654. Afterwards he entered into communications with General Monck, and strongly urged him to declare for a free parliament in order to obtain formal assent to the king's restoration. In the first parliament after the Restoration he sat as member for Argyllshire. His abilities at an early period won him considerable influence in the highlands, but he owed the chief rise in his fortunes to his pecuniary relations with George, sixth earl of Caithness. Being principal creditor of that nobleman, who had become hopelessly involved in debt, he obtained from him on 8 Oct. 1672 a deposition of his whole estates and earldom, with heritable jurisdictions and titles of honour, on condition that he took on himself the burden of the earl's debts. He was in consequence duly infeoffed in the lands and earldom on 27 Feb. 1673, the earl of

Caithness reserving his life-rent of the title. On the death of the earl, Sir John Campbell obtained a patent creating him earl of Caithness, dated at Whitehall 25 June 1677. His right to the title and estates was, however, disputed by George Sinclair of Keiss, the earl's nephew and heir male, who also took forcible possession of his paternal lands of Keiss, Tester, and Northfield, which had been included in the deposition. The sheriff decided, as regards these estates, in favour of Campbell, and on Sinclair declining to remove, Campbell obtained on 7 June 1680 an order from the privy council against him, and defeated his followers at Wick with great slaughter. In July of the following year the privy council, under the authority of a reference from parliament, declared Sinclair entitled to the dignity of earl of Caithness, and in September following it was also found that he had been unwarrantably deprived of his paternal lands. The claims to the earldom of Caithness being thus decided in favour of Sinclair, Sir John Campbell on 13 Aug. 1681 obtained another patent creating him, instead, earl of Breadalbane and Holland, viscount of Tay and Pentland, lord Glenurchy, Benederaloch, Ormelie and Wick, with the precedence of the former patent. On the accession of James II in 1685 he was created a privy councillor.

At the time of the revolution Breadalbane was, next to his kinsman, the Earl of Argyll, the most powerful of the highland nobles, while he was not regarded by the other clans with the same uncompromising hostility as Argyll. His greed was indeed notorious, and his double-faced cunning made him feared and distrusted by many of the chiefs, but his actions were not like those of the Argylls, regulated by lowland opinion, and he was not the recognised representative of lowland authority. He was not therefore regarded by the chiefs as an alien, and his remarkable talents had gained him a great ascendancy throughout all the northern regions. According to the Master of Sinclair, he was 'reckoned the best headpiece in Scotland' (*Memoirs*, p. 260), and no one had a more thorough understanding both of the characters of the different chiefs and of the various springs by which to influence their conduct. He is described by Macky (*Memorials*, p. 190) as 'of fair complexion, of the gravity of a Spaniard, cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and supple as an eel,' and as knowing 'neither honour nor religion but where they are mixed with interest.' Of this last characteristic there is striking illustration in the fact that, though a presbyterian by profession, he marched in 1678 into the

lowlands with 1,700 claymores for the purpose of supporting the prelatical tyranny (BURNET, *Own Time*, ii. 88). His course at the revolution was of a very tortuous character. There is undoubted evidence that he was in constant communication with Dundee, although he was too wary to commit himself openly and irrevocably to the cause of James II. As early as 23 July 1689, or only six days after the battle of Killiecrankie, he seems, however, to have recognised the irretrievable character of the disaster that had befallen that cause in Dundee's death, and was expressing through Sir John Dalrymple his anxiety to serve King William. This was met by Dalrymple with the advice 'that the best way to show his sincerity was to cause the clans to come in, take the allegiance, and give the first example himself' (*Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 256). In the September following he began to act on this advice, and along with other highland noblemen took advantage of the act of indemnity. His adhesion was a matter of prime importance to the government, for a rising in the highlands, unsupported by him, could not be regarded as formidable. The government were well aware that his sincere co-operation in their purposes could be secured only by a powerful appeal to his self-interest. When, therefore, a large sum of money, according to some accounts 20,000*l.*, was placed in his hands in order to bribe the clans to submission, it must have been understood that a considerable proportion of the plunder would fall to his share. At any rate, he had decided objections to enter into details as to how he had disposed of the money, answering, in reply to the inquiry of the Earl of Nottingham, 'The money is spent, the highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting among friends.' As early as March 1690 King William mooted to Lord Melville the advisability of gaining Breadalbane, even at a high price, in order to secure the submission of the highlands (*ib.* p. 421). In accordance with these instructions Breadalbane received from Melville an order to treat with the highlanders on 24 April 1690, but negotiations hung fire over a year, although on 17 Sept. 1690 Breadalbane wrote a letter expressing his anxiety to have the highlands quiet, on the ground that he had been 'a very great sufferer by the present dissolute condition it is in' (*ib.* 530). Even at the conference which he held with the chiefs in June 1691 his proposals were received with much distrust, most of them believing that, if he possessed the money, 'he would find a way to keep a good part of it to himself' (*ib.* 623), but

by signing certain 'Private Articles' (*Papers illustrative of the Condition of the Highlands*, p. 22), making the agreement null if an invasion happened from abroad or a rising occurred in other parts of the kingdom, he succeeded in inducing them to suspend hostilities till the following October. Matters having been brought so far, a proclamation was issued on 27 Aug. offering indemnity to all who had been in arms, but requiring them to swear the oath in presence of a civil judge before 1 Jan. 1692, if they would escape the penalties of treason and of military execution (proclamation in *Papers illustrative of Condition of the Highlands*, pp. 35-7). The proclamation enabled Breadalbane to extort the submission of the chiefs at a smaller pecuniary cost than would otherwise have been possible. By the influence of mingled cajolery, bribes, and threats, their resistance to his proposals was at last overcome, and all of them submitted within the prescribed time, with the exception of MacIain, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who had private reasons of his own for objecting to any settlement with the government. Until 31 Dec. MacIain manifested no signs of yielding, and when he at last saw the hopelessness of his resolve, and went to tender the oath at Fort William, he found no one there to administer it, the nearest magistrate being the sheriff at Inverary. He set out thither with all haste, and by vehement entreaties, backed up by a letter from Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort William, induced the sheriff to accept his oath. Breadalbane had now an opportunity of reaping exemplary vengeance on the wild, robber clan which in its barren fastnesses had for generations subsisted chiefly by depredations on his own and the neighbouring estates. Sir John Dalrymple, master of Stair [q. v.], was equally eager to destroy the band of mountain robbers, and the atrocious scheme contrived was in all probability his suggestion, although Breadalbane must have given advice, while Argyll [see CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, tenth earl and first duke] also lent it his hearty support. The infamy of the massacre of Glencoe on 13 Feb. 1692 must be shared by all the three noblemen, and if Dalrymple was chiefly responsible, his motives were undoubtedly the purest, while Argyll had had less provocation than Breadalbane. Breadalbane had acted with such circumspection that when in 1695 a commission was issued to inquire into the massacre, no tangible evidence was discovered against him, beyond the deposition that a person professing to be an emissary of his chamberlain, Campbell of Balcadan, had waited on MacIain's sons to obtain

their signatures to a paper declaring that Breadalbane was guiltless of the massacre, with the promise that if they did so the earl would use all his influence to procure their pardon. In the course of their inquiries the commission discovered the existence of Breadalbane's 'Private Articles' of agreement with the highland chiefs, and in consequence he was on 10 Sept. committed to Edinburgh castle, but King William's privity being proved, he shortly afterwards received his liberty. He held himself aloof from the negotiations regarding the treaty of union in 1706-7, and did not even attend parliament. Notwithstanding the part that he had taken in obtaining the submission of the highlands, he gave secret encouragement to the French descent in regard to which Colonel Hooke was at this time sounding the highland chiefs. Hooke reported, 'I am well satisfied with my negotiation, for though Lord Broadalbin would not sign any paper, I found him as hearty in the cause as can be wished. He promises to do everything that can be expected from a man of his weight, is truly zealous for the service of his majesty, as he will show as soon as he shall hear of his being landed' (*Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiations* (1760), p. 66). On the news of the intended rising in behalf of the Pretender in 1714, Breadalbane retired to one of his most inaccessible fortresses, from which his escape was prevented by stationing guards over the passes. On being charged to appear at any time between 1 Sept. and 23 Jan. 1715 at Edinburgh or elsewhere, to find security for his conduct, he sent a pathetic certificate signed by a physician and the clergyman of Kenmore, dated Taymouth Castle 1 Sept. 1715, testifying that on account of the infirmities of old age he was unable to travel without danger to health and life. Next day he appeared at Mar's camp at Logierait. According to the Master of Sinclair, Lord Drummond, who was entrusted with the undertaking, had orders to communicate all to Breadalbane and take his advice (*Memoirs*, p. 260). Breadalbane was quite willing to give the best advice he could, provided he did not compromise himself, and at any rate had no objection to reap what pecuniary advantage might be offered him by the court of St. Germain. 'His business, as the Master of Sinclair expressed it, 'was to trick others, not to be tricked.' He had engaged to raise twelve hundred men to join the clans, but although his memory was refreshed by sending him money to raise them, he only sent three hundred. Afterwards he paid a visit to the camp at Perth, seeking more money. 'His extraordinary character and dress,' says

the Master of Sinclair, 'made everybody run to see him, as if he had been a spectacle. Among others my curiosity led me. He was the meriest grave man I ever saw, and no sooner was told anybody's name, than he had some pleasant thing to say of him, mocked the whole, and had a way of laughing inwardly that was very perceptible' (*ib.* p. 185). After the battle of Sheriffmuir 'his three hundred men went home,' and 'his lordship too cunning not to see through the whole affair; we never could promise much on his friendship' (*ib.* p. 260). The lukewarmness of his support of the Pretender and his early withdrawal of the small force delivered the government from the necessity of inquiring into his conduct. He died in 1716, in his eighty-first year. He married first on 17 Dec. 1657 Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of Henry, first earl of Holland. By this lady he had two sons: Duncan, styled Lord Ormelie, who survived his father, but was passed over in the succession, and John, in his father's lifetime styled Lord Glenurchy, who became second earl of Breadalbane. Of this nobleman, born 1662, died 1752, known by the nickname of 'Old Rag,' Sir Walter Scott, in a note to the Master of Sinclair's 'Memoirs,' p. 185, states that there were many anecdotes current of too indelicate a kind for publication. His son, John (1696-1782) [q. v.], became third earl. The second wife of John, first earl of Breadalbane, was Lady Mary Campbell, third daughter of Archibald, marquis of Argyll, dowager of George, sixth earl of Caithness, by whom he had a son, Honourable Colin Campbell of Ardmaddie. By a third wife he had a daughter, Lady Mary, married to Archibald Campbell of Langton.

[Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, 46-7; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 238-9; Papers illustrative of the Highlands of Scotland (Maitland Club, 1845); Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs; Sinclair Memoirs (Abbotsford Club, 1858); Leven and Melville Papers (Bannatyne Club, 1813); Lockhart Papers, 1817; Macky's Memorials of Secret Services; Culloden Papers; Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron (Abbotsford Club, 1842); Gallienus Redivivus; or, Murder will out, 1692; The Massacre of Glenco: being a true narrative of the barbarous murder of the Glencomen in the Highlands of Scotland, by way of Military Execution, on 13 Feb. 1692: containing the Commission under the Great Seal of Scotland for making an Enquiry into the Horrid Murder, the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland upon it, the Report of the Commissioners upon the Enquiry laid before the King and Parliament, and the Address of the Parliament to King William for Justice on the Murderers: faithfully extracted from the Records of Parliament, 1703; An Impartial Account of

some of the Transactions in Scotland concerning the Earl of Breadalbin, Viscount and Master of Stair, Glenco-men, Bishop of Galloway, and Mr. Duncan Robertson, in a letter to a friend, 1695; State Trials, xiii. 879-915; Fountainhall's Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs (Bannatyne Club, 1848); Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, iv. 511-5, 524; MSS. Add. 23125, 23138, 23242, 23246-8, 23250, containing his letters to the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale and to Charles II; Hill Burton's History of Scotland; Macaulay's History of England.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, second DUKE OF ARGYLL and DUKE OF GREENWICH (1678-1743), eldest son of Archibald, first duke [q. v.], and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, was born 10 Oct. 1678. It is stated that on the very day his grandfather was executed, 30 June 1685, he fell from a window in the upper floor of Lethington, near Haddington, without receiving any injury. He was educated by private tutors, studying the classics and philosophy under Mr. Walter Campbell, afterwards minister of Dunoon; but as he grew to manhood the fascination of a military career laid such strong hold on his fancy that in 1694 he prevailed on his father to introduce him to the court of King William, who gave him the command of a regiment of foot. In the campaign of 1702 he specially distinguished himself at the siege of Keyzerswaert. On succeeding his father as Duke of Argyll in 1703 he was sworn a privy councillor, invested with the order of the Thistle, and made colonel of the Scotch horse guards. The opinion formed at this time by Macky (*Secret Memoirs*) of his character and abilities was not belied by his after career. 'His family,' says Macky, 'will not lose in his person the great figure they have made for so many ages in that kingdom, having all the free spirits and good sense natural to the family. Few of his years have a better understanding, nor a more manly behaviour. He hath seen most of the courts of Europe, is very handsome in appearance, fair complexioned, about 25 years old.' His biographer also remarks that 'his want of application in his youth, when he came to riper years his grace soon retrieved by diligently reading the best authors; with which, and the knowledge of mankind he had acquired by being early engaged in affairs of the greatest importance, he was enabled to give that lustre to his natural parts which others could not acquire by ages of the most severe study' (CAMPBELL, *Life of John, Duke of Argyll*, p. 31). In 1705 he was nominated lord high commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which he opened on 25 June with a speech,

strongly recommending the succession in the protestant line, and a union with England. In a great degree owing to his influence an act was passed on 1 Sept. for a treaty with England, by which the nomination of the Scottish commissioners to treat with the English commissioners regarding the union was placed in the hands of the queen. Though the Duke of Argyll had supported this arrangement, he declined to act as a commissioner, because the Duke of Hamilton, whom he had engaged to get appointed, was not among the number. For his services in promoting the union he was on his return to London created a peer, by the titles Baron Chatham and Earl of Greenwich. In the campaign of 1706 as brigadier-general with Marlborough he showed signal valour at the battle of Ramillies, commanded in the trenches at Ostend till its surrender, and took possession of Menin with a detachment when it capitulated. At Oudenarde, 11 July 1708, the battalions under his command were the first to engage the enemy, and the firmness with which they maintained their position against superior numbers had an important influence in determining the issue of the conflict. He took part in the siege of Lille, which surrendered on 8 Dec., and commanded as major-general at the siege of Ghent, taking possession of the town and citadel 3 Jan. 1709. In April following he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in this capacity he commanded in the attacks on Tournay, which surrendered on 10 July after an assault of three days. At the battle of Malplaquet, 11 Sept. 1709, he accomplished the critical enterprise of dislodging the enemy from the woods of Sart, displaying in the attack extraordinary valour and resolution. In the struggle he had various narrow escapes, several musket-balls having passed through his coat, hat, and perriwig. Marlborough having during the course of the campaign written to the queen, proposing his own appointment as captain-general for life, the question was referred to certain persons, including Argyll, who expressed his strong indignation at the proposal. According to Swift, Argyll, on being questioned by the queen as to whether any danger would be incurred by refusing to accede to Marlborough's request, replied that he would undertake to seize him at the head of his troops, and bring him away dead or alive. The cause of Argyll's implacable enmity against Marlborough is something of a mystery. There is no evidence that Marlborough had treated him unfairly, or that Argyll entertained any grudge against him on this account. That the whole estrangement grew out of the proposal regarding the captain-

generalship for life is not probable, although this possibly brought it to a head. It is not unlikely that its source was Argyll's personal ambition. After the battle of Malplaquet his reputation in the army ranked very high, and he had also the advantage of a strong personal ascendancy over the troops, won by his headstrong valour and the *bouhémie* with which he shared their perils and hardships. It would seem that Argyll's vanity thus strongly flattered led him to regard Marlborough in the light of a rival. At any rate, from this time he set himself to work Marlborough's overthrow with a pertinacity which led Marlborough to write of him, in a letter of 25 March: 'I cannot have a worse opinion of anybody than of the Duke of Argyll.' After the fall of the whig ministry Argyll did not fail to express even in the camp very strong sentiments regarding the efforts of Marlborough to prolong the war (Marlborough's letter to Godolphin, 12 June 1710), and when a vote of thanks was proposed to him in parliament started objections, which led to the abandonment of the motion. This procedure so commended Argyll to Harley and the Tories that on 20 Dec. 1710 he was installed a knight of the Garter. An opportunity was also granted him for gratifying his military ambition by his appointment, 11 Jan. 1711, as ambassador extraordinary to Spain and commander-in-chief of the English forces in that kingdom. Circumstances were not, however, favourable for displaying his military capacities to advantage. Not obtaining the means of restoring his forces to a satisfactory condition, after the losses in previous campaigns, he was scarcely able to do more than hold his ground, and did not even venture on any enterprise of moment. After the peace of Utrecht in 1712 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of Scotland and governor of Edinburgh castle. This did not, however, by any means console him for the treatment he had experienced from the government during the Spanish campaign, and he had soon an opportunity of manifesting his resentment. In the debate on the question as to whether the protestant succession was in danger 'under the present administration,' he openly charged the ministry with remitting money to the highland chiefs, and with removing from the army officers 'merely on account of their known affection for the house of Hanover.' Soon afterwards he adopted a course of procedure which might have laid him open to the charge of furthering the schemes of the Jacobites, although he was undoubtedly actuated by entirely opposite motives. When a malt tax was imposed on Scotland, he became one of the most marked supporters of the motion in June 1713

for the dissolution of the union, not only on the ground that the imposition of the tax was in violation of the union, but because 'he believed in his conscience' that the dissolution of the union 'was as much for the interests of England' as of Scotland. The motion was lost by a majority of only four votes. The agitation led Swift in his pamphlet on the 'Public Spirit of the Whigs' to refer to the Scots in such contemptuous terms, that the whole Scottish peers, with the Duke of Argyll at their head, went in a body to petition the crown for redress. A proclamation was thereupon issued, offering a reward of 300*l.* for information as to the author. The matter caused an irrevocable breach in the relations between Swift and Argyll, who had for many years been on a footing of warm friendship. It also sufficiently explains the terms in which Swift expressed himself regarding Argyll in a manuscript note in Macky's 'Memoirs,' as an 'ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot, who has no principle but his own interest and greatness. A true Scot in his whole conduct.' His previous impressions of Argyll were entirely the opposite of this. In the 'Journal to Stella,' 10 April 1710, he writes: 'I love that duke mightily,' and in a congratulatory letter to him, 16 April 1711, on his appointment to Spain, he says: 'You have ruined the reputation of my pride, being the first great man for whose acquaintance I made any great advances, and you have need to be what you are, and what you will be, to make me easy after such a condescension.'

The course which the Duke of Argyll had taken in regard to the union, and the pamphlet on the 'Public Spirit of the Whigs,' was at least instrumental in completely restoring his character in Scotland as a patriotic statesman. That he had not been actuated in the course which he took by any hostility to the Hanoverian cause was also soon afterwards manifested, when Queen Anne was struck by her mortal illness. Suddenly presenting himself along with the Duke of Somerset at the privy council, previously summoned to meet that morning at Kensington Palace, he stated that, although not summoned thither, he had felt himself bound to hasten to the meeting to afford advice and assistance in the critical circumstances. Taking advantage of the perturbation caused by their arrival, Argyll and Somerset suggested that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be recommended to the queen as lord high treasurer, a proposition which the Jacobites were not in a position to resist. This prompt action practically annihilated the Stuart cause at the very moment when its prospects seemed most hopeful, and finding themselves

checkmated on every point, the Jacobites acquiesced without even a murmur in the accession of George I. Argyll was made groom of the stole, nominated one of the members of the regency, and appointed general and commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland. In this capacity he was entrusted with the difficult task of crushing the Jacobite rising in Scotland in the following year. In view of this event, the choice of him was a most fortunate one, for probably no one else could have dealt with the crisis so successfully. His military reputation was second only to that of Marlborough, but of as much importance as this was his general popularity in Scotland, and the large personal following from his own clans. In the measures which he took for coping with dangers threatening him on all sides, he displayed an energy which created confidence almost out of despair. Leaving London on 9 Sept., he reached Edinburgh on the 14th, and, having taken measures for its defence, set out for Stirling, where the government forces, numbering only about 1,800, had taken up their position under General Wightman. The rapid concentration of reinforcements from Glasgow and other towns at Stirling caused the Earl of Mar, with the Jacobite followers he had raised in the highlands, to hesitate in marching southwards, and in order to reinforce the body of insurgents who were gathering in the southern lowlands, he deemed it advisable to send a portion of his large force across the Forth from Fife. After concentrating at Haddington, they resolved to make a dash at Edinburgh, but an urgent messenger having informed Argyll, at Stirling, of the critical condition of affairs, he immediately set out with three hundred dragoons and two hundred foot soldiers mounted on horses, lent them for the occasion, and entered the West Port just as the insurgents were nearing the eastern gate. Foiled in their attempt on Edinburgh, the insurgents marched southwards to Leith, where they seized on the citadel, but recognising the desperate character of the enterprise, they evacuated it during the night, and, after various irresolute movements in the south of Scotland, crossed into England. Thus, so far as Scotland was concerned, the only result of Mar's stratagem was to weaken his own forces in the highlands. Scarcely had the insurgents taken their midnight flight from Leith, when news reached Argyll that Mar had broken up his camp at Perth, and was on the march to force the passage at Stirling. The movement proved, however, to be a mere feint, to attract Argyll away from the Jacobite movements in the south. Mar, after making a demonstration, retreated

to Auchterarder, and finally again fell back on Perth. After remaining there for some months, seemingly awaiting the development of events in the south, he finally began a southward movement in earnest, whereupon Argyll, who had kept himself fully informed of all his procedure, crossed over Stirling bridge, and marching northwards anticipated him by arriving on the heights above Dunblane just as the insurgent army was nearing Sheriffmuir, an elevated plateau formed by a spur of the Ochils. The two armies remained on the opposite eminences under arms during the night, and in the grey dawn of Sunday morning, 13 Nov., the wild followers of Mar, numbering about twelve thousand to the four thousand under Argyll, swept down from the heights across the moor, in front of the moor, threatening to engulf the small army of Argyll, which now began to ascend the acclivity of the moor on the opposite side. The conformation of the ground concealed the two armies for a time from each other, and thus it happened that as they came to close quarters, it was found that they had partly missed each other, the left of each army being outflanked. Argyll's left, hopelessly outnumbered, fled in confusion to Dunblane, but the right and centre resisted the impetuous but partial attack of the highlanders with great steadiness, and as the highlanders recoiled from the first shock of resistance, Argyll, not giving them time to recover, charged them so opportunely with his cavalry that their hesitation was at once changed into headlong flight. Thus the right of both armies was completely victorious, but in neither case could they bring assistance to the left, so as to turn the fortune of the fight into decided victory. Mar's want of success could only be attributed to incompetent generalship, while Argyll was saved from overwhelming disaster rather by a happy accident than by special skill in his dispositions. As it was, he reaped from his partial defeat all the practical benefits of a brilliant victory. Technically he was indeed victorious, for Mar was present with the insurgents who were defeated, and those of the insurgents who were victorious having lost communication with their general, made no effort to prevent Argyll from enjoying the victor's privilege of occupying the field of battle. Notwithstanding his boastful proclamations, Mar also gradually realised that he had been completely checkmated, and ultimately sent a message to Argyll as to his power to grant terms. Desirous of ending the insurrection without further bloodshed, Argyll asked the government for powers to treat, but no notice was taken of his

communication. The discourtesy probably tended to cool the zeal of Argyll in behalf of the government, and in any case he did not think it urgent to precipitate matters, especially as, although the Pretender had at last reached the camp at Perth, the highlanders were already beginning to desert their leader. The arrival of General Cadogan with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries removed, however, all further excuse for delay, and on 21 Jan. he began his march northwards. To render it more difficult the enemy had desolated all the villages between them and Perth. Provisions for twelve days had, therefore, to be carried along with them, in addition to which the country was enveloped in a deep coating of snow, which had to be cleared by gangs of labourers as they proceeded. On the approach of Argyll the Pretender abandoned Perth, throwing his artillery into the Tay, which he crossed on the ice. The dispersion of the insurgents had, in fact, already begun, and the pursuit of Argyll was scarcely necessary to persuade the leaders of the movement to evacuate the country with all possible speed. Though still accompanied by a large body of troops who began to make preparations for defending Montrose, the Chevalier, Mar, and the principal leaders suddenly embarked at Montrose for France, leaving the troops under the command of General Gordon, who with about a thousand men reached Aberdeen, whence they dispersed in various directions. Argyll shortly afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh, where he was entertained at a public banquet. On arriving in London he was also graciously received by the king, but although he spoke in parliament in defence of the Septennial Act, he was in June 1716 suddenly, without any known cause, deprived of all his offices. The event caused much dissatisfaction in Scotland, and led Lockhart of Carnwath, as he records in his 'Memoirs,' to make an effort to win him over to the Jacobite cause. Notwithstanding the sanguine hopes of Lockhart, there is no evidence that Argyll gave him any substantial encouragement, and his efforts were discontinued as soon as Argyll was again (6 Feb. 1718-19) restored to favour and made lord-steward of the household. Soon after this the great services of Argyll during the rebellion were tardily recognised by his being advanced to the dignity of Duke of Greenwich. His subsequent political career was so strikingly and glaringly inconsistent as to suggest that, so far at least as England was concerned, it was regulated solely by his relation to the parties in power. The one merit he however possessed, as admitted even by his political opponents, that 'what he aimed and

designed, he owned and promoted above board, being altogether free of the least share of dissimulation, and his word so sacred that one might assuredly depend on it' (*Lockhart Papers*, ii. 10). Pride and passion, rather than cold ambition, were the motives by which he was chiefly controlled, and he never could set himself persistently to the pursuit of one purpose. He therefore never won a position commensurate with his seeming abilities, or with the great oratorical gifts which he wielded with such disastrous effect against those who had wounded directly or indirectly his self-esteem. Regarding the extraordinary power of his oratory, we have the testimony of Pope in well-known lines, of Thomson and other poets, and the verdict seems to have been unanimous. At the same time much of this effect was momentary, and in the opinion of Glover was traceable to his 'happy and imposing manner,' where 'a certain dignity and vivacity, joined to a most captivating air of openness and sincerity, generally gave his arguments a weight which in themselves they frequently wanted' (Glover, *Memoirs*, p. 9). Lockhart writes in similar terms: 'He was not, strictly speaking, a man of understanding and judgment: for all his natural endowments were sullied with too much impetuosity, passion, and positiveness; and his sense rather lay in a sudden flash of wit than in a solid conception and reflection' (*Lockhart Papers*, ii. 10). Chiefly owing to faults of temper, he played in politics a part not only comparatively subordinate, but glaringly mean and contemptible. Although he had moved the dissolution of the Union on account of the proposal to impose the malt-tax on Scotland, he in 1725, in order to oust the *Squadron* party from power in Scotland, came under obligations, along with his brother Lord Islay, to carry it through. In the debate on the Mutiny Bill in February 1717-18, he argued that 'a standing army in the time of peace was ever fatal either to the prince or the nation;' but in 1733 he made a vigorous speech against any reduction of the army, asserting that 'a standing army never had in any country the chief hand in destroying the liberties.' His course was equally eccentric in regard to the Peerage Bills, in connection with which he in 1721 entered into communication with Lockhart of Carnwath and the Jacobites. His defence of the city of Edinburgh in 1737, in connection with the affair of the Porteous mob, did much to strengthen his reputation in Scotland as an independent patriot, although his conduct was no doubt in a great degree regulated by personal dissatisfaction with the government. When the nation in 1738 was excited



into frenzy by the story of 'Jenkins' ears,' he won temporary popularity by his speeches in opposition to the ministry against Spain; and during the discontent prevailing in the country in 1740 on account of the failure of the harvest, he attacked the ministry with such virulence, as chiefly responsible for the wretched condition of things, that he was immediately deprived of all his offices. General Keith, brother of the Earl Marischal and a zealous Jacobite, was with him when he received his dismissal. 'Mr. Keith,' exclaimed the duke, 'fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of those people.' 'Which,' says Keith, 'might imply both man and master, or only the man' (Letter of the Earl Marischal, 15 June 1740, in *Stuart Papers*). The factious and persistent opposition which from this time he continued to manifest against Walpole's administration contributed in no small degree to hasten its fall. On the accession of the new ministry he was again made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces, but in a few weeks he resigned all his offices, the cause being probably that he was not satisfied with the honours he had received. It was said that his ambition was to have the sole command of the army. In reference to this Oxford is said to have exclaimed, 'Two men wish to have the command of the army, the king and Argyll, but by God neither of them shall have it.' From this time Argyll ceased to take an active part in politics. The Pretender, supposing that probably he might not be disinclined at last to favour his cause, sent him a letter written with his own hand, but he immediately communicated it to the government. Already a paralytic disorder had begun to incapacitate him for public duties, and he died on 4 Oct. 1743. An elaborate monument in marble was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. He was twice married. By his first wife, Mary, daughter of John Brown, and niece of Sir Charles Duncombe, lord mayor of London, he had no issue. By his second wife, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton of Winnington, Cheshire, one of the maids of honour of Queen Anne, he had five daughters, the eldest of whom was in 1767 created baroness of Greenwich, but the title became extinct with her death in 1794. To his fifth daughter, Lady Mary Campbell, widow of Edward, viscount Coke, Lord Orford dedicated his romance of the 'Castle of Otranto.' The duke having died without male issue, his English titles of duke and earl of Greenwich and viscount Chatham became extinct, while

his Scottish titles devolved on his brother, Archibald Campbell, third duke [q. v.]

[Robert Campbell's *Life of the Most Illustrious Prince, John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, 1745*; Coxe's *Life of Walpole*; Lockhart *Papers*; Marchmont *Papers*; Marlborough's *Letters*; Swift's *Works*; Macky's *Secret Memoirs*; Glover's *Memoirs*; Stuart *Papers*; Sinclair *Memoirs*; Douglas's *Scottish Peerage*, i. 107-13; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); Tindal's *History of England*; Add. MSS. 22253 ff. 96-105, 22267 ff. 172-9, 28055; there is a very flattering description of the Duke of Argyll in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN, LL.D.** (1708-1775), miscellaneous writer, was the son of a Campbell of Glenlyon, captain in a regiment of horse, and born at Edinburgh on 8 March 1708. At the age of five he was taken to Windsor by his mother, originally of that town, and educated under the direction of an uncle, who placed him as a clerk in an attorney's office. Deserting law for literature, he produced about the age of eighteen a 'Military History of the late Prince Eugene of Savoy and the late John, Duke of Marlborough . . . illustrated with variety of copper-plates of battles, sieges, plans, &c., carefully engraved by Claude Du Bose,' who issued it without the compiler's name in 1721. In compiling it Campbell availed himself largely of the Marquis de Quincy's 'Histoire Militaire du règne de Louis Quatorze,' and of the works of Dumont and Rousset on Prince Eugene. In 1734 appeared, with Campbell's name, 'A View of the Changes to which the Trade of Great Britain to Turkey and Italy will be exposed if Naples and Sicily fall into the hands of the Spaniards.' Campbell suggested that the Two Sicilies should be handed over to the elector of Bavaria. His first original work of any pretension was 'The Travels and Adventures of Edward Bevan, Esq., formerly a merchant in London,' &c., 1739. Here a thread of fictitious autobiography, in Defoe's manner, connects a mass of information respecting the topography, history, natural products, political conditions, and manners and customs of the countries supposed to be visited. The description given in it by three Arab brothers (pp. 327-8) of a strayed camel, which they had never seen, may have suggested to Voltaire the similarly constructive description of the dog and horse of the queen and king of Babylon in 'Zadig,' which was written in 1746. In 1739, too, appeared Campbell's 'Memoirs of the Bashaw Duke de Ripperda' (second edition 1750). About the same time he began to contribute to the (Ancient) 'Universal History' (1740-1744), in which the 'Cosmogony' alone is

assigned to him by the 'Biographia Britannica,' though in the list of the writers communicated by Swinton to Dr. Johnson (Boswell, *Life*, edition of 1860, p. 794) the 'Cosmogony' is attributed to Sale, and the 'History of the Persians and the Constantinopolitan Empire' to Campbell. To the 'Modern Universal History' he contributed the histories of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Swedish, Danish, and Ostend settlements in the East Indies, and histories of Spain, Portugal, Algarves, Navarre, and that of France from Clovis to the year 1656. In 1711 appeared his 'Concise History of Spanish America' (second edition 1755), and in 1712 'A Letter to a Friend in the Country on the Publication of Thurloe's State Papers,' a lively piece in which Thurloe's then newly issued folios are dealt with somewhat after the manner of a modern review article. In the same year were issued vols. i. and ii. of 'The Lives of the Admirals and other Eminent British Seamen,' &c. The two remaining volumes appeared in 1744. The work was translated into German, and three other editions of it were published in Campbell's lifetime. After his death there were several editions of it, with continuations to the dates of issue, an abridgement of it appearing so recently as 1870. It was a great improvement on previous compilations of the kind. Campbell's ignorance of seamanship led him, however, into many nautical blunders, some of which are exposed in the 'United Service Magazine' for October 1842. In 1743 appeared anonymously his English version, with copious annotations, of the Latin work of Cohausen, 'Hermippus Redivivus; or, the Sage's Triumph over Old Age and the Grave.' Dr. Johnson (Boswell, *Life*, p. 142) pronounced the volume 'very entertaining as an account of the hermetic philosophy and as furnishing a curious history of the extravagancies of the human mind;' adding, 'if it were merely imaginary it would be nothing at all.' It reached a third edition in 1771. In 1743 also appeared his translation from the Dutch, 'The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland.' The original is ascribed wrongly to John de Witt; Campbell added to his translation memoirs of Cornelius and John de Witt. In 1744 was published Campbell's much enlarged edition of Harris's 'Collection of Voyages and Travels' (1702-5), 'Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.' In the 'Account of the European Settlements in America,' attributed to Burke, the author expresses his obligations to this colossal work. A new edition was soon called for, the publication of which, in numbers, was completed in 1749. To Campbell has been generally

ascribed the recast (1744) of 'The Shepherd of Banbury's Rules to judge of the Changes of the Weather,' by John Claridge, shepherd, first issued in 1670, and very popular in rural districts. Little more than a few words of the original title remained in the recast, which was frequently reprinted, and that so late as 1827. It is somewhat noticeable as an attempt to base on quasi-scientific principles the weather forecasts of the alleged Banbury shepherd (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. vii. 373).

To the first 'Biographia Britannica,' the issue of which in weekly numbers began in 1745, Campbell's contributions, signed E. and X., were copious, continuous, and varied, but they ceased with the publication of vol. iv. Among them were biographies of members of noble British families. John, the fifth Earl of Orrery, thanked him 'in the name of the Boyles for the honour he had done to them,' and Horace Walpole assigns as a reason for not portraying the characters of the Campbells in his 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors' (edition of 1806, v. 103), that the task had been 'so fully performed by one who bears the honour of their name, and who it is no compliment to say is one of the ablest and most beautiful writers of his country.' Campbell's patriotic feeling and highland origin prompted him to write 'A Full and Particular Description of the Highlands of Scotland, its Situation and Produce, the Manners and Customs of the Natives,' &c. (1752). It contained a highly-coloured account of the virtues of the highlanders and of the resources of the highlands, with a protest against English ignorance of both.

In 1750 had appeared, mainly reprinted from a periodical, 'The Museum,' 'The Political State of Europe,' which went through six editions in his lifetime, and procured him a continental reputation. It consisted of summaries of the history of the most prominent European states, with remarks on their international relations, and on the policy of their rulers and governments, sometimes displaying considerable acumen. In 1754 the university of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of LL.D. After the peace of Paris, 1762, he wrote, at Lord Bute's request, a 'Description and History of the new Sugar Islands in the West Indies,' in order to show the value of those which had been ceded by the French at the close of the war. In March 1765 he was appointed his majesty's agent for the province of Georgia, and held the office until his death. In 1774 appeared his last work, one on which he had expended years of labour, 'A Political Survey of Great Britain, being a series of reflections on the

situation, lands, inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce of the island,' &c., 2 vols. quarto, London, 1774. The work is specially remarkable for its affluence of practical suggestion. It teems with projects for the construction of harbours, the opening up of new communications by road and canal, and the introduction of new industries. Campbell even proposed that the state should buy up all the waste lands of the country and develop their latent resources, arable and pastoral. The 'Political Survey' excited some attention, but as a publishing speculation of the author it does not seem to have been very successful. So many years had been spent in its preparation that numbers of the original subscribers were dead before it appeared. Dr. Johnson believed that Campbell's disappointment on account of the indifferent success of the work killed him (Boswell, *Life*, p. 484). He died on 28 Dec. 1775, having received in the preceding year from the Empress Catherine of Russia a present of her portrait. The memoir of Campbell in Kippis's 'Biographia Britannica' gives an ample list of the many writings acknowledged by and ascribed to him. The library of the British Museum is without several of them. Among these is one published in 1751, which professes to give a 'full and particular description' of the 'character' of Frederick, prince of Wales, from his juvenile years until his death.

A man of untiring industry and considerable accomplishment, Campbell is described as gentle in manner and of kindly disposition. There are several interesting references to him in Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' to both of whom he was known personally, Johnson being in the habit of going to the literary gatherings on Sunday evenings at Campbell's house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, until 'I began,' he said, 'to consider that the shoals of Scotchmen who flocked about him might probably say, when anything of mine was well done, "Ay, ay, he has learnt this of CAMPBELL." Campbell is a good man, a pious man.' Johnson said of him on the same occasion: 'I am afraid he has not been in the inside of a church for many years; but he never passes a church without pulling off his hat. This shows that he has good principles.' Campbell told Boswell that he once drank thirteen bottles of port at a sitting. According to Boswell, Johnson spoke of Campbell to Joseph Warton as 'the richest author that ever grazed the common of literature.' There is nothing extravagant in the terms for which, according to the agreement preserved in the Egerton MSS. 738-40, he contracted to write for Dodsley the publisher, prefixing his name to the work, a quarto volume on the geog-

phy, natural history, and antiquities of England, at the rate of two guineas per sheet.

[Campbell's Writings; Memoir in *Biographia Britannica* (Kippis); authorities cited.]

F. E.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, third **EARL OF BREADALBANE** (1696-1782), was the son of John, second earl (1662-1752), generally known by the nickname of 'Old Rag,' and noted for his extraordinary eccentricities (note by Sir **WALTER SCOTT** in the *Sinclair Memoirs*, p. 185). His mother was Henrietta, second daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, knight, sister of the first earl of Jersey, and Elizabeth, countess of Orkney, mistress of King William III. He was born in 1696, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he manifested considerable talents and zeal for study. In 1718 he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Denmark. He was invested with the order of the Bath at its revival in 1725. In December 1731 he was appointed ambassador to Russia. In 1727 and 1734 he was chosen to represent the borough of Saltash in parliament, and in 1741 he became member for Oxford. He gave his support to Sir Robert Walpole's administration, and in May 1741 his abilities were recognised by his appointment to be one of the lords of the admiralty, an office which he held till the dissolution of Walpole's administration, 19 March 1742. In January 1746 he was nominated master of his majesty's jewel office. Having in January 1752 succeeded his father as earl of Breadalbane, he was in the following July chosen a representative peer for Scotland. On 29 Jan. 1756 he was created D.C.L. by the university of Oxford. In 1761 he was appointed lord chief justice in eyre of all the royal forests south of the Trent, and he held that office till October 1765. He was appointed vice-admiral of Scotland 26 Oct. 1776. He died at Holyrood House 26 Jan. 1782. He married, first, in 1721, Lady Arabella Grey, eldest daughter and coheirress of Henry, duke of Kent, K.G., by whom he had a son, Henry, who died in infancy, and a daughter, Jemima, who married Philip, second earl of Hardwicke. His first wife dying in 1727, Breadalbane married, 23 Jan. 1730, Arabella, third daughter and heiress of John Pershall, by whom he had two sons, George, who died in his twelfth year, and John, lord Glenurchy, who married Willielma, second and posthumous daughter and coheirress of William Maxwell of Preston [see **CAMPBELL, WILLIELMA**], and had a son who died in infancy. Lord Glenurchy died in the lifetime of his father in

1771, and the male line having thus become extinct, the peerage and estates passed to the Campbells of Carwhin.

[Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 240; Oxford Graduates.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, fourth EARL OF LOUDOUN (1705-1782), military commander, only son of Hugh, third earl of Loudoun [q. v.], and Lady Margaret Dalrymple, only daughter of the first earl of Stair, was born on 5 May 1705. He succeeded his father in 1731, and from 1734 till his death was a representative peer of Scotland. He entered the army in 1727, was appointed governor of Stirling Castle in April 1741, and became *aide-de-camp* to the king in July 1743. On the outbreak of the rebellion in 1745 he raised a regiment of highlanders on behalf of the government, of which he was appointed colonel; and joining Sir John Cope, he acted with him as adjutant-general. After the battle of Preston, where almost the whole of his regiment was killed, he went north in the Saltash sloop of war, with arms, ammunition, and money, arriving at Inverness on 14 Oct. Within six weeks he had raised over two thousand men, and shortly afterwards relieved Fort Augustus, blockaded by the Frasers under the Master of Lovat. He then returned to Inverness, and marched to Castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, whom he brought to Inverness as a hostage till the arms of the clan Fraser should be delivered up. Lord Lovat, however, made his escape during the night from the house where he was lodged. In February 1746 Loudoun formed the design of surprising Prince Charles at Moy Castle, the seat of the Mackintoshes. The rebels, however, took possession of Inverness, and on their receiving large reinforcements Loudoun marched into Sutherlandshire, and, retreating to the sea-coast, embarked with eight hundred men for the Isle of Skye. On 17 Feb. 1756 Loudoun was appointed *captain-general* and *gov. en-chief* of the province of Virginia, and on 20 March commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. He arrived at New York on 23 July, and immediately repaired to Albany, to assume command of the forces assembled there. Affairs were in great confusion, and the home authorities were slow in adopting measures to cope with the crisis. The French had made themselves masters of Forts Oswego and Ontario. To conceal his plans for a siege of Louisburg, Loudoun, on 3 Jan. 1757, laid an embargo on all outward-bound ships, a measure which was reprobated both in America and England. Afterwards, when he had collected a force deemed amply

sufficient, he wasted his time at Halifax, apparently unable to decide on a definite course of action, and was therefore recalled to England, General Amherst [q. v.] being named his successor. It was said of him by a Philadelphian that he 'was like King George upon the signposts, always on horseback but never advancing.' On the declaration of war with Spain in 1762, he was appointed second in command, under Lord Tyrrawley, of the British troops sent to Portugal. He died at Loudoun Castle on 27 April 1782. He was unmarried, and the title passed to his cousin, James Mure Campbell, only son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers (1667-1745) [q. v.], third and youngest son of the second earl of Loudoun. The fourth earl of Loudoun did much to improve the grounds round Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, and sent home a large number of trees from foreign countries. He more especially devoted his attention to the collection of willows, which he interspersed in his various plantations.

[Douglas's Scotch Peerage, ii. 151-3; Hill Burton's History of Scotland; Mahon's History of England; Bancroft's History of the United States.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN** (1753-1784), lieutenant-colonel, the defender of Mangalore, second son of John Campbell of Stonfield, lord Stonfield, a lord of session and of justiciary in Scotland, by Lady Grace Stuart, sister of John, earl of Bute, the favourite of George III, was born at Levenside House, near Dumbarton, on 7 Dec. 1753. He entered the army as an ensign in the 37th regiment on 25 June 1771, and was promoted lieutenant into the 7th fusiliers on 9 May 1774. He was at once ordered to America, where he served in the war of independence, and was soon taken prisoner, but exchanged and promoted captain into the 71st regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders, on 2 Dec. 1775. He continued to serve in America, and was promoted *major* into the 74th Highlanders on 30 Dec. 1777. In 1780 he returned to England, and in the following year exchanged into the 100th regiment, or Seaforth Highlanders, in command of which regiment, 1,000 strong, he landed at Bombay on 26 Jan. 1782. After leaving England his exchange had been effected into the 42nd Highlanders, or Black Watch; and on hearing the news he proceeded to Calicut and assumed the command of the second battalion there in time to co-operate in the second war against Hyder Ali. The British forces on the Malabar coast were at first successful: Bednore was occupied, and the fort at Annantpore stormed by the 42nd under the

command of Campbell. But the gross misconduct of Brigadier-general Mathews, who commanded in chief, prevented the British from taking any advantage of these successes. Hyder Ali was able to defeat the English armies on his eastern frontier, and to capture the division of Colonel William Baillie [q.v.]; while Tippoo Sultan, his son, cut off and destroyed the various British detachments which had been carelessly left about by General Mathews on the Malabar coast, and drove the remnant of the army there into Mangalore. General Mathews was recalled to answer for his conduct, and Colonel Norman Macleod went sick to Bombay, so that the command of the small garrison devolved on Campbell, who had been promoted lieutenant-colonel on 7 Feb. 1781. The siege of Mangalore was one of the most protracted, and its defence one of the most famous, in the history of the eighteenth century. Tippoo Sultan, who was accompanied by several experienced French officers, regularly invested the place on 19 May 1783. The defence lasted, with the most terrible privations and continual hard fighting, until 23 Jan. 1784, when Campbell surrendered with all the honours of war, and on the condition that the small remnant of his garrison, 856 men, should be allowed to proceed to Bombay. The defence of Mangalore was justly praised in every quarter, and formed the only bright spot in the disastrous war against Hyder Ali. Campbell was quite prostrated by his exertions. He left his army on 9 Feb., and died at Bombay on 23 Feb. 1784.

[Memoir of the Life and Character of the late Lieutenant-colonel John Campbell, Major 2nd Battalion 42nd Highlanders, by a Retired Officer, who served under him in the attack on Annan-tore and the defence of Mangalore, Edinburgh, 1836 (by Captain J. Spens, who wrote a short notice of him for Chambers's Dictionary of Eminent and Distinguished Scotsmen).]

H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN** (1720?–1790), vice-admiral, the son of John Campbell (*d.* 1733), minister of Kirkbean in Kirkcudbrightshire, was born in that parish about, but probably before, the year 1720. At an early age he was bound apprentice to the master of a coasting vessel, and is said to have entered the navy by offering himself in exchange for the mate of this vessel, who had been pressed. After serving three years in the *Blenheim*, *Torbay*, and *Russell*, he was, in 1740, appointed to the *Centurion*, and sailed in her round the world with Commodore Anson, as midshipman, master's mate, and master. On his return home he passed the examination for

lieutenant, and his certificate, dated 8 Jan. 1744–5, says that he 'appears to be more than twenty-four years of age.' Through Anson's interest he was very shortly afterwards made a lieutenant, then commander, and was advanced to post rank on 23 Nov. 1747, and appointed to the *Bellona* frigate, which he commanded with some success till the peace. He afterwards commanded the *Mermaid*, in 1755 the *Prince* of 90 guns, and in 1757 the *Essex* of 64 guns, in the fleet in the Bay of Biscay, under Sir Edward Hawke. In the following year he was second captain of the *Royal George*, when Lord Anson took command of the fleet off Brest, Sir Peirey Brett, his old shipmate in the *Centurion*, being first captain. He afterwards returned to the *Essex*, which he commanded in the long blockade of Brest by Sir Edward Hawke, through the summer and autumn of 1759; but when, in November, Hawke moved his flag into the *Royal George*, Campbell was appointed his flag-captain, and served in that capacity in the decisive battle of Quiberon Bay, 20 Nov. 1759. Campbell was sent home with the despatches, and was taken by Anson to be presented to the king. According to the received story, Anson told him on the way that the king would knight him if he wished. 'Troth, my lord,' answered Campbell, 'I ken nae use that will be to me.' 'But,' said Anson, 'your lady may like it.' 'Awel,' replied Campbell, 'his majesty may knight her if he pleases.' He was in fact not knighted.

In 1760 he was appointed to the *Dorsetshire* of 70 guns, which he commanded, on the home station or in the Mediterranean, till the peace. He was then appointed to the *Mary yacht*, and moved in 1770 to the *Royal Charlotte*, in which he remained till promoted to his flag, 23 Jan. 1778. In the following spring he was chosen by Admiral Keppel as first captain of the *Victory*, or what is now known as captain of the fleet. He held that office through the rest of the year, and had thus a very important share in the conduct of the fleet on 27 July, as well as on the previous days [see **KEPPEL**, **AUGUSTUS**, **VISCOUNT**; **PALLISER**, **SIR HUGH**]. His loyalty to Keppel, and the rancour which the subsequent courts-martial excited, effectually prevented his having any further employment as long as Lord Sandwich was in office, though he attained, in course of seniority, the rank of vice-admiral on 19 March 1779. In April 1782, when his friend Keppel was installed as first lord of the admiralty, Campbell was appointed governor of Newfoundland and commander-in-chief on that station. He held this office

for four years, and ended his service in 1786. He died in London on 16 Dec. 1790.

The writer of the notice in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' who seems to have been familiarly acquainted with him, has given us the following portraiture: 'He preserved his original simplicity of manners till his death, notwithstanding he lived among and mixed with the first people in the kingdom; but he had withal a dry sarcastic mode of expression as well as manner, which approached so near to that in which Mr. Macklin played the character of Sir Archy McSarcasm, that I have often thought that excellent actor must have seen and copied him.'

[Gent. Mag. 1791, lxi. i. 100; Charnock's memoir (Biog. Navalis, vi. 31) is little more than a repetition of that in the Gent. Mag.; Beatson's Nav. and Mil. Memoirs.] J. K. L.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN** (1766-1840), philanthropist and traveller, was born at Edinburgh and educated at the high school, where he was a classfellow of Sir Walter Scott. From an early period of life he showed very deep religious convictions. Though engaged in business, he threw himself with great ardour into works of christian philanthropy, and led the way in many undertakings that have since attained remarkable dimensions. He became in 1793 one of the founders of the Religious Tract Society of Scotland, six years before the London society was formed. The Scotch society still exists, but on a wider basis, employing about two hundred colporteurs for the circulation and sale of religious and useful literature in Scotland and part of England. He was one of the founders of Sunday schools, sometimes itinerating over the country in order to promote them, and with such success that on one occasion he and his friend Mr. J. A. Haldane made arrangements in one week for the establishment of not less than sixty. Lay preaching in neglected villages and hamlets was another mode of activity in which he took part. He was one of the first to show compassion practically for fallen women, being among the originators of the Magdalene Society of Edinburgh, and a similar society in Glasgow. The condition of slaves excited his profound interest; and through the liberality of Mr. Haldane he made arrangements for bringing to this country and educating thirty or forty African children, who were to be sent back to their own country. In furtherance of this object he corresponded with his friend Mr. Zachary Macaulay, then at Sierra Leone, with whose family he was on intimate terms; but after the first batch of children were

brought to this country, the arrangement was changed and they were kept in London. In 1802 Campbell became minister of Kingsland independent chapel in London, and there, among other labours of love, helped to found the Bible Society. Occasionally he still continued his peripatetic work in Scotland. Having always shown a profound interest in foreign missions, he was asked by the London Missionary Society to go to South Africa and inspect their missions there. He spent two years, 1812-14, in this work, travelling upwards of two thousand miles in Africa, and a second time, 1819-21, he went out on the same mission. Few Englishmen at that time had performed such a feat, and on his return his appearances on missionary platforms in London and throughout the country were received with enthusiasm. He died 4 April 1840, at the age of 74.

Besides some books of less mark, Campbell was the author of two works giving an account of his two African journeys, the first in one vol. 8vo, published in 1814, the second in two vols. 8vo, published in 1822. A little volume entitled 'African Light' was intended to elucidate passages of scripture from what he had seen in travelling. For many years he was editor of a religious magazine entitled 'The Youth's Magazine.' He had a large acquaintance and correspondence, including the Countess of Leven, the Rev. John Newton, Mr. Wilberforce, and others. His books were among those that exercised an influence on the mind of David Livingstone, and turned his thoughts to Africa.

[Philip's Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell; Biographical Sketch of the author prefixed to second edition of African Light; Anderson's Scottish Nation, art. 'John Campbell'; recollections of personal friends.] W. G. B.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN** (1816-1855), general, only son of Lieutenant-general Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava (1769-1843) [q. v.], by Helen, daughter of John Macdonald, of Garth, co. Perth, was born on 14 April 1816. He entered the army as an ensign in the 38th regiment, which his father then commanded, in 1821, and joined it in India. He served as aide-de-camp to his father throughout the first Burmese war, and on 1 July 1824 he was promoted a lieutenant, without purchase, and in 1826 thanked by the governor-general in council for his services. On 11 July 1826 he was promoted to a company and remained in Burmah in a civil capacity till 1829, when he returned to England and joined the dépôt of his regi-

ment. From 1831 to 1837 Campbell acted as aide-de-camp to his father when lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and in the latter year he purchased the majority of his regiment. In 1840 he purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 38th, and commanded it continuously in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and Nova Scotia, until he was selected, as an ardent and successful regimental officer, for the command of a brigade in the expeditionary force intended for the East in 1854. In 1843 he had succeeded to the baronetcy, on 11 Nov. 1851 he had been promoted colonel by brevet, and on 24 March 1854 he was posted to the command of the 2nd brigade of the 3rd division under Major-general Sir Richard England, with the rank of brigadier-general. With that command he was present at the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, and on 12 Dec. 1854 he was promoted major-general. After the battle of Inkerman as the senior brigadier-general with the army, he was posted to the temporary command of the 4th division. On 7 June 1855 he was superseded by Lieutenant-general Bentinck, and on hearing of the intended assault upon the Great Redan he volunteered to lead the detachments of the 4th division to the attack. On 18 June he displayed 'a courage amounting to rashness,' and after sending away his aides-de-camp, Captain Hume and Captain Snodgrass, the latter the son of the historian of his father's war, he rushed out of the trenches with a few followers, and fell at once in the act of cheering on his men. Had he survived, Campbell would have been rewarded for his services in the winter, for in the 'Gazette' of 5 July it was announced that he would have been made a K.C.B. He was buried on Cathcart's Hill. He married, 21 July 1841, Helen Margaret, daughter of Colonel John Crowe. His eldest son, Archibald Ava, became third baronet.

[See Gent. Mag. and Colburn's United Service Journal for August 1855; Nolan's Illustrated History of the War in the East, 2 vols. 1855-7; and W. H. Russell's British Expedition to the Crimea.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, first BARON CAMPBELL (1779-1861), legal biographer, lord chief justice, and lord chancellor, traced his descent on his father's side from Archibald, the second earl of Argyll [q. v.], who fell at Flodden, and through his mother, who was a Hallyburton, from Robert, duke of Albany, the regent of Scotland. As a Hallyburton he could thus claim a remote kinship with Sir Walter Scott. His father was the Rev. George Campbell, for more than fifty years

parish minister of Cupar in Fifeshire, a friend of Robertson and Blair, a popular preacher, and the writer of the article on Cupar in the old 'Statistical Account of Scotland.' There John Campbell was born on 15 Sept. 1779. With his elder brother, George, afterwards Sir George Campbell of Edenwood, he was educated at the Cupar grammar school, and in 1790, when he was only eleven years old, they went together to St. Andrews University. It was an early age even for a Scotch university, but the case was not unique, Dr. Chalmers, for instance, becoming a student at St. Andrews in 1791 before he was twelve years old (HANNA, *Life of Chalmers*, i. 9). At fifteen Campbell had finished the arts curriculum, though he did not take the degree of M.A. until some years afterwards, when he discovered that it would be of use to him in England. As a boy his health was weak, and he grew up an eager and miscellaneous reader with little love of games. Golf, of course, he played occasionally, but without any enthusiasm, though he considered it 'superior to the English cricket, which is too violent and gives no opportunity for conversation.' Being destined for the ministry, he entered St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, where he remained for three years, studying theology and Hebrew, writing exercise sermons, and looking forward to life in a parish kirk. Gradually, however, he became convinced that he would never be famous as a divine, and he eagerly accepted a tutorship in London. Thither he went in 1798, not yet abandoning thoughts of the church, but with the possibility of some more brilliant career dimly present to his mind. He held the post for nearly two years, employing his leisure time in casual literary work, writing a few of the historical passages in the 'Annual Register,' and reviewing books and translating French newspapers for the 'Oracle.' Towards the end of 1799 he wrung from his father an unwilling consent that he should exchange the church for the bar. 'I have little doubt,' he wrote to his sister before the final decision, 'that I myself should pass my days much more happily as a parish parson than as an eminent lawyer; but I think that when the path to wealth and fame is open for any man he is bound for his own sake, but much more for the sake of his friends, to enter it without hesitation, although it should be steep, rugged, and strewn with thorns. I declare to you most seriously that I have scarcely a doubt that I should rise at the English bar—even to the chancellorship, he added with equal seriousness. He entered Lincoln's Inn on



3 Nov. 1800, and maintained himself by reporting in the House of Commons and in the law courts for the 'Morning Chronicle.' The reporting was done without a knowledge of shorthand, which he had no desire to learn, having convinced himself that by rewriting a speech from notes its spoken effect can be more truthfully reproduced than by setting down the exact words. With his dramatic criticism he took great pains. 'I not only read carefully,' he said, 'all the pieces usually acted, but I made myself master of the history of our stage from Shakespeare downwards, and became fairly acquainted with French, German, and Spanish literature.' For a year or two his time was fully occupied with this work, varied by the reading of law and by his experiences as an energetic volunteer during the Bonaparte scare. He did not give himself up seriously to law till the beginning of 1804, when he entered the chambers of Tidd, the great special pleader. He remained with Tidd nearly three years, taking up rather the position of an assistant than of a pupil, and was called to the bar on 15 Nov. 1806. From the first he started with a clear lead. He had by zealous work acquired more than a beginner's knowledge of law; he had a wider store of experience, gathered from variety of occupation and miscellaneous reading, than most men of his years; and he had a sturdy faith in himself, which hardly ever drooped, and a firm belief in his own ultimate success. Immediately after his call he was engaged for several months in preparing the second edition of Watson's 'Treatise on the Law of Partnership,' which he seems to have in great part rewritten (published 1807; his name does not appear in the book). The ample leisure that was now forced upon him made him try a venture of his own. In 1807 he began his reports of cases at nisi prius. 'Although the judgment of the courts in banco,' he says in his 'Autobiography' (i. 214), 'had been regularly reported from the time of Edward II, with the exception of a few rulings of C. J. Holt and C. J. Lee to be found in Lord Raymond and Strange, nisi prius reporting was not attempted till the time of Lord Kenyon, when nisi prius cases were published by Peake and by Espinasse.' The reports of Espinasse were very inaccurate, and as Peake, who was held in higher esteem, had almost given up the work by Campbell's time, the field was practically unoccupied, while the period of the Napoleonic war, with novel commercial questions daily cropping up, was rich in legal interest. Campbell reported Lord Ellenborough's decisions with great

care and tact, revising them and publishing only such as he considered sound on authority and principle. 'When I arrived,' he said afterwards, 'at the end of my fourth and last volume, I had a whole drawer full of "bad Ellenborough law."' The reports accordingly have since been treated as of high authority. 'On all occasions,' said Lord Cranworth, 'I have found . . . that they really do, in the fewest possible words, lay down the law, very often more distinctly and more accurately than it is to be found in many lengthened reports' (Williams v. Bayley, L. R. 1 H. L. 213). An innovation which attracted attention, criticism, and a recognition of Campbell's shrewdness, and which subsequent reporters have adopted, consisted in appending to the report of each case the names of the attorneys engaged in it, in order that any one who doubted the accuracy of a report might at once know where he could inspect the briefs in the case (see note to first case, i. 4). For some years Campbell's life was that of a struggling barrister who had to make his own way, and whose chief advantages were his power of work and his alertness to push his way through every opening. His reputation, especially in matters of mercantile law, grew very rapidly. In his fourth year he made over 500*l.*, and in his fifth double that sum. In 1816 his business had increased so greatly that he had to give up his reports. In 1819 he was in a position to justify him in applying for a silk gown, though not till 1827, when Copley became chancellor, was the dignity granted to him. In 1821 he married Miss Scarlett, daughter of the future Lord Abinger.

His thoughts had already turned towards parliament, though he showed no great eagerness to enter it. 'It is amazing,' he said, 'how little parliamentary distinction does for a man nowadays at the bar.' He made his first attempt in 1826 at Stafford, a borough of singular corruption even in those corrupt days; and though unsuccessful, he proved so popular a candidate, that at the general election after George IV's death his supporters invited him to stand again, and he was returned in time to take part in the reform debates. At no period in his life did he have politics much at heart, nor were his opinions very decided. He cast in his lot with the liberal party, and on the great questions of catholic emancipation, the repeal of the Test Act, the suppression of slavery, and parliamentary reform he was on the side of freedom; but his strong conservative instincts, and his comparatively slight interest in such matters, prevented him from taking a leading part. The advice which

he gave to his brother is a perfect summary of his opinions: 'For God's sake do not become radical.' The Reform Bill of 1831 astounded him at first. 'I was prepared,' he said, 'to support any moderate measure, but this really is a revolution *ipso facto*.' Upon consideration, however, he came to regard it as a safe and prudent reform, a restoration of the constitution, not an innovation, and he voted for the second reading, which was thus carried by a majority of one. His real interest was in law reform. In 1828, as a consequence of Brougham's famous speech, two commissions were appointed, one to inquire into common law procedure, the other to inquire into the law of real property 'and the various interests therein, and the methods and forms of alienating, conveying, and transferring the same, and of assuring the titles thereto,' and to suggest means of improvement. Sugden having declined to serve, Campbell was put at the head of the Real Property Commission. He was the only common lawyer who sat on it, and hitherto he had not been familiar with the subject of inquiry: indeed, it was said at the time that there were not half a dozen men in England who understood the law of real property. The general conclusion of the commission was that very few essential alterations were required; the law relating to the transfer of land was exceedingly defective, but in other respects 'the law of England, except in a few comparatively unimportant particulars, appears to come almost as near to perfection as can be expected in any human institutions' (1st Rep. p. 6). In the first report, which appeared in 1829, Campbell wrote the introduction and the section on prescription, and the statutes of limitation. Over the second report (1830), proposing a scheme for a general register of deeds and instruments relating to land, the third (1832) dealing with tenures, &c., and the fourth (1833) on amendments in the law of wills, he exercised only a general superintendence (*Life*, i. 457-9). The first speech which he delivered in parliament (1830) was in moving for leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of a general register of deeds affecting real property (reprinted, *Speeches*, p. 430). The bill was introduced again in the following session, but although a select committee reported in favour of it, the opposition was so strong that it had to be abandoned. Twenty years later he succeeded in carrying a similar bill through the lords, but there it ended. The other recommendations of the commission had a better fortune. In 1833 Campbell, who had been made solicitor-general in the previous year, helped to carry through

several measures of such importance as to mark a distinct period in the history of the law of real property: the statutes of limitation (3 & 4 Wm. IV. cc. 27 and 42); the Fines and Recoveries Act (c. 74)—almost entirely the work of Mr. Brodie, the conveyancer, and described by Sugden as 'a masterly performance' (HAYES, *Conveyancing*, i. 155 n, and 216); an act to render freehold and copyhold estates assets for the payment of simple contract debts (c. 104); the Dower Act (c. 105); and an act for the amendment of the law of inheritance (c. 106). Never had so clean a sweep been made of worn-out rules of law as was done by this group of statutes. 'They quietly passed through both houses of parliament,' says Campbell, 'without one single syllable being altered in any of them. This is the only way of legislating on such a subject. They had been drawn by the real property commissioners, printed and extensively circulated, and repeatedly revised, with the advantage of the observations of skilful men studying them in their closet. A mixed and numerous deliberative assembly is wholly unfit for such work' (*Life*, ii. 29). A further step on the lines of the commission was taken four years later in the Wills Amendment Act (1 Vict. c. 26), which placed real property and personal property in the same position as regards the formalities necessary for the validity of wills. Campbell became attorney-general in 1834, but he failed to be re-elected at Dudley, and remained for three months without a seat, finding refuge at last in Edinburgh, where he was returned by a large majority. It was in a speech to his new constituents that he characteristically described himself as 'plain John Campbell,' a happy designation which he has never lost. With two brief intervals of opposition, in 1834-5 and in 1839, he remained attorney-general till 1841. He was felt at the time to be invaluable to the whigs in parliament, as indeed the government testified by refusing to make him a judge, though he pressed his claims with a good deal of pertinacity (see *Life of Brougham*, iii. 341-53). Twice he asked in vain to be made master of the rolls, first on the death of Leach in 1834 (see correspondence in *Life of Brougham*, iii. 422-30), and next when Pepys became lord chancellor in 1836. On the second occasion Campbell felt that his dignity was compromised, for though not an equity lawyer, he considered himself entitled to the office almost as a matter of right. He resolved to resign, and in fact carried his letter of resignation to Lord Melbourne; but he was induced to give way by a promise that in recognition of the value

of his services his wife should be raised to the peerage. She was created Baroness Stratheden. In 1838 and in 1839, when vacancies occurred in the court of common pleas, he had still serious thoughts of accepting a puisne judgeship, but he was again dissuaded from abandoning the government. After the Real Property Acts, his chief legislative work during this period was the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, in the preparation of which he had a chief part, and which he carried through the House of Commons. He had much at heart the carrying of a measure for abolishing imprisonment for debt, except in certain cases of fraud, and for giving creditors greater powers over their debtors' property, but he was only partially successful. An act of 1836 (1 & 2 Vict. c. 110) extended the remedies of judgment creditors, and abolished imprisonment for debt on mesne process; but imprisonment for ordinary debts after judgment was not done away with till 1869. Yet another abuse he swept away by the Prisoners' Counsel Act (6 & 7 Wm. IV, c. 114), which gave to a person charged with felony, or to his counsel, the same rights of addressing the jury on the merits of the case as if he were charged with treason or misdemeanor, and allowed all persons on trial to have copies of, and to inspect, depositions taken against them. Strange to say, nearly all the judges were opposed to this change, Mr. Justice Allan Park, in fact, threatening to resign if the bill were carried. Among the famous cases in which Campbell took part while he was at the head of the bar were the trial of Lord Melbourne in 1836, the second action of Stockdale v. Hansard in 1839, the trial of Frost the chartist in 1840, and the trial of Lord Cardigan in 1841 for wounding Captain Tuckett in a duel. In 1842 he published a selection of his speeches delivered at the bar and in the House of Commons; and with a lack of good feeling, for which he was very justly condemned, he included his defence of Lord Melbourne. The only part of the volume that has any permanent value is his argument in Stockdale v. Hansard. He had devoted a great part of two long vacations to preparing it. 'I had read everything,' he says, 'that had the smallest bearing on the subject, from the earliest year-book to the latest pamphlet—not confining myself to mere legal authorities, but diligently examining historians, antiquaries, and general jurists, both English and foreign' (see also SUMNER'S *Life*, ii. 13). He printed much in later years, but nothing that showed more careful labour than the full account which this speech contains of the history and the

reason of parliamentary privilege. The court, over which Lord Denman presided, decided against him (9 A. & E. 1; see Bradlaugh v. Gossett, L. R. 12 Q. B. D. 271); and the excitement and the difficulties caused by their 'ill-considered and intemperate judgment,' as Campbell unreasonably calls it in his 'Autobiography,' were ended only by the passing of an act to give summary protection to persons employed in the publication of parliamentary papers (3 Vict. c. 9. See his *Life*, ch. xxiii.; *Speeches*, p. 406; and BROOM'S *Constitutional Law*, where the case is reported with a summary of Campbell's argument). Another elaborate argument was delivered by him in the great Sergeant's case, but he did not include it in his published speeches (see MANNING'S *Sergeant's Case*, p. 114. In FORSYTH'S *Cases and Opinions on Constitutional Law* will be found a considerable number of Campbell's opinions written while he was a law officer).

In 1841, when the dissolution was resolved on which ended in the fall of the whigs, it was felt that Campbell's services should receive recognition. Pressure was brought to bear on Lord Plunket, the Irish lord chancellor, to induce him to resign, which he did unwillingly, protesting against the arrangement, and Campbell was appointed and raised to the peerage. As the appointment was so unpopular in Dublin, and as it had been freely called a job, he publicly declared that he would forego the usual pension of 4,000*l.* a year which attached to the Irish chancellorship. When the subject had been first mooted, he appears to have thought that Lord Plunket's consent had been obtained, and when he learned the real state of matters, the delay had put in danger his Edinburgh seat. His own account of the transaction shows that he himself saw nothing discreditable in the part which he played. He held the office only for six weeks, and sat in court only a few days. His lack of experience as an equity lawyer did not prevent him from forming large schemes for the reform of equity procedure, which he sketched out in an address to the Irish bar (*Speeches*, p. 516); but they were cut short by the resignation of the Melbourne ministry, and he was replaced in the chancellorship by Sugden (*Life of Plunket*, ii. 329; O'FLANAGAN, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland*, ii. 595).

He returned to England, and, according to his bargain, without a pension. Judicial business in the House of Lords (where he took part in the O'Connell case) and on the judicial committee of the privy council left him plenty of leisure, which his ambitious indus-

try speedily found means of turning to account. He published his speeches; he wrote his autobiography (completed at various times in later years); and in his sixty-third year he set himself to write the lives of the chancellors from the earliest times downwards. The difficulty and magnitude of the task discouraged him at first, and for a time he abandoned it; but he returned to it with such vigour, that in one year and ten months he had in print the first three volumes, down to the revolution of 1688. 'Assuming it,' he wrote afterwards with no misgivings, 'to be a "standard work," as it is at present denominated, I doubt whether any other of the same bulk was ever finished off more rapidly.' The first series of 'Lives' appeared in 1845, the second (to Lord Thurlow's death) in 1846, and the third (to Lord Eldon's death) in 1847. The work had great success. Within a month a second edition of the first series was called for, and 2,050 copies of the second series were sold on the day of publication. The literary honours which were showered upon him inspired him to seek another subject. His ambition was 'to produce a specimen of just historical composition.' He thought, it seems, of writing the 'History of the Long Parliament,' but eventually decided to continue working on his old field. His first intention was to take up the Irish chancellors. He was afraid, however, that in spite of some interesting names, 'as a body they would appear very dull,' so he determined to postpone them till he had completed the 'Lives of the Chief Justices.' Working as rapidly as ever, by 1849 he had brought down his narrative to the death of Lord Mansfield, and published the first two volumes. The third volume, containing the lives of Kenyon, Ellenborough, and Tenterden, appeared in 1857.

The merits of his 'Lives' are very considerable. They are eminently readable. The style is lively, though rough, careless, and incorrect; every incident is presented effectively; they are full of good stories, and they contain a great deal of information about the history of law and lawyers which is not easily to be found elsewhere. The later volumes, moreover, both of the 'Chancellors' and the 'Chief Justices,' have the freshness and interest of personal memoirs. For all these qualities Campbell has received due and sufficient recognition. Nor has time worn away the merits of his books; they still find many readers, and there is little probability that they will be displaced by anything more entertaining written on the same subject. None the less are they among the most censurable publications in

our literature. 'As an historical production,' says a careful critic, speaking of the 'Chancellors,' 'the whole work is wanting in a due sense of the obligations imposed by such a task, is disfigured by unblushing plagiarisms, and, as the writer approaches his own times, by much unscrupulous misrepresentation' (GARDINER and MULLINGER, *Introd. to English History*, p. 229). This judgment is not too severe. The tone of laborious research which pervades every volume is delusive. No writer ever owed so much to the labours of others who acknowledged so little (for some examples of his method see 'Law Magazine,' xxxv. 119). Literary morality in its other form, the love of historical truth and accuracy, he hardly understood. No one who has ever followed him to the sources of his information will trust him more; for not only was he too hurried and careless to sift such evidence as he gathered, but even plain statements of fact are perverted, and his authorities are constantly misquoted (see CHRISTIE'S *Shaftesbury Papers*, containing a 'minute dissection' of the first chapter of Campbell's life of Shaftesbury; G. T. KENYON'S *Life of Lord Kenyon*, written because Lord Campbell's life of Kenyon was unsatisfactory; FORSYTH'S *Essays*, 127-132; PULLING'S *Order of the Coif*).

The concluding volume of the 'Chancellors,' published after his death, and containing the lives of Lyndhurst and Brougham, is even more lamentable, and has done more than anything else to lower the reputation of Campbell. Lyndhurst's prediction came true. 'I predict,' so he is reported to have said to Brougham, with reference to a judicial appointment of which Campbell was disappointed, 'that he will take his revenge on you by describing you with all the gall of his nature. He will write of you, and perhaps of me too, with envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, for such is his nature' (*Life of Brougham*, iii. 435). The conversation, which is said to have taken place in 1835, is obviously misreported, for there is a reference in it to the 'Lives of the Chancellors' and to Wetherell's remark that they had added a new sting to death; but if the prediction was not Lyndhurst's it was Brougham's. The book is a marvel of inaccuracy and misrepresentation, and, if not written with actual malice, it exhibits a discreditable absence of generosity and good feeling. The only possible excuse for such a work is one suggested by Lyndhurst himself, that Campbell was not always aware of the effect of the expressions which he used; 'he has been so accustomed to relate degrading

anecdotes of his predecessors in office, that I am afraid his feelings upon these subjects have become somewhat blunted' (*Hansard*, 13 July 1857). No sooner had it appeared than Lord St. Leonards, who incidentally suffered from the biographer's inaccuracy, published an indignant pamphlet in his own defence, 'Misrepresentations in Campbell's Lives of Lyndhurst and Brougham, corrected by St. Leonards.' Brougham's story, as told by himself, has since been published (1871); and the life of Lyndhurst has been rewritten by Sir Theodore Martin (1883) (see also 2nd edition of SIDNEY GIBSON'S *Memoir of Lord Lyndhurst*).

In 1846, when the whigs returned, Campbell had hopes of being restored to the Irish chancellorship: but in deference to Irish feeling it was decided that the office should be held, as it has ever since been held, by an Irishman, and Campbell was made instead chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet. He had meanwhile been playing a leading part in the House of Lords. 'Edinburgh,' said Brougham, with his usual exaggeration, 'is now celebrated for having given us the two greatest bores that have ever yet been known in London, for Jack Campbell in the House of Lords is just what Tom Macaulay is in private society.' He had certainly very little oratorical fervour, and, as one may judge from 'Hansard,' he was often tedious; but the opinions of a man so shrewd and experienced always commanded attention. The passing of several important measures during this period was greatly owing to his exertions, the most important of them being the Copyright Act of 1842 (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45); the Label Act of 1843 (6 & 7 Vict. c. 96), known as Lord Campbell's Act, and drafted by himself with the assistance of Starkie, the well-known text writer on the law of libel and slander; and an act of 1846 (9 & 10 Vict. c. 93), also known as Lord Campbell's Act, which did away with the rule that where a person was killed by the wrongful act, neglect or default of another, no action for damages could be brought by his representatives. Lord Denman's health breaking down in 1849, Campbell received assurances that he would be made chief justice, and he applied himself to the study of the recent changes in legal procedure. Much delay occurred; Denman, resenting several uncomplimentary references to himself in Campbell's 'Lives,' was unwilling to resign in his favour (ARNOULD, *Life of Denman*, ii. 288); and it was not till March 1850 that the appointment was actually made. His judicial labours mainly filled up his subsequent life; but he still took a share in legal

debates and in legislation. In 1851 he succeeded at length in passing the Registration Bill through the lords, a measure which, he says in his journal, 'ought to immortalise me,' but it came to grief in the commons. He joined in the opposition to the Wensleydale life peerage, preparing himself for the debate as usual by reading 'all that had been written on the subject.' He presided over the committee to inquire into the question of divorce, and saw their recommendations carried into effect by the Divorce and Matrimonial Act of 1857. And he left yet another Lord Campbell's Act on the statute-book, the Obscene Publications Act of 1857 (20 & 21 Vict. c. 83). His literary schemes had to be abandoned; but he spent the autumn of 1858 at Harttrigg, an estate in Roxburghshire, which he had purchased some years before, in reading through Shakespeare to see 'whether the bard of Avon, before he left Stratford, had not been an attorney's clerk.' The pamphlet in which he discusses the question (published in the form of a letter to J. Payne Collier) convinced Macaulay that Shakespeare had some legal training, Campbell himself inclining to the same belief, though he declined to give a decided opinion.

Lord Campbell the judge is a more pleasing figure than Lord Campbell the author. He had his failings, it would seem, even on the bench, showing, for example, somewhat too openly an unworthy love of applause. But he did not debase his talents by hurried work. He was ambitious to leave behind him the reputation of a sound lawyer, and by aid of his wide knowledge, his long experience, his untiring industry, and his natural strength of intellect, he succeeded. Though changes in procedure have rendered obsolete many of the cases in which he took part, there remains a solid body of law connected with his name. His decisions, some of them in 'leading cases' (such as *Hamphries v. Brogden*), are constantly cited, and his opinion still carries weight. For his House of Lords cases see Cl. & F. from vol. viii.; and his privy council cases, Moore from vol. iii.: his civil cases as chief justice are reported in 1-9 E. & B., E. B. & E., 1 & 2 E. & E., and 12-18 Q. B.; his criminal cases in 3-8 Cox, and in Bell's, Dearsly's, and Dearsly and Bell's Crown Cases. Among his *causes célèbres* were Achilli's action against Newman (1852), and the trials of Palmer (1856) and Bernard (1858).

When the liberal party regained power in 1859, great difficulty was experienced in deciding who should be chancellor. There were several rivals for the honour, each with

strong supporters; and, unable to decide between their claims, Lord Palmerston gave the great seal to Campbell, acting, it is said, on the advice of Lord Lyndhurst (*MARTIN, Life of Lyndhurst*, 480). Campbell was now in his eightieth year, and no one, as he took pains to find out, had ever been appointed to, or had even held, the office at so advanced an age. About two years of life remained to him, which were marked by little that is noteworthy. He made a respectable equity judge, and prided himself on his rapid despatch of business; but his rather overbearing nature caused some friction with the other judges (see his remarks on *V.-c. Page Wood* in the case of *Burch v. Bright*, and the protests of the other vice-chancellors; *Life of Lord Ha-therley*, i. 88. His equity decisions are reported in *De G. F. & J.*) The chief political incident of the time was the outbreak of the American war, and it was by Campbell's advice that the government agreed to recognise the belligerent rights of the Southern states (*RUSSELL, Recollections and Suggestions*, 286). Had he lived a few weeks longer, his chancellorship would have been distinguished by the passing of the Criminal Law Consolidation Acts, in the preparation of which he had taken a great interest (see introduction to Greaves's edition of the acts). He died on the night of 22 June 1861, having sat in court and attended a cabinet council during the day.

Lord Campbell possessed in a supreme degree the art of getting on. 'If Campbell,' said Perry of the *'Morning Chronicle'*, 'had engaged as an opera-dancer, I do not say he would have danced as well as Deshayes, but I feel confident he would have got a higher salary.' He was full of ambition, and though he did not lack public spirit, he judged most things by their bearing on his personal fortunes. Perhaps nothing paints his mind more clearly than a phrase which he lets drop in a letter to his brother in recommending the study of the best English classics; 'they bear reading very well,' he writes, 'and you can always make them tell.' He had no false modesty, rather an exalted self-confidence, which he concealed neither from himself nor from others; he had patience to wait for his opportunities, yet he never let himself be forgotten; and his enormous industry and power of getting rapidly through work stood him in stead of abilities of the highest kind. He fell far short of greatness, intellectual or moral. Not even as the term is applied to the great rivals of his later life, Brougham and Lyndhurst, can he be described as a man of genius. On its moral side his nature was lowered by ambition. His private life, indeed, was rich in fine traits. In no

man was the sense of family union more strong, and few have won for themselves and maintained through a busy life a deeper devotion and affection. His public career is less attractive. While his abilities compelled admiration, he did not in any high degree inspire feelings of enthusiasm or confidence. Some of his contemporaries have even represented him as essentially ungrateful and ungenerous. But this is exaggeration. His were simply the defects of a man of pushing character, whose eagerness to succeed made itself too plainly felt. But whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the spirit in which he served his country, there is none as to the value of the services themselves. As a legislator and a judge he left a name which can never be passed over when the history of our law is written.

The following is a list of his works:

1. 'Reports of Cases determined at Nisi Prius the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and on the Home Circuit,' 4 vols. 1809-16; vols. i. and ii. were reprinted in New York in 1810-11; vols. iii. and iv., with notes by Howe, in 1821.
2. 'Letter to a Member of the present Parliament on the Articles of a Charge against Marquis Wellesley which have been laid before the House of Commons,' 1808 (see *WARR's Bibl. Brit.*)
3. 'Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley on the Law of Church Rates,' 1837; at least five editions were published during the year; reprinted in his 'Speeches.' It was written to show that the assent of the vestry was required before a valid church rate could be levied, and that no legal means existed of compelling the vestry to impose a rate.
4. 'Speeches of Lord Campbell at the Bar and in the House of Commons; with an address to the Irish Bar as Lord Chancellor of Ireland,' 1842.
5. 'The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England from the earliest times till the reign of King George IV.' In 3 series, 7 vols., 1846-47, 4th ed., 10 vols., 1856-7. The life of Lord Bacon was reprinted in Murray's 'Railway Library.' An American work has the following title: 'Atrocious Judges. Lives of Judges infamous as tools of tyrants and instruments of oppression. Compiled from the judicial biographies of John, Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice of England,' with notes by R. Hildrath, New York and Auburn, 1856.
6. 'The Lives of the Chief Justices of England from the Norman Conquest till the death of Lord Mansfield,' 3 vols. 1849 and 1857.
7. 'Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered, in a Letter to J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A.,' 1859.
8. 'Lives of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham,'

1869; the eighth volume of the 'Chancellors, uniform with first edition. The 'Chancellors,' the 'Chief Justices,' and the pamphlet on Shakespeare have appeared in American editions.

[Life of Lord Campbell, consisting of a selection from his autobiography, diary, and letters, edited by his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Hardcastle; Foss's Judges; Law Magazine, August 1853 and August 1861; Martin's Life of Lord Lyndhurst; Brougham's Life and Times; Bennet's Biographical Sketches from the Note-books of a Law Reporter; Annual Register, 1861; Times, 24 June 1861; Sol. Journ. 29 June 1861; Hansard from 1830 onwards; Lord Campbell's works contain frequent references to passages in his own life.]

G. P. M.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, second MARQUIS OF BREADALBANE (1796-1862), known in his younger days as Lord Glenorchy, and, after his father's elevation to the marquise in 1831, as Earl of Ormelie, was born at Dundee in 1796. He was son of John, fourth earl and first marquis of Breadalbane (1762-1834), by Mary, daughter of David Gavin. He represented Okhampton from 1820 to 1826. In 1832, after the passing of the Reform Bill, he contested the representation of the important county of Perth with Sir George Murray, and conducted the campaign with such spirit and ability that he carried the election by the large majority of nearly six hundred votes. In 1834, on the death of his father, he became a member of the House of Lords. He held the office of lord chamberlain from 1848 to 1852, and again from 1853 to 1858. In 1843 he was chosen lord rector of the university of Glasgow. During the controversy between the church of Scotland and the civil courts Breadalbane was conspicuous for his earnest advocacy of the 'non-intrusion' cause. In that connection he was by far the most outstanding man among the laity. Though not a great speaker he advocated the cause in the House of Lords, as well as in public meetings, and when the Free church was set up he cordially adhered to it, and was one of its most munificent supporters. In 1840 he led the opposition in the House of Lords to the Earl of Aberdeen's bill on the church question, and, though defeated, contributed an important element towards the withdrawal of the bill by its author a short time subsequently. His character, abilities, and public spirit, as well as his position as one of the largest proprietors in Scotland, procured for him an unusual measure of respect in his native country. In 1842 the queen paid a visit to his seat, Taymouth Castle, one of the first she paid in Scotland. He was a warm supporter of the volunteer movement and in

1860, when her majesty held a grand review of the volunteer forces in Scotland, one of the most distinguished corps was the five hundred men from Breadalbane, headed by their noble chief. He died at Lausanne 8 Nov. 1862. He married in 1821 Eliza, eldest daughter of the late George Baillie of Jerviswood, and a descendant of the Robert Baillie [q. v.] who suffered at the cross of Edinburgh in 1684, and, as she believed, of John Knox himself. She died 28 Aug. 1861. Lord Breadalbane was K.T., F.S.A. Scot., and F.R.S.

[Dod's Peerage; Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands, by her Majesty the Queen; 'In Memoriam'—the Marquis of Breadalbane, by William Chalmers, D.D.; Carlyle's Reminiscences, vol. i.; Disruption Worthies; Buchanan's Ten Years' Conflict; Witness newspaper, October 1862; Foster's Scotch M.P.'s, 60; Gent. Mag. 1862, pt. ii. 779.] W. G. B.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN** (1780-1863), knight, major-general in the Portuguese service, son of William Campbell, commissioner of the navy board, by his wife, the daughter of Major Pitcairn, of the marines, who fell at Bunker's Hill, was born at his father's official residence in Chatham dockyard in 1780, and was educated at Harrow School. In 1800 he obtained a cornetcy in the 7th light dragoons (hussars), in which he became lieutenant in 1801, and captain in 1806. He served as brigade-major on the staff of General Crauford's force in South America in 1807, and was with his regiment in Spain in 1808, where he was present in the affairs at Salagun and Benevente, under Lord Paget. Returning to Portugal on the cavalry staff in 1809, he was appointed to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the Portuguese cavalry, under Marshal Beresford, with which he served to the end of the war, frequently distinguishing himself by his talents and intrepidity. At the peace of 1814 he accepted an offer to remain in Portugal, and for the next six years was actively engaged in the organisation of the Portuguese forces. In 1815 he was created a knight-bachelor in the United Kingdom. In 1816 he married Doña Maria Brígida de Faria e Lacerda of Lisbon. In 1820 he obtained the rank of major-general in the Portuguese army, and was colonel of the 4th cavalry, deputy quartermaster-general, and K.C.T.S. When the agitation for a constitutional government commenced, he quitted the Portuguese service and returned to England, and having retained his rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel in the British army, to which he had been advanced in 1812, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel 75th foot, which rank he held from 1820 to 1824, when he retired by the sale of his



commission. Though absent from Portugal, Campbell had kept up his relations with the absolute party in that country, and when Dom Miguel seized on the throne, he was summoned to his aid and invested with the rank of major-general. He worked as zealously for his patron as did the late Admiral Sir Charles Napier for the opposing party of Doña Maria de Gloria, but not with like success. His efforts to raise a naval force in the United Kingdom were defeated, although the opposite party had successfully evaded the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and when he actually took the field against the constitutionalists at Oporto, he accomplished nothing worthy of his old reputation as a dashing cavalry officer. When Dom Miguel withdrew from the contest, Campbell returned to England and retired from public life. He lived quietly and almost forgotten in London, where he married, in 1842, his second wife, Harriet Maria, widow of Major-general Sir Alexander Dickson, adjutant-general royal artillery. He died at his residence in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, on 19 Dec. 1863, in his eighty-fourth year.

[Annual Army Lists; Dod's Knightage; Gent. Mag. 3rd ser. (xvi.), p. 389.] H. M. C.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN** (1794–1867), minister of the congregational church, was born in Forfar on 5 Oct. 1794. He was educated at the parochial school, after which he for some time followed the occupation of a blacksmith. In 1818 he entered the university of St. Andrews, and after completing his university career at Glasgow, and attending the divinity hall of the congregational church, was ordained to a pastoral charge in Ayrshire. Thence he was shortly removed to the charge of the Tabernacle, Moorfields, London, which, after a ministry of twenty years, he relinquished in order to devote himself wholly to literature. In 1844 he established the 'Christian Witness' and two years later the 'Christian Penny Magazine.' At the close of 1849 he started 'The British Banner,' a weekly newspaper, which he carried on for nine years, after which he originated 'The British Standard.' Two years later he established 'The British Ensign,' a penny paper. He was also the author of a large number of separate publications, the principal of which were: 1. 'Jethro,' 1839. 2. 'Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions,' 1840. 3. 'Pastoral Visitation,' 1841. 4. 'The Martyr of Erromanga, or Philosophy of Missions,' 1842. 5. 'Life of David Nasmyth, founder of City Missions,' 1844. 6. 'Wesleyan Methodism,' 1847. 7. 'A Review of

the Life and Character of J. Angell James,' 1860. In 1839 he was engaged in a newspaper controversy with the queen's printers in regard to Bible monopoly, and the letters were published in a separate volume. He was also a keen opponent of Roman catholicism, ritualism, and rational theology. In 1851 he published a volume on 'Popery and Puseyism,' and in 1865 a volume on 'Popery.' At the close of 1866 he retired from the 'British Standard,' in order to obtain more leisure to prepare his 'Life of George Whitefield.' He died on 26 March 1867.

[Gent. Mag. vol. iii., 4th ser. p. 676; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

**CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN** (1802–1877), Indian official, was the eldest son of John Campbell of Lochend, by Annabella, daughter of John Campbell of Melfort, and was born at Kingsburgh in the island of Skye in 1802. He was gazetted an ensign in the 19th regiment in 1819, but he entered the East India Company's service in 1820, and on 5 April was appointed a lieutenant in the 11st Madras native infantry, and was stationed in various cantonments in the Madras presidency until his promotion to the rank of captain in 1830. In 1834 his regiment was ordered to quell an insurrection among the hill tribes in the province of Kintedy in Orissa, and on the death of Major Barclay, Campbell commanded the regiment with great success. His knowledge of Orissa caused him to be again employed in the Goomsoor war of 1836–7, and at the end of this war he was placed in civil charge of the Khonds, or hill tribes of Orissa, with special instructions to suppress the practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide. Campbell soon obtained a marvellous control over them, and, without resorting once to the use of troops, managed to save the lives of hundreds of destined victims by a consistent policy of expelling from the hills all refractory village headmen, and by refusing to trust to native agents. In 1842 he accompanied his old regiment, the 41st M.N.I., to China as senior major, and for his services there he was promoted lieutenant-colonel and made a C.B. in December 1842. After his return to Madras he commanded his regiment in cantonments for five years. Meanwhile the Khonds were not prospering under his successor in Orissa, Captain Macpherson, who had entirely changed Campbell's policy, and preferred to rely upon the influence of their headmen, whom he recalled to their villages, and in one of them, named Sam Bye, an especial foe of Campbell's, he placed particular confidence. Disturbances

broke out, and in 1847 Campbell was ordered to supersede Captain Macpherson and to take up his old appointment. He at once resumed his old system of government, the headmen and Sam Bye were again expelled, and he ruled the Khonds in his old absolute fashion. In 1849 he had to go to the Cape for his health for two years; in 1853 he was promoted colonel, and in 1855, when he was on the eve of obtaining his colonel's allowances, he finally resigned his appointment, and returned to Scotland after an absence of thirty-six years. Campbell took up his residence at Edinburgh, and on 28 Nov. 1859 he was promoted major-general. In 1861 he published, for private circulation only, a narrative of his operations in Orissa, which was so greatly appreciated that in 1864 he published his 'Personal Narrative,' in which he deplored Macpherson's 'mistakes in judgment.' His book was immediately followed by one by Macpherson's brother, who warmly contested many of Campbell's statements. The controversy created some excitement, and drew such attention to Campbell's undoubted services that on the enlargement of the order of the Star of India and its division into three classes in 1866, he was made a K.C.S.I. In 1867 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1872 general, and in December 1877 he died at Edinburgh.

[See The Campbells of Melfort, by M. O. C., London, 1882; for his Indian services see Narrative of Major-general John Campbell, C.B., of his Operations in the Hill Tracts of Orissa for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice and Infanticide, printed for private circulation, 1861; a Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan, for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice, by Major-general John Campbell, C.B., 1864; Memorials of Service in India, from the correspondence of the late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, C.B., edited by his brother, William Macpherson; and Orissa, by W. W. Hunter, M.D.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN FRANCIS** (1822-1885), of Islay, writer on highland folklore, geology, and meteorology, eldest son of Walter Frederick Campbell of Islay, by his first wife, Lady Eleanor Charteris, eldest daughter of Francis, seventh earl of Wemyss, was born on 29 Dec. 1822. He was educated at Eton and the university of Edinburgh. For some time he was a groom-in-waiting, and he occupied various posts connected with the government—among others, those of secretary to the lighthouse commission and secretary to the coal commission. He died at Cannes on 17 Feb. 1885. Campbell devoted a great portion of his

leisure to the collection of folklore tales in the western highlands. For this purpose he was in the habit of mixing with the natives in free and easy intercourse, so as to gain their complete confidence, and thus induce them to relate to him stories which the uneducated are so diffident in telling to strangers. In this manner he collected a large number of the traditional *mährchen* of the district, which he published under the title, 'Popular Tales of the West Highlands orally collected, with a Translation,' 4 vols. 1860-2. Campbell was also a keen observer of nature, and devoted much attention to geology and meteorology, his studies in which gained much benefit by his foreign travel. In 1865 he published 'Frost and Fire, Natural Engines, Toolmarks and Chips, with Sketches taken at home and abroad by a Traveller.' He was the inventor of the sunshine recorder for indicating the varying intensity of the sun's rays, and in 1883 he published a book on 'Thermography.' In 1863 he published anonymously a work by his father, entitled 'Life in Normandy: Sketches of French Fishing, Farming, Cooking, Natural History, and Politics, drawn from Nature,' and in 1865 'A Short American Tramp in the Fall of 1864, by the Editor of "Life in Normandy."' In 1872 he began to issue a series of Gaelic texts under the title, 'Leabhair na Fèine.' He left behind him a large number of volumes dealing with Celtic folklore.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, i. 257; W. S. Ralston, in Athenaeum, 1885, i. 250; Academy, 1885, xxvii. 151.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN McLEOD** (1800-1872), Scotch divine, son of the Rev. Donald Campbell, was born at Kilninver, Argyllshire in 1800. Most of his early education was derived from his father, and before he went to Glasgow University at the age of eleven he was a good Latin scholar. He remained at Glasgow from 1811 to 1820, during the last three years being a student at the divinity hall, and gaining the prize for an essay on Hebrew poetry. He completed his divinity course at Edinburgh, and in 1821 was licensed as a preacher in the Scotch church by the presbytery of Lorne. The next four years were spent partly in Edinburgh, where he continued his studies, and partly at Kilninver, where he often preached for his father; and in 1825 he was appointed to the important parish of Row, near Cardross. For some years he worked unostentatiously but zealously. During the second year of his ministry at Row he became impressed with the doctrine of 'assurance of faith,' and this

led him to teach the 'universality of the atonement.' This gave great dissatisfaction to some of his parishioners, who in 1829 petitioned the presbytery about it. This petition was, however, withdrawn. The nature of his views may be gathered from his 'Sermons and Lectures,' published at Greenock in 1832. About this time he became a warm friend of Edward Irving. As Campbell did not modify his views, in March 1830 a petition from twelve of his parishioners became the foundation for a presbyterial visitation and ultimately of a 'libel' for heresy. The 'libel' was duly considered and found relevant. The case now went up to the synod, and thence to the general assembly, which, after a hasty examination, found Campbell guilty of teaching heretical doctrines concerning 'assurance' and 'universal atonement and pardon,' and deprived him of his living. The effect of the sentence being to close the pulpits of the national church against him, Campbell spent two years in the highlands as an evangelist. His friend Edward Irving had at this time founded the catholic apostolic church, and some of his followers made considerable efforts to persuade Campbell to join it. His refusal to do so did not break his friendship with their leader, and Irving's last days were soothed by his intercourse with Campbell. From 1833 to 1859 he ministered to a fixed congregation in Glasgow with such success that a large chapel had to be erected for his use in 1843. He was, however, careful to avoid any attempt to found a sect. In 1838 he married Mary, daughter of Mr. John Campbell of Kilninver, and in 1851 he published a small volume on the eucharist, entitled 'Christ the Bread of Life,' and five years later a work called 'The Nature of the Atonement,' a theological treatise of great value which passed through five editions, and has had considerable influence on religious thought in Scotland. In 1859 his health gave way, and he was compelled to give up all ministerial work, many of his congregation by his advice joining the Barony church, of which Dr. Norman McLeod was pastor. From the time Campbell left Row he never received any remuneration for his labours. In 1862 he published 'Thoughts on Revelation.' His health compelled a retired life, varied by occasional intercourse with such friends as Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, Dr. Norman McLeod, Bishop Ewing, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, and Mr. D. J. Vaughan. In 1868 he received unsought the degree of D.D. from the university of Glasgow. In 1870 he removed to Roseneath to live, and in the following year commenced 'Reminiscences and Reflections,' an unfinished work which was

published after his death (1873) under the editorship of his son, the Rev. Donald Campbell. In 1871 a testimonial and address were presented to him by representatives of most of the religious bodies in Scotland. Dr. Campbell died on 27 Feb. 1872, and was buried in Roseneath churchyard. Long before his death he had come to be looked up to as one of the intellectual leaders of the time, and in religious questions his opinion carried more weight than that of any other man in Scotland. Besides the works before mentioned, Dr. Campbell published 'The whole Proceedings in the Case of the Rev. John McLeod Campbell,' 1831, and various single sermons.

[J. McL. Campbell's *Reminiscences and Reflections*; Donald Campbell's *Memorials of John McLeod Campbell, D.D.*; Oliphant's *Life of Edward Irving*; Hanna's *Letters &c. of T. Erskine*; *Life of Bishop Ewing*; St. Giles' *Lectures on Scottish Divines*; Story's *Life of R. Story of Roseneath*; information kindly communicated by the Rev. Donald Campbell, M.A., vicar of Eye. An admirable account of Dr. Campbell's views is given in *Scottish Influence upon English Theological Thought*, by Dr. J. Vaughan (*Contemporary Review*, June 1878).] A. C. B.

**CAMPBELL, NEIL** (*d.* 1627), bishop of Argyll, was parson at Kilmartin and chanter of the diocese in 1514. He was a member of the assembly in 1590, and one of the assessors appointed by the moderator. In 1606 he was promoted to the bishopric of Argyll, but held it for only two years, resigning it in favour of his son in 1608. He had a very high reputation personally and as a pastor, and when other bishops were lampooned he alone was not. '*Solus in Ergadiis præsul meritissimus oris.*' He was a member of the assembly 8 June 1610, having continued to discharge his duties as pastor. He died in 1627. Two of his sons were promoted to bishoprics, John to Argyll and Neil to the Isles.

[Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, p. 290; Hew Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 11.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, SIR NEIL** (1776-1827), general, second son of Captain Neil Campbell of Duntroon, was born on 1 May 1776. He was gazetted an ensign in the 6th West India regiment on 2 April 1797, and exchanged into the 67th regiment on 29 Oct. 1798. He was for a time the commanding officer in the Caicos or Turks Islands, and was publicly thanked by the inhabitants. On 23 Aug. 1799 he purchased a lieutenancy in the 57th regiment, and in 1800 returned to England and volunteered to join the

95th regiment, afterwards the rifle brigade, on its first formation. He purchased his company on 4 June 1801, and proved himself an admirable officer of light troops. His fleetness of foot was especially remarkable, and a story is told by Sir William Napier of his beating even Sir John Moore, with whom he was a great favourite, in a race at Shorncliffe. From February 1802 to September 1803 he was at the Royal Military College at Great Marlow, and on leaving it was appointed assistant quartermaster-general for the southern district. He purchased a majority in the 43rd regiment on 24 Jan. 1805, which he exchanged for a majority in the 54th on 20 Feb. 1806. After two years in Jamaica with his regiment he returned to England, became lieutenant-colonel on 20 Aug. 1808, and was sent to the West Indies as deputy adjutant-general. In this capacity he was present at the capture of Martinique in January 1809, of the Saintes Islands in April 1809, and of Guadeloupe in January 1810. In 1810 he came to England and was at once sent to Portugal with strong letters of recommendation to Marshal Beresford, who appointed him colonel of the 16th Portuguese infantry, one of the regiments of Pack's brigade, in April 1811. In January 1813, after doing good service at Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca, he returned to England on sick leave, and was then sent to join Lord Cathcart, who was British minister at the Russian court, and military commissioner with the Russian army in Poland. Campbell was attached by him to Wittgenstein's column, with which he remained, almost uninterruptedly, until the entry of the allies into Paris on 31 March 1814. Campbell was not satisfied to act as British representative only, but took every opportunity of fighting, and in the battle of Fère-Champenoise, fought on 24 March 1814, he headed a charge of Russian cavalry, and during the *mêlée* was mistaken for a French officer and severely wounded by a Cossack. He was strongly recommended by Lord Cathcart to Lord Castlereagh, and selected to be the British commissioner to accompany Napoleon to Elba. He was also gazetted a colonel in the army on 4 June 1814, made a knight of three Russian orders, and knighted by patent on 2 Oct. He accompanied Napoleon to Elba with the express orders from Lord Castlereagh that he was in no way to act as his gaoler, but rather to put the late French emperor in possession of the little island of which he was to be the sovereign prince. Campbell had further instructions as to the settlement of Italy, which clearly showed Lord Castlereagh's intention that he should not remain in Elba longer than

he thought necessary. At Napoleon's request, however, Campbell promised to make Elba his headquarters until the termination of the congress of Vienna, and it was the supposed residence of the English colonel there which put the English naval captains off their guard, and enabled Napoleon to escape so easily. It was, however, during one of Campbell's frequent visits to Italy, from 17 to 28 Feb. 1815, that Napoleon effected his escape. Many people at the time believed that the English colonel was bribed, but the ministry at once declared that Campbell's behaviour had been quite satisfactory, and even continued his powers in Italy. But in this capacity he met with an unexpected rebuff from Lord Exmouth, came home, and joined the 54th regiment, in which he still held the regimental rank of major, in Belgium. With it he served at the battle of Waterloo, and he afterwards headed the column of attack on the Valenciennes gate of Cambray. During the occupation of France, from 1815 to 1818, he commanded the Hanseatic Legion, which consisted of 3,000 volunteers from the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, and afterwards paid a short visit to Africa to see if it were possible to discover any traces of Mungo Park. On 29 May 1825 he was promoted major-general, and applied for a staff appointment. The first which fell vacant was the governorship of Sierra Leone; he was begged not to take it by his family, but he laughed at their fears, and reached the colony in May 1826. The climate, however, proved too much for him, and on 14 Aug. 1827 he died at Sierra Leone.

[Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba, being a Journal of Occurrences in 1814-15, with Notes of Conversations, by the late Major-general Sir Neil Campbell, Kt., C.B., with a Memoir by his nephew, Archibald Neil Campbell MacLachlan, London, 1869.]

H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR PATRICK** (1773-1841), vice-admiral, was a son of Colonel John Campbell of Melfort in Argyllshire, and elder brother of Lieutenant-general Sir Colin Campbell (1776-1847) [q. v.]. He was made lieutenant 25 Sept. 1794, and commander 4 Sept. 1797. In 1799 he was appointed to the Dart sloop, a vessel of an experimental character, designed by Sir Samuel Bentham, and carrying a very remarkable and formidable armament, of thirty 32-pounder carronades. On the night of 7 July 1800 the Dart, with two gun-brigs and four fire-ships in company, was sent into Dunkirk, to attempt the destruction of four large French frigates. The Dart ran close alongside of one, the *Désirée*

of 38 guns, fired a double-shotted broadside into her, carried her by boarding, and brought her out over the shoals. The other frigates succeeded in evading the fireships by running themselves ashore, and were afloat again the next day; but the capture of the 38-gun frigate was a tangible witness of the success, which seemed the more brilliant as the Dart was rated as a sloop, and the extraordinary nature of her armament was not generally known. The achievement won for Campbell his post rank, 11 July, and his immediate appointment to the *Ariadne* frigate. In September 1803 he was appointed to the *Doris*, which on 12 Jan. 1805 struck on a rock in Quiberon Bay, and had to be abandoned and burnt a few days later, the officers and men being received on board the *Tonnant* of 80 guns, commanded by Captain W. H. Jervis. On joining the admiral off Brest, 26 Jan., the boat in which the two captains were going on board the flagship was swamped: Captain Jervis was drowned, but Campbell was fortunately rescued.

In 1807 and following years Campbell commanded the *Unité* frigate in the Adriatic, and in 1811 was moved into the *Leviathan* of 74 guns, also in the Mediterranean. He was nominated a C.B. at the peace, but had no further service till 1824, when he commanded the *Ganges* on the home station. In March 1827 he commissioned the *Ocean* for the Mediterranean, but manning a ship was at that time a work of many months, and he had not joined the fleet when the battle of Navarino was fought. The *Ocean* was paid off in the spring of 1830, and on 22 July Campbell attained the rank of rear-admiral. From 1834 to 1837 he was commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, with his flag in the *Thalia* frigate. He was made a K.C.B. on 12 April 1836, became a vice-admiral 28 June 1838, and died 13 Oct. 1841. He married in 1825 Margaret, daughter of Captain Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie, by whom he had two sons; the elder, Patrick John, now (August 1886) major-general in R.H.A.; the younger, Colin, as a lieutenant in the navy, commanded the *Opossum* gunboat in China 1857-1859, was captain of the *Bombay* when she was burnt at Monte Video, 14 Dec. 1864, and died at sea on board of the *Ariadne* in 1869.

[*Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog.* iii. (vol. ii.) 290; Notes communicated by General P. J. Campbell.]  
J. K. L.

**CAMPBELL, ROBERT** (d. 1722), presbyterian minister, was a native of Scotland. He went over to Ireland and settled at Ray,

co. Donegal, where he was ordained in 1671 by a presbytery then known as the 'Laggan meeting.' Its members got into trouble by proclaiming a 'publike fast' for 17 Feb. 1681. Campbell and three others were examined at Raphoe and Dublin, and, having been tried at Lifford assizes, were fined 20*l.* each and required to give a written engagement not to offend again. In default, they were detained in custody at Lifford, but after eight months' confinement were released (20 April 1682) on paying a reduced fine. While thus detained they were allowed to preach every Sunday in turn, and were occasionally let out surreptitiously by their keepers to hold services in the country. During the troubles of 1689 Campbell went back to Scotland, where he was called to Roseneath, Dumbartonshire, on 27 Aug. He accepted on 3 Dec., and officiated till Whitsunday 1691, after which he went back to Ray. He was called to Donaghmore on 21 Dec. 1692, but the Laggan meeting on 8 Feb. 1693 decided that he should remain at Ray. He was moderator of the general synod in 1694 at Antrim. On 2 July 1695 the Laggan presbytery placed his name first among three, one of whom was to act as a commissioner to William III in Flanders, to ask for 'legal liberty' and redress of grievances. It is not certain that this commission was ever carried out. Early next year his only publication appeared in London. An assistant and successor to him was ordained at Ray on 23 Dec. 1719. Campbell died on 5 Oct. 1722. He married Margaret Kelso, and had a son, Hugh, and a daughter, Agnes. He published '*A Directory of Prayer for a gracious King, &c.*' 1696, 18mo (eight sermons at fasts and thanksgivings during William's continental wars, and a funeral sermon for Queen Mary; preface, dated 13 Oct. 1695, by N. B.L. i.e. Nicholas Blakey, minister of the Scots church, London Wall).

[*New Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scotie.* ii. 369; *Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Mem. of Presb. in Ireland*, 1st ser. 1879, p. 102 sq.] A. G.

**CAMPBELL, ROBERT CALDER** (1798-1857), major, H.E.I.C.S., miscellaneous writer, son of a presbyterian minister, was born in Scotland in 1798. In 1817 he obtained a cadetship in the East India Company's service, and became a lieutenant on the Madras establishment on 2 Oct. 1818 and captain on 3 Oct. 1826. He served with the 43rd Madras native infantry in the Burmese war of 1826-7, for which he received the Indian war-medal. He was invalided in 1831, and subsequently was promoted to a majority in 1836. Campbell, who

was described by the 'Athenaeum' as 'a graceful writer of the minor prose and poetry of his time, and a kind-hearted scholar and gentleman,' was author of: 1. 'Lays from the East,' London, 1831. 2. 'Rough Recollections of Rambles at Home and Abroad,' London, 1847. 3. 'The Palmer's Last Lesson, and other Poems,' London, 1848. 4. 'Winter Nights,' London, 1850. 5. 'The Three Trials of Loide,' London, 1851. 6. 'Episodes in the War-life of a Soldier, with Sketches in Prose and Verse,' London, 1857, some of these containing reprints from magazines, to which Campbell was a frequent contributor. He died at his residence in University Street, London, on 13 May 1857.

[Dodswell and Miles's Lists Indian Army; Athenaeum, 23 May 1857, p. 664, also literary notices in preceding vols.; English Cat. of Books, 1835-60; Gent. Mag. 3rd series (ii.) p. 742.] H. M. C.

**CAMPBELL, THOMAS** (1733-1795), miscellaneous writer, was born at Gluck in the county of Tyrone on 4 May 1733. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A. 1756, M.A. 1761), and took orders in 1761. He was curate of Clogher till 1772, when he was collated to the prebend of Tyholland, and in 1773 he was made chancellor of St. Macartin's, Clogher. He was in high repute as a preacher, and also obtained some fame as a writer. In 1778 he published 'A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland in a series of letters to John Watkinson, M.D.' There is not much philosophy in this book, which is supposed to record the tour of an Englishman in the south of Ireland, and gives a description of the chief towns. Sundry remarks on the trade of the country are thrown in, and Campbell advocates 'a political and commercial union' with England. Boswell styles the 'Survey' 'a very entertaining book, which has, however, one fault—that it assumes the fictitious character of an Englishman.' In the 'Survey' Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith appeared for the first time in print. In 1789 Campbell published 'Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland till the Introduction of the Roman Ritual, and the Establishment of Papal Supremacy by Henry II.' To this was added a 'Sketch of the Constitution and Government of Ireland down to 1783.' The book is controversial in tone, and is little better than a big pamphlet directed against O'Connor, Colonel Vallancey, and other antiquaries. Regarding the early history of Ireland, Campbell displayed a certain amount of scepticism, but it was too unmethodical to be of value. He, however,

looked upon the volume as but a fragment of a large work he meditated, and for which he obtained help from Burke, whom he visited at Beaconsfield. Burke, he says, lent him four volumes of manuscripts, and advised him to be 'as brief as possible upon everything antecedent to Henry II.' Besides these books, Campbell wrote a portion of the memoir of Goldsmith which appeared in Bishop Percy's edition of the poet published in 1801. Campbell's books have, however, done far less to preserve his memory than the mention of him in Boswell, and a little diary he kept during his visits to London. It was discovered behind an old press in the offices of the supreme court at Sydney, N.S.W., having been carried to the antipodes by a nephew of the writer at the beginning of this century. It was printed at Sydney in 1851. It contains notes of seven visits to England (in 1775, 1776-7, 1781, 1786, 1787, 1789, and 1792). The second appears to have been much the longest visit, but the first is the only one of which there is a detailed account. Through the diarist became acquainted with Johnson, Boswell, Reynolds, and others of the Johnsonian set. He was a shrewd, somewhat contemptuous observer, but he pays 'Ursa Major' the compliment of giving full and dramatic accounts of his encounters with him. To a student of Boswell the diary is highly interesting, as it affords striking confirmation of Boswell's accuracy. Being a popular preacher himself, Campbell went to hear Dr. Dodd and other pulpit orators of the day, and his remarks are very uncomplimentary. Campbell was in London again in 1795, where he died on 20 June. Campbell's diary was printed at Sydney, N.S.W., in 1854, and reprinted, with some omissions, by Dr. Napier in his 'Johnsoniana,' pp. 219-61.

[Boswell's Life of Johnson (ed. Napier), ii. 169 and 179 (pp. 310 and 318 of smaller edition); Nichols's Literary Illustrations, vii. 759-809; Edinburgh Review for October 1859 (an article on the Diary written, it is understood, by Mr. Reeve at the suggestion of Lord Macaulay); Napier's Appendix to his edition of Boswell, ii. 545, 551; Forster's Life of Goldsmith.]

N. McC.

**CAMPBELL, THOMAS** (1777-1844), poet, was born 27 July 1777, in High Street, Glasgow, in a house long since removed. He was the youngest of a family of eleven, and was born when his father was sixty-seven years of age. Alexander Campbell, the father, was third son of Archibald Campbell, the last of a long line to occupy the family mansion of Kirnan in Argyll. Alexander Campbell being trained to commerce,

and having gained a valuable experience in Virginia, settled in business in Glasgow with a partner named Daniel Campbell, whose sister Margaret he married. Thus the poet's father and mother were both Campbells, and belonged to the same district of Argyll, though their families were not related. The firm of Alexander & Daniel Campbell did a prosperous Virginia trade, till heavy losses, consequent on the American war, brought the business to an end, and well-nigh ruined both families. The affairs of the firm being honourably settled, it was found that Alexander and Margaret Campbell had a little remaining from their handsome competency, and that this, together with a small annual income from the Merchants' Society and a provident institution, would enable them to make a living. Thomas Campbell was born after this disaster, and was naturally an object of special care to both parents. His father impressed him by his manly self-dependence and his sterling integrity, while his mother by her songs and legends gave him a taste for literature and a bias towards her beloved west highlands.

Campbell went to the Glasgow grammar school in his eighth year, and became both a good classical scholar and a promising poet, under the fostering care of his teacher, David Alison, who prophesied distinction for his pupil. On going to the university in October 1791, he studied very hard, and quickly excelled as a classical scholar, debater, and poetical translator from Greek. Genial and witty, he was liked and admired by professors and fellow-students. He won numerous prizes for his scholarship, as well as for poems (such as the 'Origin of Evil') cleverly turned after Pope. A visit to Edinburgh in 1794, when he attended the trial of Muir, Gerald, and others for high treason, deeply impressed him, and helped to form his characteristic decisive views on liberty. At this time, thinking of studying for the church, Campbell read Hebrew and gave some attention to theological subjects, one literary result of which was his hymn on 'The Advent.' His future, however, became clouded when, in his fourth year at college (1794-5), his father lost a lingering chancery suit, and Campbell, forced to earn money, went as a tutor to Sunipol in Mull. His fellow-student, Hamilton Paul, sent him a playful letter here, enclosing a few lines entitled 'Pleasures of Solitude,' and, after a jocular reference to Akenside and Rogers, bade Campbell cherish the 'Pleasures of Hope' 'that they would soon meet in Alma Mater.' This probably was the germ of the poem that

was completed within a few years. Campbell returned to the university for the winter, finally leaving it in the spring of 1796. During this year he had attended the class of Professor Miller, whose lectures on Roman law had given him new and lasting impressions of social relations and progress. He was engaged as tutor at Downie, near Lochgilphead, till the beginning of 1797, when he returned to Glasgow. His twofold experience of the west highlands had given him his first love (consecrated in 'Caroline'), and deep sympathies with highland character, scenery, and incident. Many of the strong buoyant lines and exquisite touches of descriptive reminiscence in the poems of after years (e.g. stanzas 5 and 6 of 'Gertrude of Wyoming') are in large measure due to the comparatively lonely and reflective time he spent in these tutorships. His 'Parrot,' 'Love and Madness,' 'Glenara,' and first sketch of 'Lord Ullin's Daughter,' belong to this time.

With the influence of Professor Miller strong upon him, Campbell now resolved to study law; with that intention he settled in Edinburgh and worked for a few weeks as a copying clerk. An introduction to Dr. Anderson, editor of 'The British Poets,' was the means of his becoming acquainted with the publishers Mundell & Co., for whom he began to do some miscellaneous literary work. This occupation, together with private teaching, enabled him to live, and helped to raise him above the mental depression which Leyden, with an offensiveness that produced a lasting estrangement between Campbell and himself, spoke of as projected suicide. A good deal of Campbell's leisure time during his early days in Edinburgh was spent with Mr. Stirling of Courdale, and it was Miss Stirling's singing that prompted him to write the 'Wounded Hussar.' Other minor poems of this time were the 'Dirge of Wallace,' 'Epistle to Three Ladies,' and 'Lines on revisiting the River Cart.'

Meanwhile Campbell had been busy completing the 'Pleasures of Hope,' which, published by Mundell & Co., 27 April 1799, was instantly popular, owing both to its matter and its style. Its brilliant detached passages surprised readers into overlooking its structural defects. The poem was charged with direct and emphatic interest for thinking men; the attractive touches of description came straight from the writer's own experience, and preserved the resonant metrical neatness expected in the heroic couplet. The striking passage on Poland marks the beginning of an enthusiasm that remained through life, gaining for him many friends



among suffering patriots. His 'Harper' and 'Gildersay' close this first great literary period of his life.

Campbell meditated following up his success with a national poem to be called 'The Queen of the North,' but though he long had the subject in his mind, he never produced more than unimportant fragments. Meanwhile he went (June 1800) to the continent, settling first at Hamburg. After making the acquaintance of Klopstock here, he went to Ratisbon, where he stayed, in a time of military stress and danger, under the protection of Arbutnot, president of the Benedictine College, to whom he pays a tribute in his impressive ballad the 'Ritter Bann.' A skirmish witnessed from this retreat was Campbell's only experience of active warfare. His letters to his Edinburgh friends at this time are striking pictures of his own state of mind and the political situation. During a short truce he got as far as Munich, returning thence by the Valley of the Isar to Ratisbon, and thereafter, late in the autumn, to Leipzig, Hamburg, and Altona, where he was staying when the battle of Hohenlinden was fought (December 1800). Wintering here he studied hard, and produced a number of his best-known minor poems, several of which he sent for publication to Perry of the 'Morning Chronicle.' Among Irish refugees at Hamburg he had met and deeply sympathised with Anthony MacCann, whose troubles suggested 'The Exile of Erin.' During this sojourn also were produced 'Ye Mariners of England,' written to the tune of 'Ye Gentlemen of England,' a song which he was fond of singing, and 'The Soldier's Dream,' besides several less known but meritorious poems, such as 'Judith,' 'Lines on visiting a Scene in Argyllshire' (in reference to Kirman), 'The Beech Tree's Petition,' and 'The Name Unknown,' in imitation of Klopstock. A desire to go down the Danube may have suggested (as Dr. Beattie pleasantly fancies) the ballad of 'The Turkish Lady.' The sudden appearance of the English fleet off the Sound (March 1801), indicating the intention of punishing Denmark for her French bias, caused Campbell and other English residents to make an abrupt departure from Altona. The view he had of the Danish batteries as he sailed past in the Royal George suggested to him his strenuous war-song, 'The Battle of the Baltic.'

Landing at Yarmouth, 7 April 1801, Campbell proceeded to London, where through Perry he came to know Lord Holland, and so speedily began to mingle in the best literary society of the metropolis. The death

of his father soon took him to Edinburgh, and we find him (after satisfying the sheriff of Edinburgh that he was not a revolutionary spy) alternating between England and Scotland for about a year. After his mother and sisters were comfortably settled he undertook work for the booksellers in their interests. He spent a good deal of time at the town and country residences of Lord Minto, to whom Dugald Stewart had introduced him, and through Lord Minto his circle of London acquaintance was widened, the Kembles in particular proving very attractive to Campbell. It was during this unsettled time that he undertook a continuation of Hume and Smollett's 'England' (which is of no importance in an estimate of his work), and published together, with a dedication to the Rev. Archibald Alison, his 'Lochiel' and 'Hohenlinden.' The latter (rejected, it is said, by the 'Greenock Advertiser' as 'not up to the editor's standard') he himself was inclined to depreciate, as a mere 'drum and trumpet thing,' but it appealed to Scott's sense of martial dignity, and he was fond of repeating it. Scott says (*Life*, vi. 326) that when he declaimed it to Leyden, he received this criticism: - 'Dash it, man, tell the fellow that I hate him, but, dash him, he has written the finest verses that have been published these fifty years.' Campbell's reply, when Scott reported this, was, 'Tell Leyden that I detest him; but I know the value of his critical approbation.'

Satisfied with the success of a reissue of 'The Pleasures of Hope and other Poems,' Campbell married (10 Oct. 1803, misdated September by Dr. Beattie and Campbell himself) Miss Matilda Sinclair, daughter of his mother's cousin, Robert Sinclair, then resident in London, and formerly a wealthy and influential man in Greenock. Declining the offer of a chair at Wilna, Campbell gave himself up to literary work in London, where he remained for the rest of his days. His first child, whom he named Thomas Telford, after his friend the famous engineer, was born in July 1804, and shortly afterwards the family settled at Sydenham, the poet working steadily for his own household as well as for his mother and sisters. His critical and translated work soon marked him out as no ordinary judge of poets and poetry, and when it occurred to him that 'Specimens of the British Poets' was a likely title for a successful book, Sir Walter Scott and others to whom he mentioned it were charmed with the idea. It took some time, however, before the publication of such a work could be arranged for, and then the author's laborious method delayed its appearance after it was expected.

Meanwhile, Campbell began to rise above adverse circumstances. In 1805 his second son, Alison, was born, and in the same year, with Fox and Lords Holland and Minto as prime movers, he received a crown pension of 200*l*. The same year was marked by a very profitable subscription edition of his poems, suggested by Francis Horner. In 1809 'Gertrude of Wyoming' appeared, and, despite manifest shortcomings, its gentle pathos and its general elegance and finish of style obtained for it a warm welcome. It was in a conversation with Washington Irving that Scott (*Life*, iv. 93), speaking of the beauties of 'Gertrude,' gave his famous explanation of Campbell's limited poetical achievement in proportion to his undoubted powers and promise. 'He is afraid,' said he, 'of the shadow that his own fame casts before him.' A new edition of the poem was speedily called for, and appeared, together with the sweet and touching 'O'Connor's Child,' which is probably the most artistic of Campbell's works. In 1810 his son Alison died of scarlet fever, and the poet's correspondence for some time gives evidence of overwhelming grief. After he had rallied, he prepared a course of lectures for the Royal Institution. These lectures on poetry, notwithstanding their technical and archaic character, were a decided success. The scheme was a splendid and comprehensive one, but too vast for one man to complete. It is not surprising, therefore, that a whimsical genius like Campbell should have suddenly broken away from the subject, after having done little more than make a vigorous beginning. Still, detached portions of what he says on Hebrew and Greek verse (in the lectures as rewritten for the 'New Monthly Magazine') have special value, and will always attract students of the art of poetry.

On the fall of Napoleon in 1814, Campbell spent two months in Paris, where he was much affected by what he saw, and made new friends in the elder Schlegel, Baron Cuvier, and others. In 1815 a legacy of over 4,000*l*. fell to him, on the death of Mr. MacArthur Stewart of Ascog, and the legal business connected with the bequest took him to Edinburgh and Glasgow, where he spent a pleasant holiday among old friends. The next two years found him busy with his 'Specimens of the British Poets,' at length in a fair way to be published by Murray. The work, in seven volumes, actually appeared in 1819, when Campbell, by the invitation of Roscoe, was delivering his revised Royal Institution lectures at Liverpool and Birmingham. The essay on poetry which precedes the 'Specimens' is a notable contribution to

criticism, and the lives are succinct, pithy, and fairly accurate, though such a writer is inevitably weak in minor details. He is specially hard on Euphuism, and it is curious that one of his most severe thrusts is made at Vaughan, to whom he probably owes the charming vision of 'the world's grey fathers' in his own 'Rainbow.' The most valuable portions of the essay are those on Milton and Pope, which, together with such concise and lucid writing as the critical sections of the lives of Goldsmith and Cowper, show that Campbell was master of controversial and expository prose. Despite Miss Mitford's merry-making, in one of her letters, over the length of time spent in preparing the 'Specimens,' students cannot but be grateful for them as they stand. The illustrative extracts are not always fortunate, but this is due to the editor's desire for freshness rather than to any lack of taste or judgment.

Subsequently Campbell's literary work was of inferior quality. Colburn (24 May 1820) engaged him to edit the 'New Monthly Magazine,' at a salary of 500*l*. Previous to entering on his duties he spent about six months on the continent. He was at Rotterdam, Bonn (where he was entertained by the Schlegels and others), Ratisbon, and Vienna, and was back in London in November. To be nearer his work he left Sydenham with regret, and settled in London. The insanity of his surviving child, which suddenly became manifest at this time, was a grievous blow to him. His 'Theodric,' an unequal and extravagant domestic tale, appeared in November 1824, and about the same time he began to agitate for a London university, the conception of which had occurred to him on his late continental tour. To forward this scheme he paid (September 1825) a special visit to the university of Berlin. His plans were taken up and matured by Brougham, Hume, and others, and he was fond of recurring to the accomplished fact of the London University as 'the only important event in his life's little history.' His interest in education and his eminence as an author were recognised by the students of Glasgow University, who elected him lord rector three times in succession (1826-9), the third time over no less formidable a rival than Sir Walter Scott. Mrs. Campbell's death, in 1828, was an incalculable loss to an unmethodical man like Campbell, who was never quite himself afterwards. As an editor of a periodical he was not a success (although he secured the assistance of eminent writers), and but for the strenuous action of his coadjutor, Cyrus Redding, and the gentle, orderly assistance of Mrs. Campbell, it is possible that he would not have

retained the position nearly so long as he did. As it was, he resigned in 1830, having notably proved, as Mr. S. O. Hall says ('Retrospect,' i. 314), that 'though a great man he was utterly unfit to be an editor.' His own contributions to the 'New Monthly Magazine' during his editorship, besides the rewritten 'Lectures on Poetry,' included some minor poems of merit, such as the 'Rain-bow,' 'The Brave Roland,' 'The Last Man' (a weird and impressive fancy well sustained), 'Reullura,' 'Ritter Bunn,' 'Navarino,' the 'Heligoland Death-Boat,' &c. There were also papers on the proposed London University, letters to the Glasgow students, very suggestive remarks on Shakespeare's sonnets, and a review of Moore's 'Life of Byron' with a chivalrous defence of Lady Byron.

In 1831-2 Campbell edited the 'Metropolitan Magazine,' which was a failure. It was in 1832 that he founded the Polish Association, designed to keep the British mind alive to Polish interests. In 1834 he revisited Paris, and with love of travel strongly on him passed to Algiers, whence he sent to the 'New Monthly Magazine' his 'Letters from the South,' issued in two volumes by Colburn in 1837. Campbell returned to London in 1835, and for several years did work that did not add to his reputation. Between 1834 and 1842 he wrote his 'Life of Mrs. Siddons,' which lacks symmetry, though containing some acute and judicious remarks on several of Shakespeare's plays; the 'Life of Petrarch,' devoid of research and freshness; and a slender life of Shakespeare prefixed to an edition of the works published by Moxon. In 1840 Campbell took the house 8 Victoria Square, Pimlico, where he meant to spend the remainder of his days with his niece, Miss Mary Campbell, for companion. In 1842 he published the 'Pilgrim of Glencoe,' together with some minor pieces, notably the 'Child and Hind,' 'Song of the Colonists,' and 'Moonlight.' The latter were favourably received, but the cold reception of the 'Pilgrim' disappointed and vexed the poet. A work on Frederick the Great, in four volumes, published about this time, is ostensibly edited by Campbell, whose name is also associated with an anonymous 'History of our own Times' (1843). His health was rapidly failing, and in June 1843 he gave a farewell party to his friends in town, having resolved to go to Boulogne for change. He paid a short visit to London in the autumn to look after his affairs, and then, returning to Boulogne, passed a weary and painful time till he died, 15 June 1844. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the tombs of

Addison, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, and a Polish noble in the funeral cortège scattered upon his coffin a handful of earth from the grave of Kosciuszko.

[Beattie's *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*; Redding's *Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell, and Fifty Years' Recollections*, ii. iv-viii, iii. i-vi; Rev. W. A. Hill's *Campbell's Poetical Works with Biographical Sketch*; Chambers's *Eminent Scotsmen* (supplementary volume); Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, i. 341, ii. 45, 307, 352, iii. 396, iv. 87, 93, vi. 325, 396; Moore's *Life and Works of Byron*, ii. 293, iii. 9, 109, iv. 311, v. 69, vii. 271, xv. 87, xvi. 123; Bates's *MacIise Portrait Gallery*, p. 4; Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal*, 8 and 15 Feb. 1845; Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography*; Hazlitt's *Spirit of the Age*.] T. B.

**CAMPBELL, THOMAS** (1790-1858), sculptor, was born in Edinburgh on 1 May 1790. His parents were in humble circumstances, and he had no education; but on being apprenticed to a marble-cutter he displayed intelligence and skill, and was enabled to come to London to study at the Royal Academy. In 1818 he received assistance which enabled him to visit Rome, and there he devoted himself to sculpture, associating chiefly with Italian and German artists. One of his first productions was a seated statue of the Princess Pauline Borghese (now at Chatsworth). In 1827 he sent from Rome his first work for exhibition in the Royal Academy—a bust of a lady; and in 1828, a group representing 'Cupid instructed by Venus to assume the form of Ascanius.' In 1830 he returned to England, having large commissions to execute there, but he still frequently visited Rome, where he retained his studio. During the last twenty-five years of his life he resided in London, and exhibited various works at the Academy (among others, a marble statue of Psyche) up to 1857, though his exhibitions were less frequent during the latter part of this period. He died in London on 4 Feb. 1858, having gained a considerable reputation and acquired a large property by his labours.

Campbell was a painstaking and careful sculptor. He worked both in bronze and marble, devoting himself chiefly to busts (some of which were colossal) and to portrait statues, though he also executed imaginative statues and groups. In addition to his works already referred to may be mentioned: (1) A marble bust of Lord George Bentinck, preserved in the National Portrait Gallery at South Kensington; (2) the monument to the Duchess of Buccleuch at Boughton; (3) a statue of Queen Victoria, at Windsor Castle;

(4) the monument of Sir William Hoste in St. Paul's Cathedral; (5) a marble statue of the Duke of Wellington, made for Dalkeith Palace, the seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, near Edinburgh; and (6) a statue of a Shepherd Boy in a Phrygian Cap (probably Gany-mede): this statue was executed at Rome in 1821, and was deposited at Rossie Priory, the seat of Lord Kinnaird, near Dundee.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon; Annual Register. 1858, c. 389; G. Scharf's Cat. of Nat. Portrait Gall.; Waagen's Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain (1857), pp. 435, 445.] W. W.

**CAMPBELL, WILLIAM, D.D.** (d. 1805), Irish presbyterian minister, was the son of Robert Campbell, merchant, of Newry. In 1819 it is said that there were about fifteen hundred living descendants of his grandmother, who died in 1727. Campbell was educated at Glasgow, where he matriculated in November 1744, and was licensed by Armagh presbytery in 1750. He became tutor in the Bagwell family of Clonmel, and in this capacity spent seven years in France. He got into prison in Paris, through refusing to genuflect while the host was passing. Returning to Ireland in 1758 he married his cousin, Jane Carille of Newry, and in 1759 was ordained minister of the non-subscribing presbyterians at Antrim. In November 1764 he became minister of First Armagh, in connection with the general synod, his successor at Antrim being William Bryson [q. v.] He was moderator of synod in 1778 at Lurgan. In 1782 the rule of 1705, requiring subscription before ordination, was practically repealed on his motion. An unpublished pamphlet, addressed to Hussey Burgh in the same year, proposed a scheme for a northern university which, though considered by several governments, ultimately failed through Grattan's disapproval. In 1783 he exerted himself to procure an addition to the *regium donum* (then yielding only 9*l.* a year to each minister), and obtained an increase of 1,000*l.* a year to the grant. But the influence of Lord Hillsborough went strongly against the general synod, for political reasons; by his advice a grant of *regium donum* (500*l.* a year) was for the first time given to the secession church. However, the synod acknowledged Campbell's efforts by a presentation of plate in 1784. His *alma mater* gave him the degree of D.D. in the same year. In 1786 he entered into controversy with Richard Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, who had maintained that none but episcopalians could be loyal to the constitution. Woodward answered Campbell, omitting to answer a stronger attack by Samuel

Barber [q. v.] Campbell wrote against the reply with calmness and learning. Meanwhile, his eyesight had failed, and he was nearly blind. He had earned the gratitude of his denomination, but was paid this time only with addresses of congratulation. Applying in 1788 for the post of synod's agent for the *regium donum*, he was defeated by a large majority in favour of Robert Black [q. v.] Campbell, much mortified, determined to leave the north of Ireland. On 14 Sept. 1789 he resigned Armagh, and spent the remainder of his days in charge of the small flock at Clonmel, Tipperary. He is said to have shone more in conversation than in the pulpit, and to have possessed much scientific knowledge and a remarkable memory. He was probably an Arian, certainly a strong opponent of subscription. He died on 17 Nov. 1805, leaving three surviving children out of a family of eleven. His successor at Clonmel was James Worrall. Campbell published: 1. 'The Presence of Christ with his church,' &c., Belfast, 1774, 8vo (synodical sermon at Antrim on 28 June, from Matt. xxviii. 20). 2. 'A Vindication of the Principles and Character of the Presbyterians in Ireland; addressed to the Bishop of Cloyne,' &c., Dublin, 1787, 12mo (four editions). 3. 'An Examination of the Bishop of Cloyne's Defence,' &c. Belfast, 1788, 12mo. He left a manuscript history of presbyterianism in Ireland of some value. It refers for further particulars to other manuscripts not preserved.

[Glasgow Matriculation Book; Reid's Hist. Presb. Church in Ireland (Killen) (1867), iii. 353 seq., 362 seq.; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Mem. of Presb. in Ireland (2nd ser. 1880), 173 seq.] A. G.

**CAMPBELL, WILLIELMA, VISCOUNTESS GLENORCHY** (1741-1786), was the younger daughter of William Maxwell of Preston in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and his wife, Elizabeth Hairstanes of Craig in the same county. Some years after the death of Mr. Maxwell, which took place in 1741, her mother married Lord Alva, a senator of the College of Justice, and afterwards lord justice clerk, under whose roof Willielma Campbell grew up. In the spring of 1761 her elder sister was married to William, seventeenth earl of Sutherland, and in the autumn of the same year she herself was married to John, lord viscount Glenorchy, eldest son of the third earl of Breadalbane. Both sisters were celebrated for their beauty and accomplishments, and their mother's ambition for high marriages was successful; but both her sons-in-law died early, Lord and Lady Sutherland dying at Bath at the

same time, leaving but one child, a daughter, while Lady Glenorchy, who became a widow in 1771, was childless. About her twenty-third year Lady Glenorchy came under religious impressions of the deepest kind, in a large degree through the instrumentality of the family of Sir Rowland Hill of Hawkstone in Staffordshire, in whose neighbourhood Lord Glenorchy's maternal estate of Sugnal was situated. She carried out her convictions with great consistency and earnestness. From her high rank Lady Glenorchy's name naturally became a household word and a centre of encouragement among all like-minded persons in Scotland, and was perpetuated by her building a chapel in Edinburgh, which was called after her, for religious worship such as she approved. Other chapels were built by her in Carlisle, Matlock, and at Strathfillan, on the Breadalbane property. By her will she left large sums to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, chiefly for the maintenance of schools. Lady Glenorchy was so absorbed with the spiritual bearings of life that its more human aspects were somewhat overlooked. Her intense sincerity and consistency won the admiration, though hardly the sympathy, both of her husband, Lord Glenorchy, and her father-in-law, Lord Breadalbane.

[Life of Viscountess Glenorchy, by T. S. Jones, D.D., minister of her chapel, Edinburgh; Gardner's Memoirs of Christian Females.]

W. G. B.

**CAMPDEN**, first Viscount (1629). [See HICKS, BAPTISTE.]

**CAMPEGGIO**, LORENZO (1472-1539), cardinal, and, although a foreigner, bishop of Salisbury, occupied on his second mission to this country the utterly unprecedented position of a judge, before whom a king of England consented to sue in person. He was born in 1472 of a noble Bolognese family, and at nineteen years of age devoted himself to the study of imperial law at Pavia and Bologna, along with his own father, Giovanni Campeggio, whose works upon that subject were long held in considerable repute. Early in life he married, and had a son born in 1504, who was made a cardinal by Julius III in 1551. But after his wife's death he took holy orders, and became bishop of Feltri and auditor of the rota at Rome. He was sent by Leo X on a mission to the Emperor Maximilian, and while so engaged was created a cardinal, in his absence, in 1517. Next year he was sent to England as legate to incite Henry VIII to unite with other princes in a crusade against the Turks. He was detained some time at Calais before being allowed to cross,

Henry VIII having insisted with the pope that his favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, should be invested with equal legatine functions before he landed. He was, however, very well received, and a few years later (1524) Henry VIII gave him, or allowed him to obtain by papal bull, the bishopric of Salisbury. About the same time he was made archbishop of Bologna. He held also at various times several other Italian bishoprics. He was also sent to Germany in 1524, and presided at the diet at Ratisbon, where a vain attempt was made to check the Lutheran movement. In 1527 he was besieged with Pope Clement VII at Rome, in the castle of St. Angelo. Next year he was sent into England on his most celebrated mission, in which Wolsey was again joined with him as legate, to hear the divorce suit of Henry VIII against Catherine of Arragon. On this occasion he suffered much, both physically and mentally. He was severely afflicted with gout, and had to be carried about in a litter; and while he was pledged to the pope in private not to deliver judgment without referring the matter to Rome, he was pressed by Wolsey to proceed without delay. Some of his ciphered despatches from London at this time have been deciphered within the last few years, and show a very creditable determination on his part not to be made the instrument of injustice, whatever might be the cost to himself. The cause, as is well known, was revoked to Rome, and so his mission terminated. On leaving the kingdom he was treated with singular discourtesy by the officers of customs, who insisted on searching his baggage, and on his complaining to the king, it was clear that the insult was premeditated, and was really a petty-minded indication of the royal displeasure. Five years later, in 1534, he was deprived of the bishopric of Salisbury by act of parliament, on the ground that he was an alien and non-resident, though the king had certainly never expected him to keep residence when he gave him the bishopric. He died at Rome in 1539.

[Ciaconii Vitæ Pontificum; Brewer's Reign of Henry VIII.]

J. G.

**CAMPION**, EDMUND (1540-1581), jesuit, son of a citizen and bookseller of London, was born there on 25 Jan. 1539-1540. When he was nine or ten years old, his parents wished to apprentice him to a merchant, but some members of one of the London companies—probably that of the Grocers—having become acquainted with the 'sharp and pregnant wit' which he had shown from his childhood, induced their guild to

undertake to maintain him at their common charges 'to the study of learning.' He was sent first to some London grammar school, and afterwards to Christ's Hospital. He always 'bore away the game in all contentions of learning proposed by the schools of London,' among which there appears to have been, at that period, a common *concursus*, as if they had formed a university. His 'championship' was acknowledged, and when Queen Mary, on her solemn entry into London, had to pass by St. Paul's School, Campion, as the representative of London scholarship, was brought from Newgate Street to make the requisite harangue. When Sir Thomas White founded St. John's College, Oxford, the Grocers' Company arranged with him to admit Campion as a scholar, 'which he did most willingly, after he was informed of his towardliness and virtue.' The company gave him an exhibition for his maintenance at the university. In 1557, when St. John's College was increased, Campion became junior fellow, for the founder had conceived a special affection for him. He was admitted to the degree of B.A. on 20 Nov. 1561 (BOASE, *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, i. 244). So greatly admired was he at Oxford for his grace of eloquence that young men imitated not only his phrases but his gait, and revered him as a second Cicero. He was chosen to deliver the oration at the reinterment at Oxford of Amy Robsart, the murdered wife of Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, and the funeral discourse on Sir Thomas White, the founder of St. John's College, Oxford, and of Merchant Taylors' School, London (FOLEY, *Records*, vii. 112).

The change of religion effected soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth was not immediately felt at Oxford, and no oath was required of Campion till he graduated as M.A. Wood relates that he 'took the degree of master of arts in 1564, and was junior of the act celebrated on the 19 of Feb. the same year; at which time speaking one or more admirable orations, to the envy of his contemporaries, caused one of them [Tobie Mathew], who was afterwards an archbishop, to say that, rather than he would omit an opportunity to show his parts, and "dominare in una atque altera concinnula," did take the oath against the pope's supremacy, and against his conscience' (*Athenae Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 473). The precise date of his inception as M.A. is 19 Feb. 1564-5 (BOASE, *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, i. 144). Father Parsons says that Campion 'was always a sound catholic in his heart, and utterly condemned all the form and substance of the queen and council's new religion; and yet the sugared words

of the great folks, especially of the queen, joined with pregnant hopes of speedy and great preferments, so enticed him that he knew not which way to turn.'

In 1566 Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford, and Campion welcomed her in the name of the university. He was also respondent in a Latin disputation held before her majesty. The queen expressed her admiration of Campion's eloquence, and commended him particularly to Dudley, who willingly undertook to patronise the scholar. For four years from this time the Earl of Leicester showed him no little kindness, and Cecil also took great interest in him. Campion did not reside at Oxford long enough to take his doctor's degree, but he was made junior proctor (1568), and he supplicated for the degree of B.D. on 23 March 1568-9 (BOASE, *Register*, i. 244). The problem of his life now was how he could remain in the established church and yet hold all the catholic doctrines. Edward Cheyney, bishop of Gloucester [q. v.], who had retained a good deal of the old faith, sympathised with Campion's aspirations and perplexities. Campion yielded to the bishop's persuasions and suffered himself to be ordained deacon, but almost immediately afterwards 'he took a remorse of conscience and detestation of mind.' On the termination of his proctorial office he left Oxford (1 Aug. 1569) and proceeded to Ireland. A project was then afoot for restoring the old Dublin University founded by Pope John XXI. but for some years extinct. The chief mover in this restoration was the recorder of Dublin and speaker of the House of Commons, James Stanihurst, the father of one of Campion's most distinguished pupils. In his house Campion remained for sometime, leading a kind of monastic life, and waiting for the opening of the new university. The scheme fell through, however, and the chief cause of its failure was the secret hostility of the government to Stanihurst and the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, who were most actively concerned in it, and to Campion, who was to have the principal share in its direction. Campion was distrusted as a papist and orders were given for his arrest, but for two or three months he eluded the pursuit of the pursuivants, lurking in the houses of his friends, and working at a 'History of Ireland,' which is hardly so much a serious history as a pamphlet written to prove that education is the only means of taming the Irish. At last he escaped to England, disguised as a lacquey, and reached London in time to witness the trial of Dr. Storey, who was executed in June 1571. What he heard at this trial made him resolve to repair to the English college at Douay, where he made an





paper stuck in his hat, inscribed 'Campion, the seditious jesuit.' The governor of the Tower, Sir Owen Hopton, at first put Campion in the narrow dungeon known as 'Little Ease.' He remained there until the fourth day (25 July), when, with great secrecy, he was conducted to the house of the Earl of Leicester. There he was received by Leicester, the Earl of Bedford, and two secretaries of state, with all honour and courtesy. They told him they had sent for him to know the plain truth, why he and Parsons had come into England, and what commission they brought from Rome. He gave them a truthful account of all passages, and then answered their questions, one by one, with such readiness that he seemed to have convinced them his only purpose was the propagation of the catholic faith and the salvation of souls; so that, seeing, as they said, he had done ill with good intentions, they pitied him, especially the two earls, who had known and admired him in his youth in London and in Oxford. They told him that they found no fault with him, except that he was a papist—'which,' he replied, 'is my greatest glory;' but he spoke with such modesty and generosity that Dudley sent word to Hopton to give him better accommodation, and to treat him more amiably. Nothing more was known at the time concerning this interview; but at the trial it came out that the queen herself was present, that she asked Campion whether he thought her really queen of England; to which he replied that he acknowledged her highness not only as his queen, but also as his most lawful governess. Whereupon her majesty with great courtesy offered him his life, his liberty, riches, and honours; but under conditions which he could not in conscience accept (SIMPSON, *Biography of Campion*, 240, 296).

After this Hopton treated his prisoner less harshly, as he hoped to be able to induce him to recant, and reports were circulated among the public that the jesuit would shortly make a solemn retraction at St. Paul's Cross and burn his own book with his own hands. But Campion disdainfully rejected the proposal that he should go over to the protestant church, and when he had been a week in the Tower Hopton reverted to the severe method of treatment, with the consent of the privy council, who gave orders that Campion should be examined under torture. There is no authentic account of what he said on the first two occasions when he was placed upon the rack (30 July and 6 Aug.) It seems that he really revealed nothing of moment, and his biographer, Mr. Simpson, after a very minute examination of all the

facts, arrives at the conclusion that Campion's confessions were merely his acknowledgment of the truth of matters which he perceived were already known to his examiners (*Biography*, 250). However, it was given out that he had betrayed his friends and divulged the names of the gentlemen who harboured him. A great many catholic gentlemen were arrested in various parts of the country, in consequence, it was alleged, of Campion's confessions. For a considerable time the report of Campion's weakness and even treachery was universally credited among catholics as well as protestants, but ultimately the suspicion that Campion's 'confessions' were forgeries was turned almost into a certainty by the constant refusal of the council to confront him with those whom he was said to have accused. On 29 Oct. the council gave instructions that Campion and others should again be 'put into the rack,' and this order was executed with all severity.

To make Campion appear intellectually contemptible, and to counteract the effect produced by his 'Decem Rationes,' the government deemed it expedient to grant his demand for a public disputation. Accordingly a number of the most able protestant divines, including Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, Dr. William Fulke, Roger Goaden, Dr. Walker, and William Charke, were appointed to meet him and discuss the chief points of controversy. They had all the time they wanted for preparation and free access to libraries, whereas Campion was not informed of the arrangement until an hour or two before the conference began. Then he was placed in the middle of the chapel in the Tower, without books, and without even a table to lean upon. The disputation was afterwards resumed in Hopton's hall, and four conferences were held altogether. Each day's conference began at eight and continued till eleven, and was renewed in the afternoon from two till five. A catholic who was present at the first conference has recorded that he noticed Campion's sickly face and his mental weariness—'worn with the rack, his memory destroyed, and his force of mind almost extinguished.' 'Yet,' he adds, 'I heard Father Edmund reply to the subtleties of the adversaries so easily and readily, and bear so patiently all their contumely, abuse, derision, and jokes, that the greatest part of the audience, even the heretics who had persecuted him, admired him exceedingly.' After the fourth discussion the council ordered the conferences to be discontinued. One of the converts made by Campion at the conferences was Philip Howard, earl of Arundel.

Walsingham and the other members of

the privy council who wished to put him to death now resolved to exhibit him as a traitor. On 31 Oct. he was for the third time placed upon the rack, and tortured more cruelly than ever, but not a single incriminating word could be extorted from him. It was then proposed to indict him for having on a certain day in Oxfordshire traitorously pretended to have power to absolve her majesty's subjects from their allegiance, and endeavoured to attach them to the obedience of the pope and the religion of the Roman church. It was seen, however, that this would be too plainly a religious prosecution. A plot was therefore forged, and a new indictment drawn up in which it was pretended that Campion, Allen, Morton, Parsons, and thirteen priests and others then in custody, had conspired together at Rome and Rheims to raise a sedition in the realm and dethrone the queen. On this charge Campion, Sherwin, and five others were arraigned at Westminster Hall on 14 Nov. When Campion was called upon, according to custom, to hold up his hand in pleading, his arms were so cruelly wounded by the rack that he could not do so without assistance. The trial was held on the 20th. The principal witnesses for the crown were George Eliot and three hired witnesses named Munday, Sledd, and Caddy, who pretended to have observed the meetings of the conspirators at Rome; but their testimony was so weak, and the answers of Campion were so admirable, that when the jury retired it was generally believed that the verdict must be one of acquittal. However, the prisoners were all found guilty. Hallam says that 'the prosecution was as unfairly conducted, and supported by as slender evidence, as any, perhaps, that can be found in our books' (*Constitutional Hist.* i. 146).

The lord chief justice Wray, addressing the prisoners, asked them what they could say why they should not die. Campion answered: 'It is not our death that ever we feared. But we knew that we were not lords of our own lives, and therefore for want of answer would not be guilty of our own deaths. The only thing that we have now to say is that if our religion do make us traitors we are worthy to be condemned; but otherwise are and have been true subjects as ever the queen had. In condemning us you condemn all your own ancestors—all the ancient priests, bishops, and kings—all that was once the glory of England, the island of saints and the most devoted child of the see of Peter. For what have we taught, however you may qualify it with the odious name of treason, that they did not uniformly teach? To be condemned with these old lights—not of

England only, but of the world—by their degenerate descendants is both gladness and glory to us. God lives; posterity will live; their judgment is not so liable to corruption as that of those who are now going to sentence us to death.' The prisoners were sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Then Campion broke forth in a loud hymn of praise, 'Te Deum laudamus,' and Sherwin and others took up the song, 'Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus; exultemus et lætemur in illâ,' and the rest expressed their contentment and joy, some in one phrase of scripture, some in another; whereby the multitudes in the hall were visibly astonished and affected. The few days that intervened between conviction and death were passed by the prisoners in fasting and other mortifications. The execution was appointed for 1 Dec. 1581. Campion, Sherwin, and Briant were to suffer together at Tyburn. At the place of execution Campion was subjected to a great deal of questioning respecting his alleged treason. Somebody asked him to pray for the queen. While he was doing so the cart was drawn away.

'All writers,' observes Wood, 'whether protestant or popish, say that he was a man of admirable parts, an elegant orator, a subtle philosopher and disputant, and an exact preacher, whether in English or Latin tongue, of a sweet disposition, and a well-polished man. A certain writer (Dr. Thomas Fuller) saith, he was of a sweet nature, constantly carrying about him the charms of a plausible behaviour, of a fluent tongue, and good parts. And another (Richard Stanishurst), who was his most beloved friend, saith that he was upright in conscience, deep in judgment, and ripe in eloquence' (*Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 475).

A minute bibliographical account of his works and of the numerous replies to them is given in the appendix to 'Edmund Campion. A biography.' By Richard Simpson (London, 1867, 8vo), an admirable and exhaustive work. The most ample and correct edition of the 'Decem Rationes, et alia opuscula ejus selecta' was published by P. Silvester Petrasancta at Antwerp, 1631, 12mo, pp. 460. Of the 'History of Ireland,' written in 1569, a manuscript copy, dated 1571, was given by Henry, duke of Norfolk, in 1678, to the library of the College of Arms, London. This work was first printed by Richard Stanishurst in Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' 1587; then by Sir James Ware in his 'History of Ireland,' 1633.

Campion's portrait has been engraved.

[Life by Richard Simpson; and the authorities quoted above.]

T. C.

**CAMPION, GEORGE B.** (1796-1870), water-colour painter, born in 1796, was one of the original members of the New Society (now the Royal Institute) of Painters in Water Colours (1834), and contributed landscapes to the exhibitions of that society and to those of the Society of Artists. Many of his views have been published. He was the author of 'The Adventures of a Chamois Hunter,' and of some papers on German art in the 'Art Journal.' He was for some time drawing-master at the Military Academy, Woolwich. He resided at Munich for some years before his death in 1870. There is a drawing by him of a 'Boy with Rabbits' in the South Kensington Museum.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Graves's Dict. of Artists.] C. M.

**CAMPION, MARIA** (1777-1803). [See POPE.]

**CAMPION, THOMAS** (*d.* 1619), physician, poet, and musician, was probably the second son of Thomas Campion of Witham, Essex, gent., by Anastace, daughter of John Spittey of Chelmsford, and was born about the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edmund Campion, the jesuit [q. v.], was in some way connected with the Witham family, and one member of that family at least fell under grave suspicion of harbouring the Roman 'missioner,' and suffered much inconvenience in consequence. Nothing is known of the early years or education of Thomas Campion, who certainly was not the writer of that name mentioned by Wood as incorporated at Oxford in 1624. That Thomas Campion was of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and he graduated B.A. of that university in 1621. Thomas Campion, the musician, was probably educated at home and on the continent, and his M.D. degree was obtained in some foreign university. It was by no means unusual at this time for young men who abhorred the new oath of supremacy to give themselves to the study of medicine. Campion does not appear to have practised as a physician till somewhat late in his life. He appealed first to the public as a poet in 1595, when he printed a small volume entitled 'Thome Campiani Poemata,' containing Latin elegiacs and epigrams, which were issued from the press of Richard Field in octavo. The book is one of excessive rarity, and has been passed over by almost all our early bibliographers. It contained among other trifles a very pretty song which was sung at the elaborate masque performed in Gray's Inn, February 1594-5;

it was then that Campion first came into notice and his popularity as a poet and musician began. The little collection of 'Poemata' was reprinted in 1619. In 1602 he put forth his 'Observations on the Art of English Poesie,' in which, among other things, he set himself to disparage 'the childish titillation of riming.' The book was answered at once by Daniel in his 'Panegyrike Congratulatory . . . With a Defence of Ryme against a Pamphlet entituled Observations on the Art of English Poesie.' Daniel's answer seems to have been well received, and reached a second edition within the year. We lose sight of Campion from this time till January 1606-7, when he appears first as 'doctor of phisicke,' and as the 'inventor' of a masque presented before James I at Whitehall on the occasion of Lord Hay's marriage. The merit of the performance evidently consisted in the care taken with the musical part of the performance. Campion had now become an authority in music, and in 1610 he published 'Two Books of Ayres; being songs with accompaniments,' which were followed in 1612 by 'The Third and Fourth Books of Ayres.' Next year Prince Henry died, and Campion thereupon published a collection of 'Songs of Mourning bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry.' They were issued in folio, the accompaniments being written by a certain 'John Coprario,' whose real name was plain John Cooper. On 14 Feb. 1612-13 the Princess Elizabeth was married to the elector, and Campion was chosen to bring out his curious entertainment known as 'The Lord's Masque,' which was followed in April by the performance of another masque at Caversham House—the seat of Lord Knollys—exhibited before the queen, who was the guest of honour. This masque too seems to have been conspicuous for its elaborate musical apparatus. In December of the same year Campion was once more employed to bring out a masque on the occasion of Lord Somerset's marriage with the divorced Countess of Essex. It was performed on 26 Dec., and was followed next day by Ben Jonson's 'Challenge at the Tilt.' During this same year Campion brought out 'A new Way of making foure parts in Counterpoint, by a most familiar and infallible rule, with some other Discourses on the Theory of Music.' This work was dedicated to Prince Charles. It is hardly possible that while so much of his time was given up to music and literature (and it is evident that he had become a recognised authority on musical matters), Campion can have devoted himself much to practising in physic. Nevertheless we meet



terham in Kent, and Senefield and Fobbing in Essex. Having taken the side of the barons in the civil war, he was deprived of his estates in 1215, but obtained restitution of them in 1217 on doing homage to Henry III. He acted as a justice in 1229. He died in 1235, leaving a widow named Agnes, and a son Robert, who married a daughter of Hamo de Crevequer.

[Rot. Canc. p. 220; Rot. Claus. i. 243, 325; Dugdale's Orig. p. 43; Dugdale's Baronage, i. 628; Morant's Essex, i. 243; Foss's Judges of England; Royal Letters (Rolls Ser.), ii. 61.]  
J. M. R.

**CANADA, VISCOUNT.** [See ALEXANDER, SIR WILLIAM (1567?-1640).]

**CANCELLAR, JAMES** (fl. 1564), theological writer, describes himself as 'one of the Queen's Majesty's most hon. chapel' at the beginning of Mary's reign. Probably he was the James Cancellor who, on 27 July 1554, was admitted as proctor for Hugh Barret, priest, to the mastership of the Hospital of Poor Priests at Canterbury (SOMNER, *Antiq. of Canterbury*, ed. Battely, i. 73). His works are: 1. 'The Pathe of Obedience, righte necessarye for all the King and Queenes Majesties subjectes to reade learne and use their due obediences to the hyghe powers according to thys godlye Treatise,' London [1553], 8vo; dedicated to Queen Mary. 2. 'A Treatise, wherein is declared the pernicious opinions of those obstinate people of Kent,' London, 1553, 8vo. 3. 'Of the Life active and contemplative, entitled The Pearle of Perfection,' London, 1558, 8vo. 4. 'Meditations set forth after the alphabet of the Queens name.' Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. Printed at the end of the translation by Queen Elizabeth of the 'Meditation' of Margaret, queen of Navarre, London (H. Denham), 24mo. 5. 'An Alphabet of Prayers,' London, 1564, 1576, 16mo. In this alphabet 'many prayers have the first letter of them in alphabetical order; and the initial letter of others form his patron's name, Robert Dudley.'

[Maunsell's Cat. of English Printed Bookes, 28, 84; Addit. MS. 5865, f. 113; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 149; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 666, 850, 948, 1572; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 365.]  
T. C.

**CANDIDUS, HUGH.** [See HUGH, fl. 1180.]

**CANDISH.** [See CAVENDISH.]

**CANDLER, ANN** (1740-1814), poetess, 'The Suffolk Cottager,' born at Yoxford, Suffolk, 18 Nov. 1740, was one of the children

of William More, a working glover of Yoxford. Her mother was a daughter of Thomas Holder of Woodbridge, the surveyor of the window-lights for that part of the county. In 1750 her father removed to Ipswich, where his wife died in 1751. Ann taught herself to read and write, and studied all accessible travels, plays, and romances. In 1762 she married Candler, a cottager of Sproughton, a village about three miles out of Ipswich. From 1763 to 1766 Candler served in the militia (*Poetical Attempts*, p. 5), and this service, combined with the man's drinking habits, kept Ann and her growing family poor. In 1777 Candler enlisted in the line; Ann was forced to put four of her six children into the workhouse, and was herself upon a sick bed for eleven weeks. In 1780, after a brief visit to her husband in London (*ib.* p. 10), she took refuge in Tattingstone workhouse, where she gave birth to twin sons on 20 March 1781; she wrote one of her poems on their deaths a few weeks after. In 1783, when Candler came back discharged, she joined him for a time; but illness made them both return to the workhouse, whence Candler dismissed himself in six months, and Ann never saw him again. Staying in the workhouse she set to work upon the little poems by which she is known. The 'Ipswich Journal' published one in March 1785, 'On the Death of a Most Benevolent Gentleman' (Metcalfe Russell of Sproughton); she wrote one in 1787, 'To the Inhabitants of Yoxford'; one in 1788 to a lady who had befriended her, with the title 'An Invitation to Spring,' and another spring song to the same lady in 1789. The 'Ipswich Journal' (17 Sept. 1814) ascribes the following poems also to her: 'A Paraphrase of the 5th chap. of the 2nd Book of Kings'; the 'History of Joseph, in an Address to a Young Man'; and the 'Life of Elijah the Prophet,' which probably appeared in that journal from 1790 onward, and remain uncollected. By 1800 it was proposed to publish a little volume of Ann Candler's work by subscription; and by 24 May 1802 she was under a roof of her own at Copdock, just by Sproughton, near a married daughter. Her book was published at Ipswich in 1803, 8vo. She died on 6 Sept. 1814, at Holton, Suffolk, aged 74 (*Ipswich Journal*, 17 Sept. 1814).

[Short Narrative preceding her *Poetical Attempts*, pp. 2-6, 8, 9, 11, 13; *Ipswich Journal*, 17 Sept. 1814.]  
J. H.

**CANDLISH, ROBERT SMITH, D.D.** (1806-1873), preacher and theologian, was born in 1806 at Edinburgh, where his father, James Candlish, M.A., was a medical teacher.

The family was connected with Ayrshire, and James Candlish, who was born in the same year with Robert Burns, was an intimate friend of the poet. Writing of him to Peter Hill, bookseller, Edinburgh, Burns called him 'Candlish, the earliest friend, except my only brother, whom I have on earth, and one of the worthiest fellows that ever any man called by the name of friend.' The wife of James Candlish was Jane Smith, one of the six belles of Mauchline celebrated in 1784 in one of Burns's earliest poems. Robert Candlish's father died when he was but five weeks old, and the care of the family was thrown on his mother, a woman of great excellence and force of character, who, though in the narrowest circumstances, contrived to give her two sons a university education, and have them trained, the elder for the medical profession and the younger for the ministry. James Candlish, the elder brother, a young man of the highest talent and character, died in 1829, just as he had been appointed to the chair of surgery in Anderson's College, Glasgow. Robert Candlish was never sent to school, receiving all his early instruction from his mother, sister, and brother. At the university of Glasgow he was a distinguished student, and among his intimate friends was known for his general scholarship, his subtlety in argument, and his generosity and straightforwardness of character. He was fond of open-air life, indulging in many rambles with his friends.

His first appointment, as tutor at Eton to Sir Hugh H. Campbell of Marchmont, was the result of an application to some of the professors for 'the most able young man they could recommend.' After nearly two years he returned to Glasgow, was licensed as a probationer, and served for about four or five years as assistant first in a Glasgow church, then in the beautiful parish of Bonhill, near Loch Lomond. About the end of 1833, his great gift as a preacher having become known to a select few, he was appointed assistant to the minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, the most influential congregation in that city. On the death of the former incumbent, within a very short time of his becoming assistant, he was appointed minister, his remarkable ability as a preacher being now most cordially recognised. For four or five years he confined himself to the work of his congregation and parish, with such occasional services as so distinguished a preacher was invited to give.

In 1839 he was led to throw himself into the momentous conflict with the civil courts which had sprung out of the passing of the veto law by the general assembly in 1834,

recognising a right on the part of the people to have an influential voice in the appointment of their ministers, which law of the church the civil courts declared to be *ultra vires*. Candlish was a member of the general assembly of 1839, and towards the close of a long discussion, when three motions were before the house, rose from an obscure place and delivered a speech of such eloquence as placed him at once in the front rank of debaters. A few months later it fell to him, at the request of his friends, to propose a motion in the commission of assembly for suspending seven ministers of the presbytery of Strathbogie, who in the case of Marnoch had disregarded the injunction of the church and obeyed that of the civil courts. The occasion was one of supreme importance; it was throwing down the gauntlet to the court of session, and proclaiming a war in which one or other of the parties must be defeated. Even among those who were most opposed to the policy advocated by Candlish there was no difference of opinion as to the profound ability with which he supported his motion. The majority of the general assembly persistently adhered to the policy thus initiated in all the subsequent stages of the controversy. In 1843 that party, finding itself unable to longer maintain the position of an established church, withdrew from its connection with the state, and formed the Free church of Scotland.

The principles on which Candlish took his stand and which he sought to elucidate and maintain were two—the right of the people of Scotland, confirmed by ancient statutes, to an effective voice in the appointment of their ministers; and the independent jurisdiction of the church in matters spiritual—both of which principles, it was held, the civil courts had set aside. In regard to the latter, it has been pointed out by Sir Henry W. Moncreiff, in his sketch of his friend in 'Disruption Worthies,' that in reply to the common charge against the church that she claimed to be the sole judge of what was civil and what was spiritual, Candlish maintained, first, that whoever should make such a claim would trample under foot all liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, and establish an intolerable despotism; second, if such a claim should be made by a church, that church would necessarily be assuming an authority in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical; third, that the case was the same when the claim was made by the court of session; the claim would extinguish all liberty. The view of what should be done in cases of conflicting jurisdiction, enunciated by Candlish and maintained by his friends during the cou-

trovery, was, that in such a case the civil courts should deal exclusively with the civil bearings of the question, and the spiritual courts with the spiritual; that neither should coerce the other in its own sphere; and that therefore it was utterly wrong for the court of session to attempt, as it was doing, to control the spiritual proceedings of the church; it ought to confine itself wholly to civil effects.

Candlish had just begun to distinguish himself in debate, when, at his suggestion, a very important step was taken, which ultimately had a great effect in consolidating and extending the movement. It had been resolved to establish an Edinburgh newspaper (the 'Witness'), devoted to the interests of the church, and when an editor came to be proposed, Candlish recommended Hugh Miller of Cromarty, of whom he had formed a high opinion from a pamphlet ('Letter to Lord Brougham') on the church question recently published. Miller had but recently ceased to be a working mason, and as he was a highlander, and quite unpractised in newspaper work, his appointment was a somewhat perilous experiment, but with his strong intuitive perception and his usual daring Candlish was willing to commit the paper to his hands. The arrangement was no sooner made than its success appeared. The 'Witness' was for many years one of the most powerful engines the press ever supplied for any cause.

Candlish for the next few years was always more or less engrossed with the great controversy, constantly aiding in counsel at its several stages, expounding and enforcing his views at many public meetings, and contributing in a great degree to the popularity of the cause. He at the same time carried on the work of his congregation and parish, interested himself in church work generally, and sometimes devised new schemes of philanthropy or ways of conducting them. During this period it was agreed by the government to institute a chair of biblical criticism in the university of Edinburgh, and the office was given, by the home secretary, Lord Normanby, to Candlish. His nomination to the chair was commented on with great severity in the House of Lords, chiefly by Lord Aberdeen, who denounced in the bitterest terms the conferring of such an honour on one who was in open opposition to the civil courts and the law of the land. The government yielded; the presentation was cancelled, and, some years after, the appointment was given to Dr. Robert Lee.

Next to Chalmers, Candlish was now the most prominent leader of the 'non-intrusion'

party, and though still very young his leadership was accepted with great confidence and admiration by his brethren. He was an influential member of a meeting of clergy called 'the convocation,' in November 1842, when it was virtually agreed, in the event of no relief being procured from parliament, to dissolve connection with the state. This step was actually taken on 18 May 1843, 470 ministers, with a corresponding proportion of lay-elders and of the people, forming themselves into the Free church. In the organisation of this body Candlish had the leading share.

From this time, or at least from the death of Chalmers, till close on his own death in 1873, Candlish may be said to have been the ruling spirit in the Free church. His remarkable activity and versatility enabled him to take a share in every department of work, and his readiness of resource, great power of speech, and ability to influence others, made him *facile princeps* in conducting the business of the general assembly and other church courts. With a kind of instinct he seemed to perceive very readily, as a discussion went on, in what manner the convictions of the assembly might be most suitably embodied, and his proposals were almost always sustained by very large majorities. Perhaps out of this there sprang the readiness which marked his later years to be guided by the prevailing sentiment rather than to control and direct it. While having his hands full of every kind of church work, he continued to minister to the people of St. George's and build up one of the most influential, earnest, and, in point of contributions, liberal congregations in Scotland.

Candlish took a special interest in education. The old tradition of the Scottish church respecting the connection of church and school had strongly impressed him, as well as the desire to see the work of education elevated and the famous plan of John Knox more thoroughly carried out. For many years he laboured very earnestly to promote an education scheme of the church, and was highly successful in raising the status and improving the equipment of the normal colleges. In other respects, the plan of having a school connected with every congregation did not prove very popular, especially among the laity. And when, by act of parliament, the test which confined the office of parish schoolmaster to members of the established church was abolished, a strong feeling sprang up in favour of a national system of education that should absorb the existing schools. Candlish at first did not look with much favour on this proposal, but gradually he



came to support it. He was desirous of seeing some security provided for religious teaching, but was satisfied when it was proposed to leave this matter in the hands of school boards, elected by the people. On the passing of the act to this effect, he advocated the abandonment of the Free church schools as such, and the transference of the buildings as free gifts to the school boards of the parishes where they were situated. The normal schools were retained in their church connection.

On the death of Dr. Chalmers in 1847, and the readjustment of the chairs in the New College (the theological institution of the Free church at Edinburgh), Candlish was appointed to a chair of divinity, but on consideration he declined the appointment. He continued minister of St. George's Free church to the end of his life. In 1862 he was appointed principal of the New College, without a professor's chair, the duties being chiefly honorary, and the appointment being conferred partly in consideration of his eminent abilities and partly in the expectation that new life would be thrown into the college by his vigour. In 1841 Candlish received the degree of D.D. from the college of New Jersey, commonly called Princeton College, in the United States, and in 1865 the university of Edinburgh gave him the same degree. In 1861 he was moderator of the general assembly.

Among movements outside his own church in which he took an active share was that for the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in 1845. Another was directed towards the union of four presbyterian churches, the Free, United Presbyterian, and Reformed Presbyterian of Scotland, and the Presbyterian church of England. This scheme was defeated through the opposition of Dr. Begg and his friends. The union of the Free church with the Reformed Presbyterian was subsequently carried into effect.

Candlish made his last appearance in the general assembly in May 1873. Occasional flashes of his former fire could not conceal from his friends his failure of strength. Some weeks spent in England in the autumn produced no favourable result. On returning to Edinburgh he took to his bed, and after a brief illness, in which his mind continued clear and unimpaired, and many tokens were given of his serene trust in God and tender regard for his friends and brethren, he passed away on the evening of Sunday, 19 Oct.

The following is a list of Candlish's publications (many pamphlets, speeches, sermons, &c., being omitted): 1. 'Contribu-

tions towards the Exposition of Genesis,' 3 vols. 1842. 2. 'The Atonement,' 2nd edit. 1845. 3. 'Letters to Rev. E. B. Elliott on his "Horse Apocalypticæ,"' 1846. 4. 'Letter to the Marquess of Lansdowne on Schools in Scotland,' 1846. 5. 'Scripture Characters and Miscellanies,' 1850. 6. 'Examination of Mr. Maurice's Theological Essays,' 1851. 7. 'Life in a Risen Saviour,' 1858. 8. 'Reason and Revelation,' 1859. 9. 'The Two great Commandments,' 1860. 10. 'The Fatherhood of God' (Cunningham Lectures), 1865. 11. 'Relative Duties of Home Life,' 1871. 12. 'John Knox and his Devout Imagination,' 1872. 13. 'Discourses on the Sonship and Brotherhood of Believers,' 1872. 14. 'The Gospel of Forgiveness.' 15. 'Expository Discourses on 1 John.' 16. Sermons (posthumous), 1874. 17. 'Discourses on the Epistle to the Ephesians' (posthumous), 1875. With regard to Candlish's theological views, it has been shown by Principal Rainy, in his very able chapter on 'Dr. Candlish as a Theologian,' that while he was thoroughly attached to the theology of the reformers, it was not as a mere theology or logical system that he had regard to it, but as something given from above to meet the exigencies of the human soul. In opposing Mr. Maurice, he found himself called to vindicate the forensic aspect of the gospel, as founded on law, and demanding that that law be maintained, but he delighted to show its application also to the whole sphere of human life, to show that contact with Christ meant not only pardon, but life, joy, strength, and purity. In life and in death he showed how he not only held but was held and moved by his theology, and derived from it the courage and hope with which he seemed to be inspired.

[Memorials of Robert S. Candlish, D.D., by William Wilson, D.D., with concluding chapter by Robert Rainy, D.D.; Buchanan's Ten Years' Conflict; Disruption Worthies; Memoir by James S. Candlish, D.D., prefixed to Posthumous Sermons; Sunday Magazine, December 1873; Scotsman newspaper, 20 Oct. 1873.] W. G. B.

**CANE, ROBERT, M.D. (1807-1858),** Irish naturalist, was born at Kilkenny in 1807. After acting for some time as a pharmaceutical assistant, he found the means of attending the College of Surgeons, Dublin, and during a severe cholera epidemic distinguished himself by his devoted attendance on the patients in the cholera hospitals. He was also equally known for his patriotic zeal, and acted as chairman at democratic meetings of the medical students and alumni of Trinity College. He graduated M.D. in 1836, and,

having settled in his native city, soon acquired a lucrative practice. He took a prominent part in public and political matters. He organised a banquet for O'Connell in Kilkenny in 1840, acted as steward on the occasion, and also was the chief promoter of the repeal movement in the city. In 1844 he was elected mayor of Kilkenny. He never altogether sympathised with the aims of the Young Ireland party. He had no share in the insurrection of 1848, but was arrested on 29 July, and for some time remained in prison. In 1853 he originated the Celtic Union, a semi-political and semi-literary society, one of the purposes of which was the publication of works relating to the history of Ireland. In connection with the society he edited a magazine, the 'Celt,' the first number of which appeared on 1 Aug. 1857. He also wrote in the series of works published by the society, 'History of the Williamite and Jacobite Wars of Ireland from their origin to the capture of Athlone,' 1859. He died of consumption on 16 Aug. 1858.

[Irish Quarterly Review, viii. 1004-96.

T. F. H.

**CANES, VINCENT** (d. 1672), a Franciscan friar who, on entering into religion, took the name of JOHN-BAPTIST, was born on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and brought up in the protestant religion. When he arrived at the age of eighteen he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and remained there for two years. Then he removed to London, and after travelling in Holland, Germany, France, and Flanders, returned to this country 'to participate of the miseries which our civil wars then commenced.' Having been converted to the catholic religion, he entered the Franciscan convent at Douay. In 1648 he was employed on the English mission. He lived sometimes in Lancashire, but for the most part in London, and was remarkable for the plainness of his dress and the simplicity of his conversation. Canes was selected by the catholic body to defend their cause against Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, afterwards bishop of Worcester, and he performed the task to their satisfaction. He died at Somerset House, in the Strand, in June 1672, and was buried in the chapel belonging to that palace.

His works, which appeared under the initials J. V. C., are: 1. 'The reclaim'd Papist: or a dialogue between a Popish knight, a Protestant lady, a parson, and his wife,' 1655, 8vo. Dedicated to John Compton, esq., to whom, it seems, he was chaplain.

Dr. John Owen published an answer to this work under the title of 'The Triumph of Rome over despised Protestancy,' London, 1655, 4to. 2. 'Fiat Lux, or, a general conduct to a right understanding in the great Combustions and Broils about Religion here in England betwixt Papist and Protestant, Presbyterian & Independent. To the end that moderation and quietnes may at length hapily ensue after so various Tumults in the Kingdom. By Mr. J. V. C., a friend to men of all Religions' [Douay?], 1661, 8vo; [London], 1662, 8vo. Dedicated to Elizabeth, countess of Arundel and Surrey, the mother of Cardinal Howard. Dr. John Owen also answered this work in a volume of 'Animadversions;' and Samuel Mather published a reply to it, entitled 'A Defence of the Protestant Religion,' Dublin, 1671, 4to. 3. 'An Epistle to the Authour of the Animadversions upon Fiat Lux. In excuse and justification of Fiat Lux against the said Animadversions' [Douay?], 1663, 8vo, and reprinted in 'Diaphanta.' This elicited from Dr. Owen 'A Vindication of the Animadversions,' 1664. 4. 'Diaphanta: or Three Attendants on Fiat Lux. Wherein Catholik Religion is further excused against the opposition of several Adversaries. (1) Epistola ad Odoenum, against Dr. Owen. (2) Epistola ad Cœsum, against Mr. Whitby. (3) Epistola ad Amphibolum, against Dr. Taylor. And by the way an Answer is given to Mr. Moulin, Denton, and Stillingfleet' [Douay], 1665, 8vo. These letters were reissued under the title of 'Three Letters declaring the strange odd proceedings of Protestant Divines, when they write against Catholicks: by the example of Dr. Taylor's Dissuasive against Popery; Mr. Whitbys Reply in the behalf of Dr. Pierce against Cressy; and Dr. Owens Animadversions on Fiat Lux' [Douay?], 1671. 5. 'Τῷ Καθολικῷ Stillingfleeton. Or, an account given to a Catholick friend, of Dr. Stillingfleets late book against the Roman Church. Together with a short Postil upon his Text. In three letters,' Bruges, 1672, 8vo.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 107; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 315; Fiat Lux (1662), 261-71; Cal. State Papers (Dom.), Car. II (1666-7), 291; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 546; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.]

T. C.

**CANFIELD, BENEDICT** (1563-1611), Capuchin friar, whose real name was WILLIAM FITCH, was the second son of William Fitch, owner of the manor of Little Canfield in Essex, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of John Wiseman of Felstead, and

was born at Little Canfield in 1563. He studied law in the Middle Temple, but on being converted to the catholic religion he went to Douay and afterwards to Paris, where he entered the convent of the Capuchins on 23 March 1586, taking the name of Benedict or Benet. In July 1589 he returned to England with Father John Chrysostom, a Scotchman. They set sail from Calais, and landed between Sandwich and Dover. As they were known to be priests, they were carried before the mayor, who committed them to prison, whence they were removed to London and brought before Lord Cobham. They were then sent to Nonsuch, where the queen was residing, and examined by Sir Francis Walsingham, who committed them to the Tower. The Scotch friar was released at the request of the French king, but Father Benedict was conveyed to Wisbech Castle, where he appeared in his Franciscan habit. On his way thither he was led through the streets of Cambridge, and created an extraordinary sensation, such a garb not having been seen in that town since Queen Mary's days. After remaining at Wisbech for eighteen months he was removed to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk. In both these prisons he held controversial conferences with various protestant divines. After three years' imprisonment he was released at the request of Henry IV of France. He was master of the novices for a long time both at Orleans and Rouen, and in the latter city he was also guardian of his convent. His death occurred in the convent of the Capuchins in the Rue St.-Honoré, in Paris, on 21 Nov. 1611. A curious biography of him, partly autobiographical, was published, with his portrait prefixed, under the title of 'The miraculous life, conversion, and conversation of the Reuerend Father Bennett of Cāfield,' Douay, 1623, 8vo, pp. 145, together with 'The Life of the Reverend Fa. Angel of Ioyevse, Capucin Preacher,' and the life of 'Father Archangell, Scotchman, of the same Ordere.' These three biographies had previously appeared in French at Paris in 1621.

Father Benedict, who was a celebrated preacher both in English and French, wrote: 1. 'The Christian Knight.' 2. 'Tabulæ quædam de bene orando.' 3. 'The Rule of Perfection, containyng a breif and perspicuous abridgement of all the wholle spirituall life, reduced to this only point of the (will of God). Divided into three Parties,' Rouen, 1609, 8vo. A Latin translation appeared at Cologne, 1610, 12mo. A little treatise by Canfield was published at London in 1878 under the title of 'The Holy Will of God: a short rule of perfection.'

[Addit. MSS. 5825, f. 150 b, 5865, f. 111; Harl. MS. 7035, p. 187; Bibl. Grenvilliana; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 144, 393; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 547; Morant's Essex, ii. 463; Berry's Essex Genealogies, 146; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), ii. 81.] T. C.

**CANICUS or KENNY, SAINT.** [See CAINNECH.]

**CANN, ABRAHAM** (1794–1864), wrestler, the son of Robert Cann, a farmer and a wrestler in Devonshire, and his wife, Mary, was baptised at Colebrooke, near Crediton, on 2 Dec. 1794, and, inheriting from his father a love of play, soon defeated John Jordau, Flower, Wreyford, Simon Webber, and the other best wrestlers in Devonshire, and carried off the prizes at all the places where he became a competitor. In these matches he wrestled in the Devonshire fashion, namely, wearing shoes and endeavouring to disable his adversary by violently kicking him on the legs. On 21 Sept. 1826, at the Eagle tavern, City Road, London, he contended without shoes for the first prize with James Warren of Redruth (conspicuous for his bravery at the time of the loss of the Kent, Indiaman, in 1825), and although the latter made a gallant struggle, Cann was declared the victor. He had long been known as the champion of Devonshire, and he now challenged James Polkinghorne, the champion of Cornwall. Polkinghorne was 6 ft. 2 in. high, weighed 320lbs., and had not wrestled for some years, being the landlord of the Red Lion inn at St. Columb Major. Cann was but 5 ft. 8½ in. in height, and weighed 175lbs. This match, which was for 200*l.* a side for the best of three back falls, took place at Tamar Green, Morice Town, near Devonport, on 23 Oct. 1826, in the presence of upwards of 12,000 spectators. After a long struggle the Cornishman won a fair back fall. Cann next threw Polkinghorne, but a dispute arising, a toss gave it in favour of the latter. After several other falls, Polkinghorne threw Cann, but the triers were divided in opinion as to the fall. Polkinghorne left the ring, and after much wrangling, the match was declared to be drawn. The Devonshire man, with the toes and heels of his shoes, kicked his adversary in the most frightful manner, while the Cornishman neither wore shoes nor practised kicking. In 1861 Lord Palmerston headed a subscription among the west-country gentlemen, by which the sum of 200*l.* was presented to the former champion of Devonshire.

Cann was for many years the proprietor of an inn, and died in his native place, Colebrooke, on 7 April 1864. He had four bro-

thers, James, Robert, George, and William, all of whom were wrestlers. Messrs. Sparkes & Pope, solicitors, Crediton, are said to possess a manuscript biography of Cann.

[Times, 23 Sept. 1826, p. 3; Englishman, 29 Oct. 1826, p. 1, cols. 3-4; Sporting Mag. lxvii. 165 (1826), lxix. 55, 215, 314, 344 (1827); Cornwall Gazette, 28 Oct. 1826, pp. 2-3, and 4 Nov. p. 2; London Mag. 1 Oct. 1826, pp. 160-3; Annual Register, 1826, pp. 157-8; Hone's Everyday Book (1826), ii. 1009, 1337, and Table Book, ii. 415, 499; Illustrated Sporting News, 7 May 1864, pp. 100, 101, 111, with two portraits.] G. C. B.

CANNE, JOHN (*d.* 1667?), divine and printer, may have been connected with the important family of the name at Bristol, where Sir Thomas Canne was knighted by James I, his son William was mayor, and his grandson Robert was made a knight and baronet by Charles II, and was complained of as a 'favourer of sectaries.' That John had some tie with Bristol is probable from his connection with the Broadmead baptists. He has been supposed to have received episcopal ordination, but this is not certain. There was a congregation of independents and prædo-baptists meeting in Deadman's Place, London, the majority of whom, in consequence of persecution, followed their minister, John Hubbard, to Ireland, about 1621. On his death the church returned to London and chose Canne as teacher. After a year or two he went to Amsterdam, and there became the successor of Henry Ainsworth as pastor of the congregation of English independents there. At one time some of Ainsworth's posthumous manuscripts were in his hands. Canne retained his position for seventeen years, and to his pulpit labours added those of an author and printer. An allusion to the troubles of the church is found in the title of his first book, 'The Way to Peace, or Good Counsel for it; preached upon the 15th day of the second month 1632, at the reconciliation of certain brethren between whom there had been former differences,' Amsterdam, 1632. His most important book appeared two years later, and is called 'A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Non-conformists' Principles. Specially opposed unto Dr. Ames, his Fresh Suit against humane ceremonies in the point of Separation only. . . . By John Canne, pastor of the ancient English Church in Amsterdam. Printed in the yeare 1634.' This was reprinted in 1849 by the Hansard Knollys Society, under the editorship of the Rev. Charles Stovel. It is a work of ability. In 1639 Canne published at Amsterdam 'A

Stay against Straying; wherein, in opposition to Mr. John Robinson, is proved the unlawfulness of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England.' These two treatises were answered in 1642 by John Ball, who styles Canne 'the leader of the English Brownists in Amsterdam.' Richard Baxter said: 'Till Mr. Ball wrote for the Liturgy and against Can, and Allen, &c., and Mr. Buxton published his "Protestation Protested," I never thought' (he was then twenty-five years old, and minister at Kidderminster), 'I never thought what presbytery or independency were, nor ever spake with a man that seemed to know it. And that was in 1641, when the war was brewing' (DEXTER, p. 651).

In 1640 Canne visited England, and the Broadmead congregation of baptists having been formed he was called upon to preach to them. The Broadmead records contain very curious particulars as to his services. In the morning he had 'liberty to preach in the public place' (called a church), 'but in the afternoon a godly honourable woman,' learning that Canne was 'a baptized man by them called an anabaptist,' had the church closed against him, and he preached on the green, and debated with Mr. Fowler, a sympathetic minister, who was ejected at the Restoration, and was the father of Edward Fowler, bishop of Gloucester (1691-1715). Canne returned to Amsterdam in the same year and issued his 'Congregational Discipline.' This year appeared 'Syon's Prerogative Royal; or a Treatise tending to prove that every particular congregation . . . is an independent body. By a Well-wisher of the Truth.' This is attributed to Canne by John Paget in his 'Defence of Presbyterian Government.' It has, however, been thought that Ainsworth was the author [see AINSWORTH, HENRY]. It is supposed that Canne remained at Amsterdam until 1647, when his reference Bible with notes appeared. This was the best work of its kind that had then appeared. It was dedicated to the English parliament. It has been thought that Canne was the author of three sets of notes on the Bible, and that there was one earlier issue than that of 1647, since he there refers to additions 'to the former notes in the margin,' but no copy appears to be known. In 1653 he had an exclusive license for seven years 'to print a Bible with annotations, being his own work, and that no man, unless appointed by him, may print his said notes, either already printed or to be printed' (*Calendar of State Papers*, 9 June 1653). In the edition of 1664 he speaks of an edition with larger annotations which he proposed to publish,

and on which he had spent many years. This does not appear to have been published. Canne's eyes were again set homeward, and in 1649 five of his books were published in London: 1. 'The Improvement of Time.' 2. 'The Golden Rule, or Justice advanced in justification of the legal proceedings of the High Court of Justice against Charles Steward, late king of England.' 3. 'The Snare is Broken. Wherein is proved, by Scripture, Law, and Reason, that the National Covenant and Oath was unlawfully given and taken. Published by authority,' 1649, 4to. The dedication, to the Rt. Hon. the Commons assembled in parliament, is dated from Bowe, 21 April 1649. 4. 'Emanuel, or God with us,' 4to (this is a jubilation over the victory at Dunbar). 5. 'The Discoverer . . . the Second Part,' is a vindication of Fairfax and Cromwell, to whom it is jointly dedicated. There is no internal evidence of the authorship, and the terms of a reference to Overton on page 70 rather militate against its being written by Canne, but it is attributed to him in a pamphlet, 'The Same Hand again,' 1649 (E<sup>565</sup><sub>37</sub>). The first part is said to have appeared in 1643. In 1650 he was at Hull, and acted as chaplain to the governor, Colonel Robert Overton, whose curious book, 'Man's Mortalitie,' he had printed at Amsterdam in 1643. Canne was in such favour with the soldiers that they obtained leave from the council of state to have the chancel of the parish church for their meeting-place, and they walled up the arches between it and the church, where John Shawe, another famous puritan, had, as he boasts, 'constantly above 3,000 hearers.' Canne's friends obtained a grant for him from the council of state of 65*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for his chaplain's salary for 196 days; 'and for his future subsistence two soldiers are to be reduced out of each of the four companies of that garrison, which will retrench 6*s.* 8*d.*, in lieu of which a chaplain is to be added.' His stay in Hull was not long, but in 1653, when he published at London 'A Voice from the Temple to the Higher Powers,' the remembrance was rankling in his mind, and he denounces Shawe as 'a most corrupt man and hitherto countenanced by men as corrupt and rotten as himself.' The book is dedicated to Cromwell, with a second dedication or epistle to Overton, from 'your christian brother to serve you in the Gospel, John Canne,' who mentions the desire expressed by some for his notes on Daniel. These do not appear to have been published. In relation to their controversies Shawe, on the other hand, says: 'I had many contests with him before Oliver the Protector, to whom he

appealed, and elsewhere. At last he printed a little pamphlet against me where are some few truths but most part lyes. I drew up an answer to it, but was over persuaded by divers discreet and learned men to let it alone and sleight it.' Like other controversialists Shawe had a mean opinion of his adversary. He quotes a biting epigram:—

Is John departed? is Canne dead and gone?  
Farewell to both, to Canne and eke to John;  
Yet being dead, take this advice from me,  
Let them not both in one grave buried be;  
But lay John here, and lay Canne thereabout,  
For if they both should meet, they would fall out.

In 1653 also appeared 'A Second Voice from the Temple to the Higher Powers.' He was at this time credited with the possession of great influence with the council of state. His next work, 'Time with Truth,' is dated from Hull in 1656. His daughter, whose name was Deliverance, was buried on 18 Dec. 1656, and his wife, 'Agnees,' was buried on 20 Jan. 1656-7, at the same place, Holy Trinity Church, Hull. He now appears to have imbibed some of the principles of the fifth-monarchy men, and in 1657 he published at London 'The Time of the End . . . Christopher Feake and John Rogers both supplied prefaces. These persons with others were denounced to the government as meeting at Mr. Daforme's house in Bartholomew Lane, near the Royal Exchange, and professing themselves ready for insurrection. This was only two months after the crushing of Vener's attempted rising in the interest of the fifth monarchy. Canne complains bitterly of his banishment from Hull 'after seventeen years' banishment before.' On 2 April 1658, when 'old brother Canne' was in the pulpit of the meeting-place in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, the marshal of the city entered and arrested him and seven of the brethren who had protested against their rough treatment of the old man. Canne was brought before the lord mayor, and acknowledged that he was not satisfied with the government, and would like an opportunity to tell the Protector so, but declined to enter upon the question with the magistrate. One of the accused, Wentworth Day, was fined 500*l.* and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. John Clark, who had been acquitted by the jury, was condemned to pay 200 marks and to be imprisoned six months. Canne and the remainder were released on 25 April 1658. A narrative of the transaction was published. This year he published 'The Time of Finding,' in which he describes himself as 'an old man,' and expecting 'every day to lay down this earthly tabernacle,' and

complains of the persecutions he had endured, and to which he attributed the death of his wife and daughter. In 1659 he published 'A Seasonable Word to the Parliament Men,' and 'A Twofold Shaking of the Earth.' A tract upon tithes, entitled 'A Query to William Prynne,' was printed at the end of an 'Indictment against Tythes,' by John Osborn, London, 1659. Canne was resident in August of this year at his house 'without Bishopsgate,' and the date of his final retreat from England is not known.

... old Father Canne,  
That reverend man,

is mentioned in the 'Psalm of Mercy,' a gross satire against the fifth-monarchy men, which is dated by Thomas Wright 8 Jan. 1660. It is partially printed in his 'Political Ballads published during the Commonwealth' (Percy Society, 1841, p. 259). He is also the object of some satirical writings of Samuel Butler, who published 'The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament,' 1659, under the pseudonym of John Canne (B. M. E. 1600). A John Cann, of London, gentleman, is mentioned as the husband of Elizabeth Stubbs in the Cambridgeshire pedigrees (*Genealogist*, iii. 311), but whether this indicates a second marriage is not known. We find him at Amsterdam in 1664, where he issued again his 'Bible with Marginal Notes.' This is his most laborious and useful work, and has gone through several editions. His book was used in the preparation of Bagster's 'Comprehensive Bible,' of which it is indeed the basis. Canne is believed to have died in Amsterdam in 1667. In the library of the British Museum, which contains many of Canne's books, the catalogue discriminates between John Canne 'the elder' and 'the younger.' Under the latter name there is only one entry: 'A New Evangelical History of the Holy Bible contained in the Old and New Testament, digested in a plain, regular, and easy narrative with twenty-four curious copper-plate cuts, by John Canne. London: P. & J. Bradshaw, in Paternoster Row, and J. Goodwin, in the Strand, 1766.' Whether this is a pseudonym assumed by some writer desirous of profiting by a name so well known in connection with the Bible, or whether it is a genuine name, is unknown. A copy of the 'Wicked Bible' mentioned in Mr. Henry Stevens's 'Recollections of James Lennox' is said to have come from a library in Holland founded by Canne, but details are wanting.

[Dexter's Congregationalism of last Three Hundred Years, 1880; Memoirs of Master John Shawe, written by himself, edited by the Rev.

J. R. Boyle, Hull, 1882, pp. 43-6, 199-215; Some of the Life and Opinions of a Fifth-Monarchy Man, chiefly extracted from the writings of John Rogers, preacher, by the Rev. Edward Rogers, M.A., London, 1867, pp. 156, 312, 316; Calendars of State Papers (from about 1613 to 1660); Canne's Necessities, &c. ed. Stovel, 1849; Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, iv. 125-36; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, iii. 332; Hanbury's Memorials, i. 515; Worthington's Diary, i. 266.] W. E. A. A.

**CANNERA** or **CAINNER**, **SAINT** (*d.* 530?), appears in the martyrology of Tam-lacht and other ancient lists of Irish saints on 28 Jan. (O'HANLON, *Lives of Irish Saints*, i. 461). According to Colgan she was born of noble parents in the district of Bentraighe (Bantry) in S. Munster. Her father's name was Cruithnechan (*Martyr. Taml.*, quoted by COLGAN), her mother's, Cumania. Refusing all offers of marriage, she lived many years in a solitary cell, till seized with a sudden desire to form one of the company gathered round St. Senan in his island home of Inis-cathey, in the mouth of the Shannon, off the coast of Clare. The saint, however, was obdurate to her prayers, and refused to admit a woman to his monastic settlement. However, it was in vain that he urged her to go back into the world. Repulsed in her first entreaties she at last persuaded St. Senan to promise that he would administer the sacrament to her as she lay dying, and grant her the privilege of burial in his island. Her tomb there was still pointed out when the ancient life of this saint was drawn up, and sailors were wont to visit it to offer up vows for a prosperous voyage (*Vita S. Senani*, ap. COLGAN, c. 30). This story of St. Cannera and St. Senan forms the groundwork of one of Moore's Irish melodies. As St. Senan seems to have flourished in the sixth century, a similar date must be assigned to St. Cannera, who died about 530, according to Colgan. The last-mentioned authority tells us that she was venerated at Kill-chuilinn, in Carberry (Leinster), and at other churches in Ireland. For the Scotch saint Kennera or Cainer (29 Oct.), whose name is preserved in the parish of Kirk-kinner, opposite Wigton, and elsewhere in Galloway, see 'Bollandi Acta SS.' 12 Oct., 904-5, and Forbes's 'Calendar of Scottish Saints,' 361. This saint is said to have been confused in later martyrologies with St. Cunnera, the Batavian martyr, one of the legendary followers of St. Ursula.

[Colgan's Acta SS. in Vita S. Cannerae, 174, &c., and Vita S. Senani, 8 March, 502-44; Colgan's Vita S. Senani is probably historical to some extent, as it is known that this saint's life was written by his contemporary, St. Colman

MacLennan, and its substance has been worked up into Colgan's account; *Bollandi Acta SS.* (8 March), 760-79; *O'Hanlon's Lives of Irish Saints*, i. 464, &c.] T. A. A.

**CANNING, CHARLES JOHN, EARL CANNING** (1812-1862), governor-general of India, was the third son of the celebrated statesman, George Canning [q. v.]. He was born on 14 Dec. 1812, at Gloucester Lodge, an Italian villa, at one time the property of the Duchess of Gloucester, situated in what was then an almost rural tract between Brompton and Kensington. His education was commenced at a private school at Putney, and continued at Eton, which he left at the end of 1827, carrying away with him 'a reputation rather for intelligence, accuracy, and painstaking, than for refined scholarship or any remarkable powers of composition.' After spending nearly a year under private tuition in the house of the Rev. John Shore, of Potton in Bedfordshire, where he contracted a lasting friendship with the third Lord Harris, one of his fellow-pupils, and afterwards governor of Madras, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in December 1828. At Oxford he was the contemporary of Gladstone, Dalhousie, and Elgin. In 1832 he took his degree with a first class in classics and a second in mathematics. In 1835 he married the Honourable Charlotte Stuart, eldest daughter and coheirress of Lord Stuart de Rothesay, and in 1836 entered parliament as member for Warwick. In 1837, both his elder brothers having died some years previously, he succeeded, on the death of his mother, to the peerage, which had been created in her favour after her husband's death, and became Viscount Canning of Kilbrahan in the county of Kilkenny. On the formation of Sir Robert Peel's government in 1841, he was appointed under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, and held that office for nearly five years, becoming chief commissioner for woods and forests shortly before the downfall of Peel's government in 1846. He continued to be a follower of Peel during the remainder of that statesman's life, and, adhering, after Peel's death, to the Peelite party, he declined an offer of the post of foreign secretary which was made to him by Lord Derby on the occasion of the latter being invited to form an administration, when Lord Russell's cabinet resigned office in the spring of 1851. In 1853 he joined Lord Aberdeen's cabinet as postmaster-general, holding the same office for a short time under Lord Palmerston, by whom he was selected in 1855 to succeed Lord Dalhousie as governor-general of India. In his management of the postal department, Canning established a reputation for administra-

tive ability, evincing in a marked degree some of the qualities which distinguished him in his after career. The unremitting industry, the habit of careful inquiry into facts, and the caution, sometimes perhaps carried to excess, which were exhibited by the governor-general during the terrible events of the Indian mutiny, all characterised his performance of the far less responsible duties which devolved upon the postmaster-general. He introduced several beneficial changes in the organisation of the department, establishing, among other reforms, the practice of annually submitting to parliament a report of the work achieved by the post office. Sir Rowland Hill, whose appointment as sole secretary to the post office in 1854 was made on the advice of Canning, described the period during which he served under him as 'the most satisfactory period of his whole official career, that in which the course of improvement was steadiest, most rapid, and least chequered.'

Canning assumed the government of India on the last day of February 1856, having visited en route Bombay and Madras, at the latter of which places he spent some days with his old friend and fellow-student, Lord Harris, who was then governor of Madras. India at that time was at peace. During Lord Dalhousie's government large additions had been made to British territory; the Punjab, Pegu, Nagpur, Satara, Jhansi, and Oudh had been annexed; the Berar territories of the Nizam of the Dekhan had been placed under British administration; the mediatised courts of Arcot and Tanjore had ceased to exist; and the recognition of the grandson of the king of Delhi, then an elderly man, as the future successor of the latter, had been granted, subject, among other stipulations, to the condition that he should as king 'receive the governor-general at all times on terms of perfect equality.' By the recent annexations of territory four millions sterling had been added to the revenues of British India. Great progress, both moral and material, had been made in the various branches of the administration. In an elaborate minute recorded by the retiring governor-general on the eve of his departure, emphatic stress was laid on the prosperous and peaceful condition of affairs, qualified only by the remark that 'no prudent man, who has any knowledge of eastern affairs, would ever venture to predict the maintenance of continued peace within our eastern possessions.' Canning was not less desirous than the majority of his predecessors for a peaceful administration. In his speech at the banquet given by the court of directors in his honour before his departure from England, he gave expression to his desire for a peaceful time of



office, and to his recognition of 'the large arena of peaceful usefulness' which lay before him; adding, however, with prophetic apprehension, that he could not forget that 'in our Indian empire that greatest of all blessings depends upon a greater variety of chances and a more precarious tenure than in any other quarter of the globe,' and that 'the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin.' He had not been long at Calcutta when it became apparent that a war was impending, which, though not affecting Indian territory, nor the actual frontier of India, would involve the employment of a portion of the Indian army. Persia, in defiance of an existing treaty, had taken Herat, and, negotiations failing to bring about the evacuation of the place by the Persian forces, the English government in the autumn of 1856 declared war against the shah. The arrangements for the expedition, which was carried to a successful issue early in 1857, under the command of Sir James Outram, were made by Canning, and occupied a good deal of his attention in the latter part of his first year of office. Closely connected with this matter was the question of subsidising the amir of Cabul, and enabling him by grants of money and arms to aid in driving the Persians from Herat. This policy, urged by Herbert Edwardes, was adopted by Canning, at first with some reluctance, but afterwards with a conviction of its wisdom. He showed this conviction by cordial acknowledgments to Edwardes.

Another very difficult question, handed down to Canning by his predecessor, with which he was called upon to deal very shortly after his arrival, was that of an alteration of the conditions of service upon which the sepoys in the native army of Bengal were enlisted—a change which involved the obligation of service beyond the sea. In deciding upon this military reform, which had been pressed upon the attention of the government by the difficulty of providing British Burma with a sufficient force of native troops, but which has since been regarded as one of the causes of the mutiny of 1857, Canning was supported by the commander-in-chief and by his other constituted advisers. His own view on the subject, as stated in his letters to the president of the board of control, was that the system of enlistment for limited service, which had never been adopted in Madras or Bombay, ought not to have been tolerated so long in Bengal; and although there were some persons who were apprehensive of 'risk in meddling with the fundamental conditions upon which the

bargain between the army and the government has hitherto rested, there was no real cause for fear on this ground. His only apprehension had been—and that he said had vanished—that 'the sepoys already enlisted on the old terms might suspect that the change was a first step towards breaking faith with them, and that on the first necessity they might be compelled to cross the sea;' but there had been 'no sign of any such false alarm on their part.'

The administration of the recently annexed province of Oudh, which had fallen into incompetent hands, occasioned much anxiety to Canning at that time. The difficulty was met by the supersession of the officiating chief commissioner, and by the transfer to that post of Sir Henry Lawrence, then in charge of our relations with the native states in Rajputana. During this first year of his government, the amount of work which pressed upon Canning was very great; for, while he had to deal with several new and difficult questions of the nature of those just referred to, he had also, like all newly appointed governors-general, to wade through heavy masses of previous correspondence bearing upon the innumerable matters which called for decision. At that time the duty of initiating orders in the business of all the departments devolved upon the governor-general. It was not until a later period, when the work was enormously increased by the events of the mutiny, that Canning, at the instance of Sir Henry Ricketts, introduced the quasi-cabinet arrangement, under which each member of council takes charge of a department, disposing of all details, and only referring to the governor-general matters of real importance, and questions involving principles or the adoption of a new policy.

It would be foreign to the scope of this brief memoir to enter upon any detailed review of the causes or of the incidents of the appalling catastrophe, the mutiny of the Bengal army, which strained to the utmost the energies and resources of the government of India during the second and third years of Canning's administration. Whether the issue of the greased cartridges was the chief cause of the discontent, or panic, or whatever the sentiment may be called, which clearly existed (and this was Lord Lawrence's view), or whether, as was held by many persons well qualified to form an opinion, the mutiny originated in a number of concurrent causes, which are summed up in a single sentence in Sir John Kaye's preface to his 'History of the Sepoy War': 'Because we were too English the crisis arose,' to which he added, 'it was only because we were English that when it

arose it did not utterly overwhelm us'—these are questions upon which difference of opinion will always exist. The first open indication of the approaching catastrophe was given in February 1857 by the 19th Bengal native infantry at Berhampore refusing to receive the new cartridges. Previous to and subsequent to this affair, reports were received of a mysterious circulation of 'chupatties,' small cakes of unleavened meal, which were passed from village to village in the north-western provinces, and of lotus flowers sent from regiment to regiment. There were also numerous acts of incendiarism in the military cantonments. On 29 March the first act of violence took place, when a sepoy of the 34th regiment at Barrackpur, in a state of intoxication, attacked and wounded the adjutant of the regiment, many hundred men of the regiment looking on quietly, while a native officer refused to take the assailant into custody, and forbade his men to render any assistance to the English officer, who narrowly escaped with his life. The extent of the native disaffection was not seen, however, until 10 May, when the mutiny at Meerut, accompanied by the murder of several English officers and other English men and women, followed the next day by the rising of the native troops and massacre of Europeans at Delhi, and in the course of a few weeks by the rising of nearly the whole of the Bengal army, by the rebellion in Oudh, by the massacre at Cawnpore, and by the murder of Europeans at many other places in the Bengal presidency and in Central India, showed that British rule in India was confronted by the gravest peril to which it had been exposed since the days of Clive. Canning was much blamed, especially by the English residents of Calcutta, for having failed in the first instance to realise the gravity of the crisis. His refusal at an early period of the mutiny to take advantage of an offer which was made by the English at Calcutta to form a regiment of volunteers, an offer which he afterwards accepted; the delay of the government in ordering a general disarming of the sepoys until the course of events had rendered such a measure impossible; the inclusion of English newspapers in an act restricting the liberty of the press; the application to Englishmen, as well as to natives, of a general disarming act; Canning's efforts to moderate the fierceness of the retribution, which, involving in some cases the sacrifice of innocent men, was being exacted by British officers, both civil and military, for the outrages committed by the mutineers and by others who had participated in those outrages—all these things were severely censured

in certain quarters, and for a time brought much unpopularity upon the governor-general among a section of his countrymen in India. 'Clemency Canning' was the nickname which was applied to him, and on one occasion it was remarked that his policy was best described by two stamps in use in the Indian post-office, 'too late' and 'insufficient.' Canning's unpopularity at that time was much fostered by the natural reserve and apparent coldness of his disposition. It is probable that in some cases the tendency to a very deliberate weighing of evidence, when dealing with difficult questions, caused undesirable delays in cases in which promptitude of action was essential. The failure at the early stages of the revolt to realise the magnitude of the danger which had arisen was shared more or less by every Englishman in India, by men of the ripest Indian experience, as well as by men who, like the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, were comparative novices in Indian affairs. Of Canning's undaunted courage and firmness there never was a shadow of a doubt. Lord Elgin and Lord Clyde, like all who were brought into direct official relations with him, were much impressed by the calm courage and firmness evinced by the governor-general at that dark time. Two qualities, always important in a ruler, but exceptionally important in dealing with a perilous crisis, the faculty of reposing confidence in able subordinates, and the prompt and generous recognition of good service, Canning evinced in a remarkable degree. His immediate compliance with Sir Henry Lawrence's application to be invested with full military authority in Oudh enabled the latter to take precautions which, although they failed to stem the tide of rebellion or to prevent the sacrifice of many lives, including that of the gallant and able man who devised them, averted what would have been the far graver disaster of the fall of the Lucknow residency and the massacre of its illustrious garrison. His confidence in John Lawrence was amply justified by the sagacity and courage with which the chief commissioner, discerning the enormous importance of the recapture of Delhi, strained every effort to send to that place all the troops that could possibly be spared from the Punjab. But while Canning thus trusted the ablest of his lieutenants, he by no means surrendered the exercise of his own judgment when on difficult questions his views differed from theirs. Thus, when John Lawrence recommended the abandonment of the trans-Indus territory, in opposition to the advice of Sydney Cotton and Herbert Edwardes, the governor-general decided against the proposal, and at a later

period he overruled Outram's objections to his own policy in dealing with the Taluqdars in Oudh.

The last-mentioned affair, which might have cut short Canning's tenure of office, and which actually led to the retirement of a cabinet minister, was one of the most embarrassing incidents in Canning's career. It arose out of a proclamation which Canning deemed it advisable in the spring of 1858 to issue, as soon as the reconquest of Oudh should have been completed, regarding the treatment to be meted out to those who had been guilty of rebellion in that province. The proclamation declared among other things that with a few exceptions 'the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated by the British government, which would dispose of that right in such a manner as it might deem fitting.' Canning regarded the proclamation as an indulgent one, seeing that it promised an exemption almost general from the penalties of death and imprisonment to Oudh chieftains and others who had joined in the rebellion. Lord Ellenborough, then president of the board of control, took a different view, and transmitted through the secret committee of the court of directors a despatch condemning the proclamation in language of unusual severity, as involving an unjustifiable departure from the course generally followed in dealing with a recently conquered nation. The language of the despatch, which had been issued without the knowledge of the cabinet, was generally disapproved in England, and provoked in both houses of parliament animated discussions, which would have led to the downfall of Lord Derby's government, had not Ellenborough, taking upon himself the entire responsibility of his act, retired from the cabinet. Canning, after having vindicated his policy in a dignified and masterly reply, in the course of which he observed that 'no taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they might, would turn him from the path which he believed to be that of public duty,' consented at the earnest request of the prime minister to retain his office.

In the course of the same year, 1858, Canning was called upon to give effect to the act of parliament which transferred the government of India from the East India Company to the crown. He thus became the first viceroy of India. In 1859 he was raised to an earldom. During the remaining years of his government, his duties, if less anxious, were scarcely less arduous than those which had weighed upon him during the mutiny. The reorganisation of the Indian army, the re-establishment of Indian finance, which had been seriously disarranged by the enormous expen-

diture entailed by the mutiny, the restoration of confidence in the minds of native chiefs, and reforms in the legislative and administrative system, which were embodied in the Indian Council's Act of 1861, were among the matters which chiefly engaged his attention during the last three years. He cordially supported Bishop Cotton's plans for educating the children of Eurasians and poor Europeans. He objected to the military policy of the home government. He deprecated the abolition of the system of raising British regiments for employment exclusively in India, holding that it was essential that the British force in India should be largely composed of regiments and batteries which could not be removed to meet an exigency in Europe. Regarding the native states, Canning attached great importance to the policy of securing and confirming the allegiance of the great chiefs. With this view he deemed it essential that the princes and people of India should be assured that the annexation policy was abandoned, and that the traditional custom of adoption would not in future be interfered with, and he caused 'sunnuds,' i.e. grants, to be issued to all the chiefs of a certain rank, sanctioning the right of adoption in terms which could not be misunderstood. One of the measures taken to restore the financial equilibrium—the imposition of an income-tax—was strenuously opposed by the governments of Madras and Bombay, and produced an official controversy, which was followed by the removal from office of the governor of Madras, Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had taken the extraordinary step, while the correspondence was in progress, of publishing in the local newspapers a minute condemning the policy of the government of India. Canning's action in this matter was mainly confined to supporting the policy of his financial advisers. Finance was not a subject with which he was specially conversant; but it is believed that while he condemned Trevelyan's insubordination, Canning did not consider his objections to the income-tax to be altogether destitute of force. The last months of Canning's stay in India were clouded by the death of his noble and singularly gifted wife, who was carried off by an attack of jungle fever in the latter part of 1861. His intense grief is vividly described by Bishop Cotton. Lady Canning's death was mourned throughout India by all who had been brought into contact with her. Canning retired in March 1862, much broken in health, and died in London on 17 June following. In recognition of his eminent services he was created a knight of the Garter a few weeks before his death. He left no issue, and his title consequently lapsed.

Of Canning's character as a public man some idea will have been formed from the preceding remarks. His defects were a cold and reserved manner and an over-anxious temperament, which frequently occasioned delay in the despatch of business. In the elaborate care which he bestowed upon the composition of his official minutes, despatches, and speeches, he was painstaking almost to a fault. He was strictly just and conscientious in the disposal of his patronage, but even here his anxiety to select the best man for a vacant post sometimes caused undue delay in filling up appointments. He appears to have possessed in an eminent degree the great, and at all times rare, virtue of magnanimity. No amount of personal obloquy could induce him to clear his own character, as he might have done on more than one occasion, at the expense of the reputation of his countrymen. And if he was cold and reserved in manner, his coldness was not that of an unfeeling heart. It was related of him by a member of his personal staff that on the night on which he heard of the Cawnpore massacre, he spent the whole of it walking up and down the marble hall of Government House. Cotton described him as 'a very mirror of honour, the pattern of a just, high-minded, and fearless statesman, kind and considerate . . . without any personal bias against opponents.' His name will have a high rank among great Indian statesmen.

[Ann. Reg. 1862; Life of Sir Rowland Hill, by George Birkbeck Hill, London, 1880, p. 263; Kaye's History of the Sepoy War; Malleon's History of the Indian Mutiny, 1878; Chambers's History of the Indian Revolt, 1859; Parliamentary Paper relating to the Oudh Proclamation, 1859; Men whom India has known, Madras, 1871; Memoir of Bishop Cotton, 1871; personal information. Lord Canning's correspondence, which is said to have been preserved in a very complete form, is in the possession of his heir, the present Marquis of Clanricarde. It was placed at the disposal of the late Sir John Kaye when he was writing his 'History of the Sepoy War,' but in consequence of an incident which occurred in connection with the restoration of the papers after Sir John Kaye's death, an application made by the writer of this article for permission to consult them has been declined.] A. J. A.

**CANNING, ELIZABETH (1734-1773)**, malefactor, was born on 17 Sept. 1734. When she first attracted public notice, her father, who had been a sawyer, was dead, leaving behind him a widow and five children, of whom Elizabeth was the eldest. In December 1752 she was a domestic servant in the family of one Edward Lyon, a carpenter in Aldermanbury. Previous to this she had been

two years in a neighbouring alehouse, and had borne a good character. On New-year's day 1753 she went to visit an uncle and aunt of the name of Colley, who lived at Saltpetre Bank, near Wellclose Square. They saw her on her way home about nine p.m. as far as Houndsditch, where they parted with her. As she did not return to her mother's or master's house, she was circumstantially advertised for as follows: 'Lost, a girl about eighteen years of age, dressed in a purple masquerade stuff gown, a white handkerchief and apron, a black quilted petticoat, a green under coat, black shoes, blue stockings, a white shaving hat, with green ribbons, and had a very fresh colour. She was left on Monday last near Houndsditch, and has not been heard of since. Whoever informs Mrs. Cannons [Canning], a Scourer [sawyer] at Aldermanbury Postern, concerning her shall be handsomely rewarded for their trouble' (*Daily Advertiser*, 4 Jan. 1753). Rumours being circulated that she had been heard to shriek out of a hackney-coach in Bishopsgate Street, this advertisement was repeated on 6 Jan. with her name in full, and some additional particulars. Prayers were besides offered up for her 'in churches, meeting-houses, and even at Mr. Westley's.' Also that infallible eighteenth-century oracle, a fortune-teller or cunning-man, was consulted. All inquiries were, however, in vain, and it was not until Monday, 29 Jan. 1753, a little after ten at night, that Elizabeth Canning returned to her mother's house in Aldermanbury Postern. She had been absent four weeks, and she came back in a most miserable condition, ill, half-starved, and half-clad. Her story, as it gradually took shape under the questions of sympathising neighbours, amounted in brief to this: 'That after leaving her uncle and aunt on 1 Jan. she had been attacked in Moorfields by two men in great coats, who robbed her, partially stripped her, stunned her by a blow on the temple, and finally dragged her away to a house on the Hertfordshire road. Here an old woman, after fruitlessly soliciting her 'to go their way' (i.e. lead an immoral life), cut off her stays, and thrust her a few steps upstairs into a room, where she had been confined ever since, subsisting on bread and water and a mince pie that her first assailants had overlooked in her pocket. Ultimately, she said, she had escaped through the window, tearing her ear in doing so. The mention of the Hertfordshire road seems immediately to have attracted suspicion to one Susannah, or 'Mother' Wells, who kept an establishment of doubtful reputation at Enfield Wash; and when, two days after her return, Canning repeated her story to Alderman Chitty, a war-

rant was issued for the apprehension of Wells. On 1 Feb. Canning, her mother, and a group of friends, went with an officer to Wells's house. Canning, who was still very weak, was taken from room to room. She identified (with certain discrepancies) a loft as the one in which she had been placed, and passing by Mrs. Wells, she selected one Mary Squires, an old gipsy of surpassing ugliness (there is a portrait of her in the 'Newgate Calendar') as the person who had cut off her stays and thrust her upstairs. The gipsy promptly declared that at the time of the occurrence she was a hundred and twenty miles away at Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire. The whole Wells household, however, including Squires's son George, a young woman named Virtue Hall, and a married couple, rejoicing in the extraordinary names of Fortune and Judith Natus, were taken before a neighbouring justice, Mr. Teshmaker of Ford's Grove. Squires and Wells were committed for trial for assault and felony; the rest of the party were discharged.

This, it has been said, took place on 1 Feb. On the 6th Canning's case was handed by Mr. Salt, a solicitor, to Henry Fielding, the novelist, then a Bow Street magistrate, for his opinion. Fielding, after giving this, was persuaded into allowing Canning to swear an information before him, and also into examining Virtue Hall. Next day Canning was brought to him, and repeated, with some variations, the tale she had already told to Alderman Chitty. The result of this was that another warrant was issued against the rest of the Wells household, and Judith Natus and Virtue Hall were brought before Fielding. Virtue Hall, after much apparent prevarication and contradictory evidence, finally told a story closely resembling that of Canning. This, with the aid of Mr. Salt, the solicitor for the prosecution (!), was embodied in an information which she signed. The curious laxity which permitted these proceedings was commented upon at the time, and would be unintelligible now (STEPHEN, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, 1883, i. 423).

On 21 Feb. Squires and Wells were tried at the Old Bailey. Canning retold her tale; Hall corroborated it. Three witnesses, Gibbons, Clarke, and Greville, were called to prove an *alibi* for Squires; but they were contradicted by a fourth named Iniser, and, in her statement before receiving sentence, by Squires herself. Squires was condemned to death; Wells to be burned in the hand, a sentence which was executed forthwith, to the delight of the excited crowd in the Old Bailey sessions-house.

Then began a new phase in the story. The lord mayor, Sir Crisp Gascoyne, who had presided at the trial *ex officio*, was not satisfied with the verdict. He made further and searching inquiries. He found that other witnesses were ready to prove the *alibi* of Squires. Virtue Hall, moreover, upon re-examination recanted her evidence. A respite was consequently obtained for Squires, and her case was referred to the law officers of the crown. They reported that the weight of the evidence was in her favour, and the king thereupon granted her a free pardon.

Meanwhile Fielding had published his 'Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning,' which was immediately answered by Dr. Hill of 'The Inspector' in the 'Story of Elizabeth Canning consider'd.' Other pamphlets by authors less illustrious began to multiply rapidly. Portraits of Canning and Squires appeared in all the print-shops, and the caricaturists entered eagerly into the controversy. The fine gentlemen of White's chocolate-house made collections for the heroine of the hour, and the rabble attacked Sir Crisp Gascoyne in his coach. 'The town was divided between the "Canningites" and "Egyptians," or "Gipsyites," and "Botty Canning,"' says Churchill in the 'Ghost,'

was at least,

With Gascoyne's help, a six months' feast.

Churchill might have extended the time still further, for it was not until 29 April 1754 that Canning was summoned again to the Old Bailey to take her trial for wilful and corrupt perjury. Her different and differing statements were carefully dissected by counsel, and (rather after date) evidence was now tendered by Fortune and Judith Natus, to the effect that they slept in the loft during the whole of the time that Canning was said to have been confined there. As regards the Squires *alibi*, thirty-eight witnesses swore that the gipsy had been seen in Dorsetshire; twenty-seven, on the other hand, as pertinaciously asserted that she had been in Middlesex. The trial lasted eight days. The bewildered jury first put in a squinting verdict—they found Canning 'guilty of perjury, but not wilful and corrupt.' This qualified deliverance the recorder refused to receive, and they then found her guilty with a recommendation to mercy, though subsequently two of their number made affidavits that the verdict was not according to their consciences. When, on 30 May 1754, she came up to receive judgment, eight members of the court, led by the humane Sir John Barnard, were for six months' imprisonment, while nine were for transportation for seven years. She

was consequently transported in August, 'at the request of her friends, to New England.' According to the 'Annual Register' for 1761, p. 179, she came back to this country at the expiration of her sentence to receive a legacy of 500*l.*, left to her three years before by an old lady of Newington Green. According to later accounts, however (*Gent. Mag.* xliii. 418), she never returned, but died 22 July 1773 at Weathersfield in Connecticut. In 'Notes and Queries' for 24 March 1855 it is further stated, upon the authority of contemporary American newspapers (which give the month of death as June), that she had married abroad, her husband's name being Treat. Caulfield, in his sketch of her (*Remarkable Persons*, iii. 148), says that Mr. Treat was 'an opulent quaker,' and adds that 'for some time she [Canning] followed the occupation of a schoolmistress.' But how from 1 Jan. 1753 to the 29th of that month she did really spend her time is a secret that has never to this day been divulged. 'Notwithstanding the many strange circumstances of her story, none is so strange as that it should not be discovered in so many years where she had concealed herself during the time she had invariably declared she was at the house of Mother Wells' (*Gent. Mag.* ut supra).

[A full account of the above case is to be found in Howell's *State Trials*, 1813, xix. 262-275, 285-691, and 1418. The *Gent. Mag.* for 1753 and 1754 also contains much information, and a plan (xxiii. 306-7) of Wells's house at Enfield. Cf. also *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, 1754; Caulfield's *Remarkable Persons*, 1820, iii. 108-48 (which includes a portrait); Paget's *Paradoxes and Puzzles*, 1874, pp. 317-36; and *Notes and Queries*, ut supra. There are also innumerable pamphlets in the case besides Fielding's and Hill's. Sir Crisp Gascoyne published an *Enquiry into the Cases of Canning and Squires*, 1754; Allan Ramsay, the painter, in a *Letter from a Clergyman to a Nobleman*, 1753, wrote ably on the subject, and a surgeon named Dodd issued a *Physical Account*. Many other tracts, however, such as Canning's *Farthing Post*, Canning's *Magazine*, and the like, are eagerly sought after by collectors.] A. D.

**CANNING, GEORGE** (1770-1827), statesman, was born in London on 11 April 1770. His family, which claimed descent from William Canynoges of Bristol [q. v.], was at one time seated at Bishops Canning in Wiltshire, and afterwards at Foxcote in Warwickshire. A cadet of the family obtained the manor of Garvagh in Londonderry from Elizabeth, and died there in 1646. The statesman's father, George Canning, was the eldest of three brothers, sons of Stratford Canning

of Garvagh (1703-1775), and, according to one report, was disinherited by his father in consequence, of some early attachment of which the family disapproved. He came to London in 1757 with an allowance of 150*l.* a year, was called to the bar in 1764, wrote for the papers, published a translation of the 'Anti-Lucretius' (1766) and a collection of poems (1767). In 1768 he married Mary Anne Costello, a young lady of great beauty, but without any fortune, and, sinking under the burden of supporting himself and his family, died of a broken heart 11 April 1771. His second brother, Paul, had a son George (1778-1840), created baron Garvagh of Londonderry in the Irish peerage in 1818. The youngest, Stratford, was a banker in London, and the father of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe [see CANNING, STRATFORD].

After her husband's death his widow went upon the stage, and was twice married, her second husband being Redditch, an actor, and her third a Mr. Hunn, a linendraper of Plymouth, whom she also outlived for many years. She never achieved any great success in her profession, and finally quitted it in 1801, when Canning, who had then been under-secretary of state for five years, arranged to have his pension of 500*l.* a year settled on his mother and sisters.

Mrs. Canning had two children, a boy and a girl, and when the former was eight years old her brother-in-law, the banker, took him into his own house, and educated him as his own son. He was sent to school in London, and afterwards to the Rev. Mr. Richards, at Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, and finally to Eton, where he soon distinguished himself for his wit, his scholarship, and his precocious powers of composition. In concert with his friends John and Robert Smith, Hookham Frere, and Charles Ellis, he brought out a school magazine, called the 'Microcosm,' which attracted sufficient attention to induce Knight, the publisher, to pay the young editor fifty pounds for the copyright—in all probability the first copy money ever yet paid to a schoolboy. Canning always loved Eton, and in 1824 was 'sitter' in the Eton ten-oar, the post of honour reserved for distinguished old Etonians. In October 1788 he went up to Christ Church, where he made the acquaintance of Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool), Sturges Bourne, Lord Granville, Lord Morley (then Lord Boringdon), Lord Holland, and Lord Carlisle, and extended his classical reputation by gaining the chancellor's prize for Latin verse, the subject for that year, 1789, being the 'Pilgrimage to Mecca.' In the following year he took his bachelor's degree, and entered himself at Lin-

coln's Inn, though his residence chambers were at 2 Paper Buildings, in the Inner Temple.

His uncle, the banker, was a staunch whig, and his house was a favourite resort of the whig leaders. Here the young Oxonian made the acquaintance of Fox and Sheridan, who introduced him to Devonshire House at a grand supper party given by the duchess to all the wit, rank, and beauty of the whig party. There can be no doubt that at this time Canning called himself a whig, and his intimate friend, George Ellis, his colleague in the 'Anti-Jacobin,' and one of the founders of the 'Quarterly Review,' was even now writing in the 'Rolliad.' But the French revolution exercised the same influence on Canning as it did on many older men, hitherto the most distinguished ornaments of the whig party—Burke, Windham, Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam—and brought them over in a body to the tory camp. Sir Walter Scott says that Canning's conversion was due to a visit from Godwin, who came to him in Paper Buildings, and told him that the English Jacobins, in the event of a revolution, had determined on making him their leader. Canning, according to this account, took time to consider the proposal, and, coming to the conclusion that he had better at once make his plunge in the opposite direction, instantly hurried off to Pitt. Scott seems to have heard this story at Murray's, but he does not say from whom, though he adds that Sir W. Knighton was the person to whom Canning told it. Godwin's visit, however, was only one out of many causes all converging to the same result. Moore declares that the treatment of Burke and Sheridan by the whigs had some effect in leading Canning to unite himself with the tories. A long letter of 13 Dec. 1792, written to his friend, Lord Boringdon, at Vienna, gives Canning's own explanation of his views and inclinations at the period, and shows that he already regarded Mr. Pitt as the man of the age. Whether, however, Canning went to Pitt, or Pitt sent for Canning, the result was the same. In 1793 he finally enrolled himself under that statesman's banner, and took his seat in the House of Commons as member for Newport in January 1794. His maiden speech was delivered on the 31st of that month, the subject being the proposed grant of a subsidy to the king of Sardinia. Canning himself wrote an account of it to Lord Boringdon, in which he describes his own sensations at the moment of rising, and his annoyance towards the middle of his speech by seeing some members on the front opposition bench laughing, as he thought, at

himself. The cheers of his friends, however, soon restored him, and he got through his task triumphantly.

In 1796 Canning was made under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, a position which he held till Pitt's resignation in 1801, and in 1797 exchanged Newport for Wendover. From 1799 to 1801 he brought out the 'Anti-Jacobin,' to which Ellis, Frere, the Smiths, Lord Wellesley, Lord Carlisle, and even Pitt contributed. Canning himself, it is said, never directly acknowledged the authorship of any of the pieces attributed to him. But we may safely assert that the 'Needy Knife-grinder,' the lines on Mrs. Brownrigg, the 'New Morality,' the song on Captain Jean Bon André, the lament of Rogero, and Erskine's speech to the Whig Club, were almost exclusively the work of Canning. The paper was perhaps the most brilliant success of its kind on record. The intention of it was to make the revolutionary party ridiculous. Previously it had been the upholders of law and order, the 'Dons,' the 'Bigwigs,' who had been the favourite objects of popular satire. Now, perhaps for the first time, it was their assailants who were covered with contempt; and such was the success of the experiment, that we only wonder it was discontinued so soon. It came out in September 1797, and was stopped in the following July.

On 8 July 1800 Canning married Joan, daughter of Major-general John Scott, a young lady with 100,000*l.*, and sister to the Duchess of Portland. This made him independent, and when Pitt resigned on the Roman catholic question, Canning could follow him into retirement without any pecuniary misgivings.

During the administration of Addington, who succeeded Pitt at the treasury, Canning seems to have represented that kind of irregular opposition which, coming from below the gangway on the ministerial side of the house, is more familiar to us at the present day than it was to our grandfathers. He was in favour of the Roman catholic claims and for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and Addington was inclined to neither. Pitt, however, held him in check as well as he could for the first two or three years, though he could not prevent him from indulging in those flights of humour at the expense of the Addingtonian party, which greatly irritated the minister's own friends, and laid the foundation of that bitter and widespread animosity which pursued him to his grave. In May 1804, however, Pitt returned to power, and Canning with him as treasurer of the navy, an office which he held till Pitt's



death, in 1806. He was offered high office by Lord Grenville in the cabinet of All the Talents, but declined it on what Lord Malmesbury allows to have been honourable and honest grounds—that is to say, on grounds which showed how complete a tory Canning had now become. His reason was that in the formation of the government the king's wishes had not been sufficiently consulted. In the spring of 1807, however, the new government was dismissed, and the tories again returned to power under Canning's near relative, the Duke of Portland, even then, however, in declining health and unequal to the duties of his position. In this cabinet Canning, at the age of thirty-seven, took his seat as foreign minister.

The ministry lasted two years and a half, and during its existence occurred the seizure of the Danish fleet by Lord Cathcart, the campaign of Sir John Moore, the Walcheren expedition, and the orders in council of November 1807, which, however, were not the beginning of that series of retaliatory measures. The capture of the Danish fleet was planned by Canning, and it was certainly one of the boldest and most successful operations of the whole war. It entirely disabled the northern confederacy against England, which Napoleon had formed with so much care, and put the finishing stroke to the work of Nelson at Trafalgar. The expeditions to Spain and to the Scheldt were less fortunate. At this time Lord Castlereagh was secretary-at-war, and though the cabinet decided on the policy to be pursued, on him devolved the duty of superintending and carrying out the details. Canning thought that Moore's expedition had been greatly mismanaged, and that reinforcements which arrived 'too late' to alter the fall of the campaign might easily have been despatched in time to convert defeat into victory. The following year, when, principally owing to Canning's energetic remonstrances, it was decided once more to renew the war in the Peninsula, Lord Wellesley accepted the Spanish embassy on the distinct understanding that his brother, Lord Wellington, should be vigorously supported from home. Canning was much mortified and disappointed on finding that the troops which were originally destined for Portugal had been diverted by Lord Castlereagh to an expedition against Flushing. That it was expedient to protect this country against the possible consequences of a French occupation of Antwerp will hardly be denied. The question was whether, if we had not troops enough for both purposes, Portugal or Holland was to have the preference. To Canning it seemed that the despatch of these

forces against Antwerp was a distinct breach of faith with Lord Wellesley, and this was his second ground of complaint against Lord Castlereagh. A third was that when the convention of Cintra was under the consideration of the cabinet, a resolution approving it was adopted in Canning's absence, who, as foreign secretary, had a pre-eminent right to be consulted. The result was that in April 1809 he told the Duke of Portland that either Lord Castlereagh must be removed to some other office, or that he (Canning) must resign. Canning's resignation, as the duke well knew, would break up the ministry. To propose to Castlereagh that he should retire from the management of the war required an amount of moral courage of which the duke was not possessed. But he undertook, nevertheless, that it should be done, and at once placed himself in communication with the principal friends of Lord Castlereagh in the cabinet, Eldon, Bathurst, and Camden.

Of what followed—of the long train of consultations, negotiations, stipulations, entreaties, and remonstrances with which the next five months were taken up, during the whole of which time Lord Castlereagh was left in ignorance of what was hanging over his head—such conflicting and complicated accounts have been given to the world that to extract the precise truth from them seems almost impossible. The charge brought against Canning was this, that after having declared to the prime minister his want of confidence in Lord Castlereagh, and having consented to retain office only on condition that his lordship should be removed from the war department, he continued all through the summer to meet him as if nothing had occurred, to transact public business with him as usual, to allow him to go on with the Scheldt expedition, though all the time he disapproved of it, and daily and hourly therefore to practise towards him a species of deception which no consideration for the ministry or anxiety for the public welfare could justify. Canning's answer was that he was more sinned against than sinning; that the deception of which Castlereagh complained had been first practised on himself, who had been distinctly assured that Lord Camden had undertaken to make the necessary communications; that, on finding himself deceived, he repeatedly urged on the Duke of Portland the immediate fulfilment of his promise, and that on each of these occasions he was begged by Lord Castlereagh's own friends to acquiesce in a further suspension of it; first till the end of the session, then till the Flushing expedition had set sail, then till the result of

it was known; and that finally, when no further pretext for delay remained, and no steps had yet been taken for informing Castlereagh of the resolution arrived at by the cabinet, he fulfilled his own part of the understanding by the immediate resignation of his office.

To these counter statements we have to add Lord Camden's denial that he had ever 'undertaken' to tell Lord Castlereagh what had been determined on, though he had not positively refused; and there is no difficulty, perhaps, in supposing that the Duke of Portland may have understood him to mean more than he did himself. That, however, is between the Duke of Portland and Lord Camden, and does not affect Canning. We can only refer our readers to the account of these transactions to be found in the diary of Lord Colchester, in Twiss's life of Eldon, in the memoir of Canning by Therry, in Stapleton's life of Canning, in Alison's life of Lord Castlereagh, and in the 'Annual Register' for 1809. At the last moment Lord Castlereagh only became acquainted with the truth by an accident. Dining with Lord Camden one evening, after a meeting of the cabinet, he commented on Canning's absence from it, when his host, it seems, at length mustered up courage to deliver himself of his message. In those days there was only one thing to be done. A challenge was at once sent, and the two statesmen met on Putney Heath on 21 Sept. Lord Yarmouth was Lord Castlereagh's second, and Charles Ellis (Lord Seaford) Canning's. Neither party fired in the air, but each missed his first shot; at the second fire Canning's bullet hit the button of Lord Castlereagh's coat, and Lord Castlereagh's wounded Canning in the thigh. The hurt, however, was but slight, and he was able to walk off the ground.

Thus ended the first part of Canning's ministerial career. The Duke of Portland resigned in October and was succeeded by Mr. Perceval, to whom Canning gave an independent support, though he declined to serve under him in the cabinet. Canning has been blamed for the part which he played at this conjuncture, as if he had been 'intriguing' against Perceval. We see no signs of any intrigue. He told Perceval fairly that he thought he had the better right of the two to the first place, and that he should try to secure it, but that if he failed himself he would give all his interest to his friend. Perceval and Canning, however, like Addington and Canning, and like the Duke of Wellington and Canning, represented two rival sections of the tory party, of which

neither did justice to the other, but of which the less numerous of the two has necessarily suffered the most from misrepresentation and calumny.

Canning had made the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott in 1806 through the introduction of George Ellis, and an intimacy was at once formed which lasted their lives. Scott dined with Canning at Montagu House, the residence of the Princess of Wales, and found him a charming companion. Canning in his turn was delighted with Scott, and especially with his song on the acquittal of Lord Melville. In 1808 he interested himself greatly in the foundation of the 'Quarterly Review,' of which Scott, George Ellis, and himself may be said to have been the principal projectors. It does not seem, however, that Canning contributed anything to its pages, except a humorous article on the bullion question, the joint work of himself and Ellis, which appeared in October 1811. Scott was in town in the spring of 1809, and seems to have gathered from Canning's conversation that a break-up of the ministry was at hand. Accordingly, when he heard of the quarrel with Lord Castlereagh, it did not take him by surprise. Scott, who was the soul of honour and had access to the best information, did not think that Canning was to blame, and hoped now, he said, that he 'would take his own ground in parliament, and hoist his own standard,' as 'sooner or later it must be successful.' This tribute to Canning from the old Scotch tory, who had no idea of any coquetting with liberalism, is important, as it indicates the extent of Canning's hold upon the abler section of the tories, unbending conservatives though they were.

Canning had now some leisure for literature, and in the following year he wrote a letter to Scott on English versification. He was 'more and more delighted' with the 'Lady of the Lake,' he said, every time he read it. But still he did not altogether approve of the metre. He wished Scott to try his hand at Dryden's style, and seems to have contemplated at one time clothing some parts of the 'Lady of the Lake' 'in a Drydenic habit' with a view of showing Scott of what that measure was capable. Scott himself was so far influenced by Canning as to write a poem in imitation of Crabbe called the 'Poacher,' and an heroic epistle from Zetland to the Duke of Buccleuch. But when Canning read them he must have seen at once that Scott's strength did not lie in heroics.

In the Perceval administration Lord Wellesley was foreign secretary, and he in office

and Canning out of office combined to urge on the ministry to a vigorous prosecution of the Peninsular war and a cordial support of Lord Wellington. Sir Archibald Alison is mistaken in asserting that the whole burden of defending the Peninsular war in the House of Commons during the ministry of Mr. Perceval devolved on Lord Castlereagh, because Canning had gone abroad. Canning was in his place in parliament and spoke brilliantly in support of the war in 1810, 1811, and 1812. But in spite of all that he could do the war was not conducted to the satisfaction of Lord Wellesley, who, early in 1812, retired from the ministry. The assassination of Perceval followed soon afterwards, and then came another interregnum, during which fruitless efforts were made to form a united administration in which Wellesley and Canning and Lords Grey and Grenville should all have places. The failure of the negotiations was really owing to the fact that the prince regent reserved to himself the right of naming the prime minister, thus violating one of the cardinal doctrines of the whig creed; and in the end he was obliged to fall back upon Lord Liverpool, who offered the foreign office to Canning, coupled, however, with the condition that Lord Castlereagh must lead the House of Commons. On these terms Canning refused the offer, though it is hardly to be doubted that he regretted his refusal afterwards. He used to say himself that two years of the foreign office at that time would have been worth ten years of life. However, the die was cast, and his rival was installed for life.

Canning's article on the bullion question in the 'Quarterly Review' has been noticed, and such was the readiness with which he mastered questions not naturally congenial to him that in the great currency debates of 1811 he showed to no disadvantage by the side of Huskisson and Horner. These gentlemen represented the views of the 'bullion committee' of which Horner had been chairman, recommending that the Bank of England should be compelled to resume cash payment within two years. The government opposed the resolutions embodying the views of the committee, partly on the anti-bullionist theory in favour of an inconvertible paper currency, partly on the ground that the time was ill chosen. Canning took a middle course, agreeing with one half of the government argument, and dissenting from the other. He was in theory a decided bullionist. But he thought cash payments could not be resumed till the restoration of peace, and on that understanding the ques-

tion rested for the moment. When in 1814 it was resumed, Canning was out of England, and took no part in the further postponements, which eventually reached to 1819.

At the general election of 1812 Canning was returned for Liverpool, on which occasion he made the memorable declaration that his political allegiance was buried in the grave of Pitt. Seeing no probability of any immediate return to office, he in the following year disbanded the small party of friends who had followed his fortunes in the House of Commons, and in 1814 left England for Lisbon. The journey was undertaken in the first instance for the benefit of his son's health, but Lord Liverpool as soon as he heard of it pressed on him the post of ambassador extraordinary at Lisbon. After remaining there for nine months Canning repaired with his family to the south of France, where he spent about a year, and returned to England in the summer of 1816, when he became president of the board of control. The circumstances of his appointment to Lisbon gave rise to a vote of censure in the House of Commons, to which Canning's reply is one of the greatest monuments of his genius which he has left behind him. A message had been sent home from Lord Strangford, the English ambassador at Brazil, to the effect that the king of Portugal would like to return to Europe under British protection. The ministers determined to appoint an ambassador extraordinary to receive him at Lisbon, and Canning was selected for the post. It turned out, after Canning's arrival at his post, that the king had changed his mind. But it was urged by Mr. Lambton, the mover of a vote of censure on the appointment, that it had been known all along that he never intended to come; that the appointment therefore was a simple job, and the salary (14,000*l.* a year) under any circumstances excessive. Canning made mincemeat of his assailant, and no more was ever heard about the Lisbon 'job.'

Between 1817 and 1820 the English ministry had to deal with two separate conspiracies of which the avowed objects were the plunder of society and the overthrow of the constitution. That the means at the disposal of the conspirators were ridiculously disproportioned to their ends, that they themselves were men of no ability, and that, after their schemes were discomfited, they appeared to be contemptible, may readily be granted. But the swell of the great revolutionary storm was still agitating Europe. The English conspirators were known to be in communication with foreigners; if despicable, they were still desperate; and though they might be incapable

of effecting a revolution, it was not obviously beyond their power to excite an insurrection, or riots at all events on so large a scale as to plunge the country into confusion, and expose many ignorant and credulous persons to death or ruin. The detected plot for assassinating all the ministers in Lord Harrowby's dining-room shows of what these men were capable. Canning accordingly supported the precautionary measures adopted by the government, and had the satisfaction of seeing the old liberal Tories, who had hitherto stood aloof under Lord Grenville, once more reunited with their former associates in defence of the public safety. Canning's speech on the subject is the best explanation of his conduct. Lord Liverpool's government has frequently been blamed, and Canning as a member of it, for the unnecessary severity of the Six Acts. But whether the return of tranquillity which follows the introduction of repressive measures would equally have succeeded without them is one of those unpractical questions to which no satisfactory answer can by any possibility be given.

In 1820 occurred the affair of Queen Caroline, when the ministry were overpersuaded by the king to introduce a divorce clause into the bill which they wished to confine to the exclusion of her majesty from England; the agreement to be that she was to be paid 50,000*l.* a year as long as she resided abroad. To a bill so limited Canning was not opposed, but as he had been on very friendly terms with the queen he wished to take no part in the proceedings against her, and therefore tendered his resignation. The king, however, declined to accept it, and in August 1820 Canning, who had been much distressed by the death of his only son in the previous April, again went abroad for the autumn. The queen's trial lasted from 17 Aug. to 10 Nov., when the bill being carried in the House of Lords by the small majority of nine only, Lord Liverpool at once withdrew it. Immediately afterwards Canning returned to England, but it was only to retire from the government on the ground that he could not be absent from parliament any longer, and that he could not be a party even to the unobjectionable measures which the government had still to carry out in connection with the queen. On the queen's death in August 1821 Lord Liverpool wished to bring him back, but the king, offended not so much with Canning as with the part taken by his friends in the House of Commons, declined to receive him, and after another brief trip to the continent he in 1822 accepted the governor-generalship of India. Before he

could set sail, however, Lord Castlereagh, now Lord Londonderry, destroyed himself, and this time both Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington told George IV that Canning must fill his place at the foreign office. Early in the autumn of 1822 accordingly he returned to that long-regretted post, and at the same time exchanged his seat at Liverpool for Harwich.

We now enter on the last and most important stage of Canning's life. When, after fifteen years' absence, he again took his seat at the foreign office, the aspect of affairs in Europe had entirely changed. Napoleon was dead. The reign of conquest and aggression was over. Yet it seemed to the European monarchies that they had only exchanged one enemy for another, and that the Jacobinism which on the removal of Napoleon's iron hand had sprung to life again, could be combatted only by the same means which had overthrown imperialism. The English statesmen who had stood side by side with the kings and emperors of the continent in their life-and-death struggle naturally fell in with this train of ideas. They had not deposed a European dictator to enthrone a European democracy. And though Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington refused to be parties either to the Holy alliance or to the much more practical and formidable understanding which eventually grew out of it, they did not, perhaps they felt they could not, express any marked disapproval of its measures.

In the settlement of Europe effected by the treaty of Vienna (9 June 1815) Canning had no part. He is said to have condemned it; but how far the end justified the means is too long a question to examine in these pages. The object in view was such a reconstruction of Europe as should offer the strongest barrier to the revival of the Napoleonic system. The means adopted were the incorporation of minor states with larger ones, and the partition of the two countries which had alone joined the standard of Napoleon, Saxony and Poland. This last arrangement was concerted between Russia and Prussia, the latter receiving a large slice of Saxony in return for handing over to Russia the duchy of Warsaw, which had been formed out of Prussian Poland after the treaty of Tilsit in 1809. England, France, and Austria were extremely indignant at the transaction, but ultimately accepted it rather than run the risk of another European war. The disregard of national feeling, and in some cases of actual pledges, which attended this great pacification, gave a handle to the opponents of the English ministry, of which they freely

availed themselves. But Canning of course accepted it as a *fait accompli* on his return to office, and upheld it on all occasions as the international law of Europe.

It was on the nature of the obligations entailed by the congress of Vienna on the contracting powers that England differed from her allies, partially during the lifetime of Lord Castlereagh, and more widely on the accession of Canning. While president of the board of control he had attended the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, which provided for the evacuation of France by the allied troops, and had consented to the pledge given by England to join in resisting any fresh efforts of the French Jacobins to disturb the Restoration government. But this was an exceptional case, and by no means committed us to a similar co-operation against insurrectionary movements in general. Lord Castlereagh was as strong on this point as Canning. In a circular addressed to our ambassador while the congress was sitting at Laybach in 1821, Castlereagh pointed out that the congress of Vienna bound us to support, if necessary by force of arms, the territorial arrangements concluded in 1815, but nothing more. As Canning said afterwards, our guarantees were territorial, not political. But then arose the further question, whether the treaty of Vienna not only did not enjoin political intervention, but actually forbade it, and entitled neutral powers, if they chose, to interfere to prevent it. Castlereagh and Wellington seem to have answered this question in the negative, Canning in the affirmative. The letter of the treaty is certainly in favour of the former interpretation; for, while it distinctly prohibits aggressive intervention, it is altogether silent on protective. But Canning may have rightly judged that it was difficult to draw any abiding line between the two; that the one was very likely to run into the other; and that, if the treaty was not to become a dead letter, intervention must be forbidden altogether, and the right of nations to do as they liked inside the boundaries allotted to them by the public law be unreservedly recognised. It is to be added, however, that resistance to political intervention was, in Canning's opinion, a right merely and not a duty, and a question to be determined entirely by our own interests at the moment.

We shall now be able to understand the new point of departure taken by English foreign policy on the return of Canning to the foreign office in 1822. The new revolution, which had begun originally in Spain in 1820, had spread to Portugal and Naples. The Austrians had already intervened, and in

1821 stamped out the movement in Naples. In Spain the people themselves, then under the influence of the priesthood, had rebelled against the new constitution, and kept up a species of guerilla warfare on its adherents. In Portugal something of the same kind had occurred. The king, John VI, hurried back from Brazil in 1821, and, having at first accepted the constitution, afterwards revoked it, promising at the same time to give his subjects a better one. There was at this time in Portugal what there was not either in Spain or Naples, a moderate constitutional party which, while utterly hostile to the absurd scheme of government put forward by the Spanish revolutionaries, and known to history as 'the constitution of 1812,' were still of opinion that the people must be admitted to some share in the government, and that the old system of purely paternal absolutism could no longer be maintained. Of this party the king himself and the Marquis Palmella were at the head, and it was to this party that Canning gave his own support.

In 1823, the revolutionary party in Spain still holding their ground, the king of France marched an army into the Peninsula under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême, which speedily reduced the rebels to submission. Canning protested, but protested in vain; and, not thinking it for the interest of this country to exercise her right of going to war in order to drive the French away, he retaliated in another fashion by acknowledging the independence of the Spanish American colonies. If French influence was henceforth to predominate in Spain, it should not be 'Spain with the Indies.' He called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. These words have been supposed to shed immortal lustre on both the eloquence and the principles of Canning. But it is only due to Lord Castlereagh to say that in the instructions which he drew up for the Duke of Wellington on his setting out for the congress of Verona in 1822, occurs the following passage: 'But the case of the revolted colonies is different. It is evident from the course which events have taken that their recognition as independent states has become merely a question of time.'

On the Portuguese absolutists the presence of the French army in Spain produced the worst possible effect. At their head were the queen and her second son Don Miguel, the eldest, Don Pedro, preferring to remain at Brazil, half as emperor, half as regent for his father, his daughter, Donna Maria, being the direct heiress to the throne. In 1824, encouraged by French emissaries, the absolutists began gradually to assume a very

alarming attitude, and the king applied to England for assistance. Canning was unwilling to go to the length of sending troops to Lisbon, as that would have the appearance of doing exactly what he himself had condemned when it was done by France. But he thought that a squadron might be sent to the Tagus without exposing us to the same criticism, and by these means a *coup d'état* attempted by Don Miguel was frustrated, and he himself obliged to take refuge at Vienna. In March 1826 John VI died, having appointed his daughter Isabella regent, and Don Pedro sent over a decree establishing a constitutional form of government. The absolutist party, however, were still strong in Portugal. They had the queen dowager on their side, and the presence of a French army in Spain to encourage them. In the course of the following year a regular rebellion broke out, fomented by the Spanish authorities, and their participation in the war brought the circumstances within the scope of our original treaties with Portugal, which bound us in such case to assist her. British troops were despatched to Lisbon in January 1827, the insurrection was soon crushed, and the government of the regency experienced no further disturbance down to the death of the great English minister in the following August.

The Austrian intervention in Naples, the French intervention in Spain, and the virtual intervention of Spain in Portugal were the three great exemplifications of the policy of the Holy alliance during Canning's administration of the foreign office. The only occasion on which he interfered, it will be observed, was one on which we were bound by previous treaties long antecedent to the treaty of Vienna to afford the assistance which we rendered.

In the summer of 1824 Canning paid a visit to his relative Lord Wellesley, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and had promised to take Abbotsford on his way home, but was called back to town in a hurry by the death of Louis XVIII. In September of the following year, however, Scott and he met for the last time on the banks of Windermere, at the house of Mr. Bolton, where Scott found Southey and Wordsworth, as well as the foreign minister. Canning, whom Scott thought even then looking very ill, was the life of the circle. Many pretty women were of the party, and as they rode through the woods by day, or paddled in the lake by moonlight, there was 'high discourse,' says Lockhart, 'mingled with as gay flashings of courtly wit as ever Canning displayed.' From this brilliant scene Canning

returned to London and to all the gloomy mysteries of a great commercial crisis. This had been produced by a variety of causes which the reader will find carefully explained in M'Culloch's 'Commercial Dictionary' and Tooke's 'History of Prices,' as well as by Mr. Walpole and Mr. Stapleton. The business did not belong to Canning's department, but he took a great interest in it notwithstanding, and warmly supported Lord Liverpool in resisting the importunities of the bank directors who begged the government to issue exchequer bills and suspend cash payments. One of their bitterest assailants was Mr. Manning, the father of the present cardinal; but the government stood firm, and by so doing saved the country from great financial calamities. In the session of 1826 government introduced a bill for putting an end to the circulation of notes under five pounds in value. The measure was adopted for England, but not for Scotland, principally owing to Scott's 'Letters of Sir Malachi Malagrowther,' at which it is said Canning was considerably annoyed.

In 1826 Canning went to Paris to see the king and his ministers in person, and seems to have had reason to congratulate himself on the success of his visit. He had been able, he said, 'to assure himself to absolute conviction that had the English government been rightly understood at the Tuileries in 1822-3, no invasion of Spain would ever have taken place.' Sir Walter Scott was in France at the same time, and was detained on the road between Calais and Paris by Canning having engaged all the post-horses. It is mentioned that on this occasion he was invited to dine with Charles X in the great saloon of the Tuileries, to which all the public were admitted, an honour which that sovereign had never conferred on any one not of royal blood except the Duke of Wellington and Prince Metternich.

When Canning became foreign minister the Greek rebellion had broken out for some time, and the chronic misunderstanding between Turkey and Russia was in its usual festering condition. Canning, like every other English statesman, addressed himself to the maintenance of peace between these two powers, which he succeeded in preserving during his own lifetime, but he failed in his efforts to mediate between the Porte and its insurgent subjects. Neither, in fact, would listen to a compromise till the successes of Ibrahim Pasha, in 1825, brought the Greeks into a more tractable mood, and induced them to solicit the good offices of England. These were the more readily granted that

Ibrahim was staining his victories in the Morea by gross excesses which Canning more than once declared to the Porte it was impossible for the western powers to endure. In April 1826 the Duke of Wellington signed a protocol at St. Petersburg, according to which England and Russia agreed to offer their mediation to Turkey on the condition that Greece should remain a tributary but otherwise independent state, acknowledging only the suzerainty of the Sultan (much like Egypt); the Porte being informed at the same time that, in case of its refusal, the christian powers would withdraw their ambassadors from Constantinople, and would 'look to Greece with an eye of favour, and with a disposition to seize the first occasion of recognising, as an independent state, such portion of her territory as should have freed itself from Turkish dominion, provided that such state should have shown itself substantially capable of maintaining an independent existence, of carrying on a government of its own, of controlling its own military and naval forces, and of being responsible to other nations for the observance of international laws and the discharge of international duties.'

The refusal of Austria and Prussia, however, to concur in the protocol rendered the first menace unavailing, while the failure of any part of Greece to comply with the conditions essential to the acknowledgment of its independence equally neutralised the second. Turkey rejected the proposals altogether, the result being that the protocol was converted into the treaty of London, signed by England, France, and Russia on 27 July 1827, the terms of which were nearly the same as those of the protocol, with the exception of a secret article, on the right interpretation of which a great deal of controversy has hung. It was resolved by the signatory powers that the Porte should be required to agree to an armistice in order to give time for the quarrel to be composed by amicable negotiation. The secret article provided that, if within a month's time the Porte did not accede to this proposal, the allies should take the necessary measures for establishing an armistice of themselves, and putting an end to the barbarities and also the piracies by which the contest was disfigured, but in such a manner, nevertheless, as might not amount to a breach of their friendly relations with the Porte. Canning had always been careful to repudiate any intention of using force. As late as 4 Sept. 1826 he wrote to Prince Lieven that the 'continuance of a contest so ferocious, and leading to excesses of piracy and plun-

der so intolerable to civilised Europe . . . did justify extraordinary intervention and render lawful any expedients short of positive hostility.' It is clear then that Canning saw in his own mind some plain distinction between the use of force to prevent one country from making war upon another, and making war upon either of them ourselves. The 'high powers' were to use all the means 'which circumstances should suggest to their prudence, to obtain the immediate effects of the armistice,' but 'without taking part in the hostilities between the contending parties.' It is certain that from first to last Canning had no idea of going to war with Turkey to compel her to acknowledge the independence of Greece. It is equally certain that he must have contemplated the possibility of firing on her ships and soldiers if she persisted in her efforts to put down the insurrection. How he could have done the one without doing the other it is not very easy to understand, nor shall we now ever learn. To the great misfortune of this country he died little more than four weeks after the signature of the treaty.

We must now retrace our steps for a short distance to the time when it became known that Lord Liverpool would never be able to resume his duties at the treasury. On 27 Jan. the Duke of York died, and was buried by night in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The members of the cabinet who attended dined at Canon Long's, and afterwards proceeded to the chapel, where they were kept waiting for two hours standing on the cold flagstones in very bitter weather. Canning made Lord Eldon stand upon his cocked hat, but he took no such precaution himself, and the result was a cold, from which he never entirely recovered. A few days afterwards he went with his private secretary to Bath on a visit to Lord Liverpool, who was there for the benefit of his health, and Stapleton records the delightful dinners they used to have when, on the pretext of amusing the youngster, the two old college friends told stories of their own youth which were evidently, he says, quite as entertaining to the old as to the young. From Bath, Canning went to stay with Huskisson at Eastham, where he was obliged to pass a day in bed, and on arriving at Brighton became so seriously ill that Stapleton thought it his duty at once to communicate with Lord Liverpool. It was while reading one of these letters, on 17 Feb. 1827, that Lord Liverpool was seized with a fit, and on Canning's partial recovery, as soon as it was seen that further delay was useless, he had an interview with the king to consult on the formation of a new ministry.



Canning first of all suggested to his majesty that he should endeavour to construct an exclusively protestant administration, of which he himself, while giving it an independent support, should not be a member. This advice was given on 28 March, and between this time and 9 April George IV had interviews with the Duke of Wellington and Peel, who recommended just the contrary—namely, that his majesty should make no attempt to form an exclusively protestant administration. All three, Canning, Wellington, and Peel, would have been glad to form a neutral government like Lord Liverpool's, but they could find nobody exactly qualified to fill Lord Liverpool's place. The matter, in fact, stood as follows: If an anti-catholic premier was appointed over Canning's head, solely on religious grounds, there was a clear violation of neutrality; if a pro-catholic was appointed, then it could be nobody but Canning. He himself would not accept the first alternative, nor Peel and Wellington the second. The choice, therefore, lay between Canning without these, and these without Canning. The duke and his friend contrived to leave an impression on the king's mind that they were trying to dictate to him, and this was quite enough to turn the scale in Canning's favour. George IV, who, if he cared for nothing else, cared a good deal about his own prerogative and his right to name his own ministers, told the Duke of Buckingham, almost in so many words, that this was his reason for giving the seals to Canning, who accordingly on 10 April received his majesty's commands to form a new administration. Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Westmorland, Lord Melville, Lord Bathurst, Lord Bexley, and Peel at once resigned, and drove Canning to an alliance with the whigs, for which he has frequently been blamed, but which he could hardly have avoided without either damaging the cause of Roman catholic emancipation and bringing doubts upon his own sincerity, or violating one of the cardinal doctrines of toryism by refusing to assist the king against an aristocratic cabal. That this was the light in which the situation appeared to Canning is evident from the letter to Croker, which is published in the first volume of the 'Croker Papers.' And that the reason we have assigned was the one which actuated George IV may safely be concluded not only from the Buckingham diary to which we have already referred, but also from a letter of Huskisson's likewise to be found in the 'Croker Papers.'

It is known that the Duke of Wellington conceived himself to have been very ill

treated by Canning in the course of these transactions, and those who are curious on such passages may consult their correspondence on the subject, which is to be found in full both in the 'Duke of Wellington's Despatches,' and also in Stapleton's 'Life.' A not unimportant question raised in it is whether the person first sent for by the sovereign is the one whom he necessarily intends to be prime minister. It does not seem to us that Canning is fairly open to the charge of underhand dealing, whereas to the second point they seem to have been at cross purposes—Canning referring to the interview in which the king directly charged him with the formation of a ministry, Wellington to another in which the king only asked for his advice.

In justice to the memory of Canning it must be recorded here that in his agreement with the whigs he did not abandon a single article of his own creed, but that on the contrary he exacted from those who took office with him a pledge that they would neither raise the question of parliamentary reform nor support the repeal of the Test Act. In Canning's ministry, as finally constituted, Lord Lyndhurst was chancellor, Lord Lansdowne secretary for the home department, Lord Dudley for the foreign, Lord Carlisle privy seal, and Mr. Tierney master of the mint. Canning himself was chancellor of the exchequer, Huskisson president of the board of trade, and Lord Palmerston, remaining secretary-at-war, was now admitted into the cabinet. The ministry was strong in ability, and commanded a working majority in the House of Commons. Whether, had its existence been prolonged, it would have gathered round itself the confidence of the public and insured a new lease of power to the tory party, once again liberalised by Pitt's pupil as it had been formerly by Pitt himself, is now a matter of pure speculation. The session of 1827 was made bitter to Canning by the unrelenting hostility exhibited by his former friends. On all commercial questions both Lord Liverpool and Canning had always taken the same view as Pitt, and were, in theory at all events, free-traders. No one was readier than Lord Liverpool to acknowledge the mistake that had been made in the corn law of 1815, and before Canning's accession some modification of it had been adopted. In 1826 he was busily engaged in devising a further relaxation of the law, and it was the last thing on which he was intent before his retirement from public life. The measure, which was the joint production of himself and Huskisson, was introduced by Canning on 1 March 1827. It was founded on what is called the

sliding scale, and provided that foreign wheat should be admitted at a 20s. duty when the price had fallen to 60s., the duty to fall as the price rose, and to rise as the price fell. The bill passed the House of Commons by large majorities before the Easter recess, but was knocked on the head by the Duke of Wellington, who carried an amendment in the House of Lords to prohibit bonded corn from being brought into the market till the price rose to 66s. The bill was withdrawn, but Canning introduced a temporary measure for allowing the bonded corn then in the country to be brought into the market under the conditions prescribed by the bill, and the measure passed both houses without opposition. Canning was very angry at the loss of the bill, and made some remarks on the conduct of the House of Lords, which had better been spared. But he was smarting under the treatment which he supposed himself to have experienced from the aristocracy, and especially from a violent attack made upon him by Lord Grey on 10 May, which stung him so severely that he is said to have contemplated taking a peerage himself that he might answer him in person. The speech has been answered very effectively by his private secretary, Mr. Stapleton, in his 'Political Life of Mr. Canning;' and as it is probably only a digested report of what he heard from Canning's own lips, it may be accepted as the case for the defence which the great statesman would have desired to place on record.

But his career was now fast drawing to a close. He struggled through the session against a combination of difficulties peculiarly trying to one of his warm and sensitive disposition, and which did not require to be aggravated by bodily sickness. No mercy, however, was shown to him; and when parliament was prorogued on 2 July he left the House of Commons, which he had so long ruled 'as Alexander ruled Bucephalus,' a dying man. The Duke of Devonshire invited him to Chiswick for change of air, but it was all in vain. On 29 July he was able to see the king, when he told his majesty that 'he did not know what was the matter with him, but he was ill all over.' On 1 Aug. his life was seen to be in danger, and on the 5th his condition was made public. On Wednesday the 8th he died in the very same room in which, twenty-one years before, died his early friend Charles Fox. Canning had three sons and a daughter. His eldest son (b. 25 April 1801) died 31 March 1820. The second son, William Pitt, a captain in the navy, was drowned at Madeira 25 Sept. 1828. The third son, Charles John,

afterwards Earl Canning, is separately noticed. Canning's widow was created Viscountess Canning 22 Jan. 1828, with remainder to Canning's heirs male. She died 15 March 1837, and was succeeded by her only surviving son, Charles John. The daughter, Harriett (d. 8 Jan. 1876), married Ulick John, first marquis Clanricarde.

Canning's toriyism was the toriyism of the second Pitt, modified by the new class of considerations which the French revolution had imported into political life. It was founded, in the first place, on the maintenance of the royal prerogative, and included among its primary tenets the repeal of the Roman catholic disabilities and the gradual removal of restrictions upon trade and commerce. But Canning did not share his master's views on the question of parliamentary reform, probably because it was demanded in 1820 in a very different spirit and with very different objects from those which actuated the reformers of 1780. Canning believed, in fact, that the old system was capable of being administered in a thoroughly popular manner, and with that conviction he naturally shrank from a change which was confessedly hazardous, and which, even if successful, would only remove anomalies of no practical importance. Accustomed as we are now to the doctrine of inherent right and the dominion of abstract ideas, we no longer feel the force of Canning's reasoning. But in his own day it rested on a basis which was generally recognised, or the ancient *régime* would never have been tolerated so long.

Both at home and abroad Canning aspired to hold the balance even between the two extremes, between oligarchical and democratic, between despotic and licentious, principles. That in carrying out this idea he should have given offence to both parties is only what we should expect to discover; and in truth this one great fact is at the bottom of nearly all the difficulties which he experienced, and most of the mysteries which attach to him. As, on his return to the foreign office in 1822, he found, or thought he found, the liberal party in Europe the weaker of the two, he threw the whole weight of England into that scale. At home, on the contrary, as he seems to have thought that the two parties were differently balanced, he brought his genius to the support of conservatism. Hence his approval of the Six Acts and his opposition to parliamentary reform.

Of Canning as an orator conflicting accounts have been handed down to us; but they all agree in this, that in what may be called literary eloquence he has had few

rivals. His manner, his aspect, his voice, his elocution, the selection of his words, the beauty of his imagery, and, when the subject called for it, the closeness and clearness of his reasoning, combined to make him the foremost man in the English parliament after the death of Fox. But he does not seem to have possessed in an equal degree what Aristotle calls *ῥηκὴ πλότης*, that quality in virtue of which the orator impresses every one who hears him with an absolute conviction of his sincerity. Many who listened to Canning thought him only a consummate actor, nothing doubting his intellectual belief in the doctrines he was enforcing, but uncertain only whether his feelings were engaged to the extent which his language would imply. It is commonly supposed that rhetoric and passion do not mingle very kindly with each other, and that the more deeply we are moved the less naturally do we express ourselves in glowing metaphors and rounded periods. Mr. Stapleton, however, has proved to the satisfaction of all impartial persons that, if any such rule holds good, Canning at least was an exception to it; and that in all his great orations, however elaborate the texture, he spoke from his heart. Canning's collected poems were issued with a memoir in 1823. His speeches, edited by R. Therry, were published in six volumes in 1828. A French translation in two volumes appeared in 1832.

[Stapleton's Political Life of Canning, 1831; Stapleton's Canning and his Time, 1835; Bell's Life of Canning; Memoirs by Therry, prefixed to edition of speeches, 1828; Grenville's, Wellesley's, and Malmesbury's Diaries and Memoirs; Lord Colchester's Diary; Twiss's Life of Eldon; Lord Stanhope's Life of Pitt; Lord J. Russell's Memoirs of Fox; Pellev's Life of Lord Sidmouth; Yonge's Life of Lord Liverpool; Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington; Brougham's Statesmen of the reign of George III; Sir G. C. Lewis's Administrations of Great Britain, 1783-1830; Keibel's History of Toryism, 1783-1881; Lockhart's Life of Scott; Greville Memoirs; Croker Papers; Sir T. Martin's Life of Lord Lyndhurst.] T. E. K.

**CANNING, RICHARD** (1708-1775), topographer, born 30 Sept. 1708, was the son of Richard Canning, a post-captain in the navy, who went to reside at Ipswich in 1712. He proceeded B.A. 1728, and M.A. 1735, at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; became perpetual curate of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, in 1734; rector of Harkstead, Suffolk, in 1738; and rector of Freston and vicar of Rushmere St. Andrew, both in the same county, in 1755. He resigned his benefice at Rushmere in 1756, and handed over that at Harkstead

to his son Richard (B.A. Emmanuel College, 1763) in 1769. He died on 8 June 1775, and was buried in St. Helen's Church, Ipswich, where there is a mural tablet to his memory. Canning was an earnest student of the history of Suffolk, and is best known by the edition of 'The Suffolk Traveller.' This book, first published by John Kirby between 1732 and 1734, was thoroughly revised by Canning and a few friends, and issued, 'with many alterations and large additions,' in 1764. A third edition appeared in 1835 under the title of 'The History of the County of Suffolk.' Canning issued in 1754 a translation of the Ipswich charters, and in 1747 an account of the charitable bequests made to the town. Both these tracts appeared anonymously. Several of Canning's sermons were published at Ipswich. He printed two pamphlets (1740 and 1749) against dissent from the church of England. The younger Richard Canning died 17 Jan. 1789.

[Nichols's Lit. Illustrations, vi. 538-45; Gough's British Topography, ii. 248.] S. L. L.

**CANNING, STRATFORD**, first Viscount STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE (1786-1880), diplomatist, was the youngest son of an elder Stratford Canning, and first cousin of George the minister [q. v.]. The elder Stratford was disinherited by his father on account of what was considered an imprudent marriage. To his mother, Mehetabel, daughter of Robert Patrick, Canning owed much of his personal charm, and still more his resolute will and steadfast nature. Left a widow soon after the birth of her most famous son, Mrs. Canning brought up her children, on limited means, with rare skill and wisdom. Charles Fox, her third son, served under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular war, and was appointed his aide-de-camp; and the duke made very honourable mention of him when he was killed at the battle of Waterloo.

Stratford Canning was born on 4 Nov. 1786, in Clement's Lane, near the Mansion House. The dingy street, sloping down to the river, was a favourite resort of merchants, who then lived over their offices. Here his father had come to seek the fortune which he had forfeited by his marriage, and here Fox, Sheridan, and other celebrities delighted to sup with the charming young merchant and his beautiful wife. Six months after the birth of Stratford, his father died at Brighton, and the city house was exchanged for a quiet retreat at Wanstead, on the skirts of Epping Forest, which remained the home of mother and children for some fifteen years. Stratford was sent to a neigh-

bouring school at the early age of four, and two years later to Hackney, where he remembered the celebration of Lord Howe's victory over the French in 1794. In the summer of this year he went to Eton. The hardships of his life at Hackney had furnished him with unhappy recollections; and the change to Eton, though fagging was still a trial to him, proved very welcome. His high spirits and personal charm made him a favourite with masters and boys, and he devoted his time more to games and exercises than to work, until an illness sobered him, and the sympathetic tutorship of Sumner (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) gave him a new interest in his studies. Eton boys were always welcome at Windsor and Frogmore, and Canning had his share of the royal notice. George III once asked him in what form he was, and, being told the sixth, said, 'A much greater man than I can ever make you.' At Windsor he saw the great people of the state—Addington and Pitt and their colleagues; and they took him to hear debates in the House of Commons. He saw Nelson, who came to Eton 'with Lady Hamilton under his arm, and made amends for that weakness by obtaining a holiday for the school.' At home, in the vacations, he saw much of his cousin George, and of Sheridan, who had taken a house near Wanstead after the death of his first wife. At Eton he joined Richard Wellesley, Rennell, and Gally Knight in publishing a collection of essays, 'The Miniature,' which went to a second edition. In due course he became captain of the school, and in 1805 was elected a scholar of King's College, Cambridge. His university career was uneventful; but, without being precisely studious, he contrived to make himself master of most of the great classical authors, and throughout his life he retained an excellent memory of Virgil and other favourite poets. He lived in Walpole's rooms, saw Porson and Simeon, and joined a debating society with Pollock and Blomfield. 'The life was one of pleasant monotony, in which an easy amount of study was mingled with healthy exercise and social enjoyments suited to the character of the place and its youthful occupants. I had friends, or at least acquaintances, in other colleges besides my own; but I had nothing to do with horns, carriages, or boats' (*MS. Memoirs*). He was soon appointed to a diplomatic post, and his degrees were eventually granted by decree of the senate in virtue of his absence 'on the king's service.'

In 1807 George Canning became foreign secretary, and appointed his cousin to the post of *précis* writer at the foreign office.

The work did not seriously interfere with his Cambridge terms, but it was an office of confidence. His duties kept him constantly in intimate relations with his cousin, in whose house in Downing Street he lived, and at the foot of whose table he sat when the foreign minister entertained the diplomatic circle with a state dinner. When the mission was going to Copenhagen, with a view to healing the breach with the Danes, Stratford Canning was appointed the second of the two secretaries who accompanied Mr. Merry on this delicate and futile business (October 1807). An important mission to Turkey was in contemplation when he returned. The alliance with Russia against France had brought us into collision with the Porte in support of our Russian ally, and some acts of hostility had occurred. When Napoleon forced the czar to abandon his English connection, the necessity for a formal rupture with our old ally disappeared, and there was a desire on both sides, cautiously expressed, to mend the breach. Sir Robert (then Mr.) Adair was accordingly despatched, in June 1808, to negotiate a treaty of peace, and Canning went with him as first secretary. The task was a delicate one; for the Turks, as usual, believed that something was to be gained by delay. After two months' endurance of these procrastinations, Adair sent in his ultimatum, and ordered his man-of-war to be got ready for sea. The sight of loosened sails and anchor weighed finished the matter, and the treaty of peace was signed on 5 Jan. 1809, at the very moment when the French embassy at Constantinople was apprised of the supposed failure of the negotiations.

For a year and a half from this date Canning performed the duties of first secretary at Constantinople. The business of the ambassador was to induce Turkey to prefer the influence of England to that of France, at a time when France meant nearly all Europe, and England was her only overt antagonist. Adair did indeed contrive to keep the Porte in a friendly disposition towards England, and to check in some measure the French *chargé d'affaires*; but there was little stirring at the embassy, and Canning had leisure to amuse himself with riding, and with the scanty society of the place. 'The diplomatic circle,' he writes, 'was at zero. Owing to various causes, entirely political, the only house of that class at which we could pass the evening was the residence of the Swedish mission. The intelligent and educated traveller was a rare bird, and at best a bird of passage. What remained was to be sought out with very limited success among the resident merchants and mongrel families of Pera and Buyukdery, who sup-

plied christian diplomacy with interpreters, and by their means exercised no small influence, not always of the purest kind, over its transactions with the Porte' (*MS. Memoirs*). One notable addition to the society of Stamboul was made for a time by the arrival of Lord Byron, whom Canning had last seen when playing against him in an Eton and Harrow cricket match, and who was then busily engaged upon 'Childe Harold.'

In July 1810, disgusted with the position of onlooker at the Porte, and weary of the palaver and procrastination of Turkish ministers, a discussion with whom he compared to 'cutting into dead flesh,' Adair left Constantinople for his new post at Vienna, and Canning, in his twenty-fourth year, by virtue of a dormant commission, took over the full, though temporary, responsibility of the embassy at the Porte, as minister plenipotentiary, pending the appointment of Adair's successor. In the manuscript memoirs which have already been quoted he gives an interesting and valuable summary of the political situation. 'In 1809,' he writes, 'a year of great importance had begun. The Emperor Napoleon had consolidated, by a peace of apparent duration, the military, territorial, and moral advantages which he had obtained, as the case might be, at the expense of continental Europe. Where his troops were not quartered, or his frontier not advanced, he exercised either an accepted authority or a predominant influence. He was king of Italy, master of the Low Countries, protector of the Rhenish confederacy, and mediator of the Swiss cantons. His numerous armies occupied the greater part of the countries west of the Pyrenees. Their positions were as yet but partially threatened by the Spanish insurrection and the British successes in Portugal. Austria was secretly collecting the means for a fresh trial of strength with the victorious legions of France. Russia was occupied with her military operations against Turkey. Denmark had become the creature of Napoleon, and Sweden, though allied with us by the policy of its gallant and unfortunate king, was drifting towards a change of government destined to prove subversive of the English alliance. England, though triumphant everywhere at sea, and wielding a power which was capable of making itself felt wherever the enemy or his forced allies presented a weak point upon the coast or a distant colonial possession worth attacking, had to bear up against a heavy financial pressure, and to encounter much occasional discontent at home. She was nominally at war with every European government controlled by France, and as far as ever from any approach towards

peace with that country; while serious discussions with the United States of America held out to her the prospect of another war dangerous to her trade and difficult to be met without much additional expense and many a hazardous exertion.' In 1810 the situation had grown perceptibly gloomier. 'With the battle of Wagram, followed by the peace of Schönbrunn, fell every immediate hope of seeing the progress of Napoleon checked by the arms of Austria. Our Spanish allies had been compelled to take refuge in Cadiz. Our grand expedition to Antwerp had proved a failure. The fevers of Walcheren had given the finishing stroke to the indecisions of our commanders. The ministry at home were breaking into pieces; our national debt was larger than ever; and symptoms of popular discontent prevailed.'

Such was the state of Europe when Canning began his responsible work at Constantinople. To the complexity of the political situation was added the further difficulty that from the beginning to the close of his mission he was left without instructions from home. The government entirely forgot him; the most important despatch he received from the Marquis Wellesley, who had succeeded Canning at the foreign office, related to some classical manuscripts supposed to be concealed in the Seraglio; and the many and important negotiations which he carried to a successful issue were conducted without a solitary word of advice or support from the British government. As he writes, he had to 'steer by the stars' in the absence of compass; and although he naturally resented this official neglect, it is probable that he was not ill-pleased to find himself unshackled by instructions: to shirk responsibility on the plea of no orders from home was a course that could never have occurred to him. One circumstance was in his favour: England alone stood face to face with the conqueror, and had come to be regarded as 'an ark of refuge for the honour of princes and the independence of nations.' England, too, was the supreme trading power in the Levant, and in the absence of powerful pressure from France, the interests of the Porte were naturally bound up with those of the greatest maritime nation of the world.

Canning's work during this first mission at Constantinople consisted in three separate tasks: first, to make the influence of England felt at the Porte as a check upon the French; secondly, to defend the interests of our shipping trade in the Levant; and thirdly, to effect a reconciliation between the czar and the sultan with a view to setting Russia free to repel Napoleon's meditated

invasion. In each of these tasks he was successful. Even in these youthful days his presence carried something of that sense of power which afterwards came to be associated with 'the Great Elchi'—a title which means full ambassador, as distinguished from a minister (elchi), but which came to be applied to Canning with a special force, as the ambassador *par excellence*. It was soon perceived that the young minister, in spite of the want of instructions from home, was prepared when needful to take steps of the utmost daring and consequence. It was then common for a French privateer to capture a British merchant vessel and run the prize into a Turkish port. Remonstrance was useless; Canning boldly called upon Captain Hope, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, to take the law into his own hands. Hope entered the harbour of Napoli di Romania with his corvette, and under the guns of the fortress demanded the restitution of some English prize vessels. The privateer ran his prizes ashore and burnt them; the corvette opened fire upon him, and the fortress was mute. The needful lesson had been given, and the privateering question was practically settled. The Porte indeed, incensed at this bold stroke, sent a private communication to the presumptuous minister, lamenting his imprudence in constantly harassing the Sublime Porte about mere trifles, instead of mediating a peace with Russia, a task which the sultan was ready to trust to his good offices. Canning knew perfectly that the negotiation of such a treaty would be the making of his diplomatic reputation; but even for this he would not yield a point. 'Nothing,' he answered, 'is unimportant which concerns the honour of England.' He persisted in his defence of the rights of British merchants, and his persistence only strengthened him in bringing his now acknowledged influence to bear upon the larger negotiations.

The conclusion of a peace between the belligerents on the Danube had become a matter of pressing importance. The balance of victory was decidedly on the Russian side, and it was obvious that Turkey could not expel the czar's army from her territory. At the same time Russia pursued the war but languidly, for her army on the Danube was urgently needed to meet Napoleon's threatened march to Moscow. The interest of England pointed distinctly to effecting the release of the army of the Danube, as a weapon against France; and though we were then technically at war with Russia, as with the rest of Europe, it was still possible for our minister to mediate, since Russia in her

present straits had already begun to show leanings towards England. Canning saw that his duty lay in obtaining the best terms of peace he could for Turkey, and thus at once conciliating the good opinion of the Porte for England, and releasing the Russian army against England's great antagonist. Financial and political reasons, moreover, alike commended the peace to the czar: Canning increased the desire by cementing the alliance between Turkey and Persia, and thus encouraging the Persians in their flank movement on Russia. On the other hand the normal difficulty of inducing the Porte to come to any decision was in this instance increased by one or two Turkish successes on the Danube. Yet he so worked upon Turkey by emphasising the growing successes of Wellington in the Peninsula, that the Porte at length confided to him unusual powers. In spite of the fact that Canning was acting entirely on his private responsibility, the sultan threw over the French minister, and invited his English rival to open direct negotiations with D'Italinsky, the Russian plenipotentiary at Bucharest, promising to place exclusive confidence in him, and to permit no French interference. The intrigues of France and Austria furnished weapons which were amply effective in capable hands. He obtained possession of a secret paper in which these two powers proposed to join Turkey in an attack upon Russia, and this he contrived to convey to D'Italinsky, with the desired effect: Russia became more anxious than ever to arrange a peace. But Turkey remained obstinate; the Porte, always trusting to the chapter of accidents, still hoped to get out of the war without loss of territory, and some strong measure was needed to bring it to reason before France opened hostilities. The French minister and Austrian internuncio strenuously encouraged Turkey in the policy of resistance, while Canning, in spite of his confidential position, was still at variance with the Porte on minor matters of commercial rights. Moreover, his communications with Russia, the traditional enemy of Turkey, even when invited by the Porte, were in themselves liable to suspicious misconstruction. The English minister had, however, again a weapon in his hand. He held a secret paper detailing a plan for the invasion and partition of Turkey, drawn up at Vienna, with Napoleon's connivance. This unprincipled document he delivered to the Porte in his most impressive manner, and it soon appeared that the long struggle was over. In the face of the active hostility of France and Austria, in spite of the obvious advantages of delay to the Porte, he carried

his point, and the treaty of Bucharest was signed on 28 May 1812, and ratified just before the arrival of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Liston superseded Canning at the embassy.

This was the most important act of Stratford Canning's life. Apart from the reputation thus acquired by the young diplomatist, the gain to Europe was immense. The negotiations which ended in the treaty of Bucharest laid the foundations of that predominating influence which England has ever since exerted at the Porte, and established the extraordinary personal prestige which enabled Canning to maintain that influence at Constantinople through times of severe strain and confusion. More than this, it released Tschitschakoff's army of the Danube at the precise moment when it was needed to aggravate the discomfiture of the French in their retreat from Moscow, an opportune achievement, which the Duke of Wellington characterised as 'the most important service to this country and the world that ever fell to the lot of any individual to perform.' Canning had gone to Constantinople when Turkey was in open rupture with us, and almost in the arms of Napoleon. He left it under the supreme influence of England, with our maritime rights secured, Russia set free to join the great alliance against the French emperor; and all this without a word of advice from the home government, and without using his trump card, the exchange of the secret article of the treaty of the Dardanelles, which would have cost England 300,000*l.*, and which had been left to his discretion.

In July 1812 he left the Bosphorus, with a firm resolve never to return. Apart from the special drawbacks of life and society at Stamboul, he disliked residence abroad, and had only accepted the secretaryship, and subsequently the embassy, under the idea that it would be a very temporary and brief engagement. His inclinations pointed to a career at home, where the quick intellectual life of London, and the usual goals of ambition, literary and political, attracted him. When he arrived in England, however, George Canning was not in power; Castlereagh occupied the foreign office, and there seemed little likelihood of immediate promotion. He was, indeed, in recognition of special services, granted a pension of 1,200*l.* as minister plenipotentiary *en disponibilité*. But he was lonely in London; most of his school and college friends were scattered; and he took no pleasure in ordinary town amusements. He read a good deal, in a desultory fashion; wrote poetry, and contributed some articles to the

'Quarterly Review,' which he had a share in founding. Perhaps his greatest pleasures were his regular walks with George Canning to Hyde Park Corner, where the ex-minister's carriage awaited him, economically, outside the turnpike, to drive him home to Brompton. To the long and intimate conversations which enlivened these daily walks the younger man always attributed much of his political knowledge and insight.

In 1813 the offer was made to him of accompanying Lord Aberdeen on his special mission to Vienna; but as his acceptance would have involved a step backwards in diplomatic rank, from plenipotentiary to secretary, he thought it wise to decline, though he thereby lost the opportunity of accompanying the allied armies in their march against Napoleon. He went to Paris, however, after the emperor's abdication, saw the king make his entry, and was presented to Louis XVIII. On that occasion he 'saw, and never saw again, the handsome youth who was destined to hold the reins of empire in Russia, to keep all Europe in alarm for thirty years, and to close a proud career under the pressure of a disastrous war. He met, for the first and last time, his lifelong enemy, the Czar Nicholas.

At this time Lord Castlereagh, who had formed a very high opinion of Stratford Canning's abilities, offered him (May 1814) the post of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Switzerland, and as this carried with it a diplomatic step, and involved a great deal of important work—Castlereagh had indeed selected him because he was known to like work—he accepted. His business was to substitute, for the act of mediation by which Napoleon had bound the Swiss cantons to France, a new federal act, which should create a neutral and guaranteed state, to act as a check upon French aggression in Germany and North Italy. The work was rendered exceedingly difficult and delicate by the wide differences between the governments of the several cantons, and all Canning's tact and decision were needed to reconcile the conflicting systems. After much negotiation, and a long diplomatic duel with Count Capo d'Istria, the Russian plenipotentiary, an act was agreed upon, and the envoys proceeded to Vienna to submit it to the congress then sitting to adjust the affairs of Europe. Canning lived to be the last survivor of the famous congress; for though he was not one of the plenipotentiaries (having only a seat on the committee appointed to inquire into the Swiss question), he was more than once invited to join the sittings of the general council. As far as Switzerland was concerned the congress did its work



quickly; Canning held the protocols, and pushed the act of federation to its conclusion; but the general business of the congress made little progress before the return of Napoleon from Elba.

When the congress dispersed upon the return of Napoleon, Canning went back to Switzerland with the act of federation approved by the congress (*Declaration*, 20 March 1815), whereby the 'precious gift of neutrality' was accorded to the cantons on condition of political impotence, and his first duty was to induce the cantons to accept the slight modifications introduced at Vienna, and to furnish a contingent to the allied armies now concerting measures against Napoleon. Both these objects he effected before Waterloo removed any remaining grounds of hesitation. During the 'hundred days' an opportunity occurred for a rear attack by the Swiss contingent on the French corps d'armée which had marched through Geneva to meet the Austrians; Canning at once grasped the position, and urged an immediate attack; but the Swiss general had no instructions which permitted so daring a movement, and the chance was lost. The envoy's principal work was now accomplished, but there were still numerous details to be settled in the constitutions of the twenty-two cantons. He was even induced by the entreaties of the Swiss to draw up a plan for organising a federal army; and the force of 100,000 men which the protestant cantons mustered in 1847 against the *Sunderbund* was the result of the military system founded by the civilian thirty years before. During the earlier part of the six years occupied by the Swiss mission, Zürich was his headquarters, and the life seems to have been somewhat dreary; the men were too grave and serious, and the 'wives and daughters were more remarkable for their domestic virtues than for the charms and accomplishments of polite society.' The grandeur of Alpine scenery, of which he retained an enthusiastic memory at the age of ninety, made amends for the dulness of man, and the lack of society was to some extent remedied when he moved the embassy to Bern in 1815, and still more when, after a visit to England in 1816, he brought back as wife the daughter of Henry Raikes. His married happiness, however, was shortlived; he took a villa about two miles from Lausanne in the spring of 1817, but in the following year Mrs. Canning died in childbirth, and the blow induced her husband to apply to government for his recall. His work in Switzerland was done; it had been quiet and unobtrusive, but not less important and difficult.

Canning had not been long in England when he was appointed to the embassy at Washington with a seat in the privy council. On 18 Sept. 1819, Richard Rush, the United States minister in London, had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, and was informed by the latter that Canning had been selected as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States, in accordance with 'an anxious desire to keep up the system of conciliation which had been acted upon with so much advantage to both countries by Mr. [afterwards Sir Charles] Bagot,' and with the belief that Canning 'possessed every qualification for treading in the same path.' Lord Castlereagh referred eulogistically to his services at the Porte, at Vienna, and in Switzerland (RUSH, *Court of London from 1819 to 1825*, 1873 ed., p. 157). The American mission, for which Canning set out on 14 Aug. 1820, was one of peculiar delicacy. The war of 1812-15 was but recently over. The convention of 1818 had partly settled some of the more serious differences between England and the States, but many remained in a dangerous position, and the temper of the States was such that the greatest tact and discretion were needed to bring about a pacific solution of the questions in dispute. 'Sir,' said Secretary Adams to Canning at Washington, 'it took us of late several years to go to war with you for the redress of our grievances; renew those subjects of complaint, and it will not take as many weeks to produce the same effect.' The most pressing questions at the time were those of the right to search American ships for British seamen, and the suppression of the slave trade by a sort of general police on the seas, to which England found a great obstacle in the susceptibilities of the Americans. Canning succeeded in inducing a somewhat more conciliatory spirit among the American ministers, in spite of considerable friction with Adams, whose temper was uneven. The climate of Washington, and his dislike of American manners and politics, however, made his transatlantic residence far from pleasant. In impaired health, he returned in the autumn of 1823 to arrange a treaty in London, embodying the settlement of the various outstanding differences. An account of the conferences held in January and February 1824, of which Canning drew all the British instructions and the protocols, and in which he and Huskisson and Rush were the plenipotentiaries, has been preserved by the last, and shows that, in spite of the unsparing demands of the Americans, against which the English representatives 'vehemently' protested, their

demeanour was generally conciliatory and conducive to a mutual understanding. Impressment and the West Indian trade were the chief points under discussion; but minor matters of boundary, fisheries, river navigation, and above all the still pending question of the slave trade, occupied the plenipotentiaries. A compromise was at length arrived at by the conference, but the convention, signed 13 March 1824, which elicited George Canning's hearty admiration, was rejected by the American Senate, and all that had been achieved was a general *rapprochement* between the two governments, which in later years led to a settlement of the matters under discussion.

In 1824 it was decided that Canning was again to be sent to Turkey. He heard the news with dismay, for his former memories were not agreeable, and he had a very lively repugnance to again encountering the weary prolixities of Turkish diplomacy. Where duty summoned him, however, there would he go at any personal sacrifice. Meanwhile he had a brief reprieve in a preliminary mission in November to St. Petersburg. The business which drew him there was of the utmost importance. Russia was believed to favour the cause of the Greeks in the war of independence, and to be disposed to join in a scheme of mediation with England and France. England, while anxious not to let Russia move alone in the matter, and after entering into negotiations for such mediation, became suddenly convinced that the time was not ripe for interference, and absolutely refused to join in any acts of coercion. George Canning had set his heart on the liberation of Greece without the use of force, and his cousin was therefore sent to St. Petersburg to confer on the Greek question and smooth away the ill-feeling which George Canning's policy of no coercion and his abrupt withdrawal from the negotiations had aroused in the minds of the czar and his ministers, and also to compose a boundary dispute between England and Russia in north-west America. The last he duly accomplished, and his judicious mode of dealing with the sore subject of Greece in conversations with Count Nesselrode (March 1825) prepared the way for the protocol which the Duke of Wellington and Count Nesselrode signed (4 April 1826) on the occasion of the former's complimentary visit to the new Emperor Nicholas on his accession a year later. Canning left the Russian ministers in a more tranquil frame of mind, and also took the opportunity, in passing through Vienna, to deliver a royal letter to the Emperor of Austria, and to confer with Metternich on the views of the British

government towards the liberal movements then springing up in Europe.

In October 1825 Canning started on his second mission to Constantinople. In the summer he had married a second time. His young wife was a daughter of James Alexander, M.P., of Somerhill, near Tonbridge. In taking her with him he was under the impression that his absence abroad would not be of long duration; for in an interview with his cousin George, the latter informed him that Lord Liverpool had consented to his proximate appointment as vice-president of the board of control—a promise which George Canning's death, in 1827, made of no effect. His objects at Constantinople were chiefly the pacification of Greece and the reconciliation of Turkey and Russia. In the first matter he had to carry out his cousin's instructions, which were dictated by enthusiastic sympathy for the Greeks, and included virtually the separation of Greece from the Ottoman empire. The time was ill chosen for such mediation, and it may be doubted whether the ambassador, with all his pity for the Greeks, would have himself selected this moment for intervention. When the insurrection was in its first strength, it might have been less difficult to induce the Porte to accord favourable terms to the Greeks. But the arms of Turkey were now triumphant, and the Greeks desperate. Canning had an interview with Mavrocordato at Hydra on his way to Constantinople, and thoroughly gauged the deplorable straits to which the Greeks were reduced. Landing at Ipsera he had found the town an empty shell, without an inhabitant; while the bones of mothers self-destructed, with their dead children beside them, bore witness to the cruelties of the Turks and the heroism that inspired such desperate deeds to escape them. Two survivors, worn to skeletons, testified more eloquently than words to the terrible pass in which the Greeks now found themselves, and the ambassador exclaimed: 'How I longed to be the instrument of repairing such calamities by carrying my mission of peace and deliverance to a successful issue!' The circumstances which moved the mediator to pity only nerved the Porte to more strenuous resistance. Sultan Mahmud had been laboriously building up the Turkish empire; he had suppressed Aly Bey and the great feudal landowners, and soon after Canning's arrival accomplished the final overthrow of the most menacing element in the state by the massacre of the Janissaries. He was organising a new army, and it was not to be expected that a sultan in the midst of a military revival would consent to any dismem-

berment of his dominions. Moreover, there were hostile counsels at the Porte. Baron Otterfels, the Austrian internuncio, then held the ear of the sultan, acting under instructions from Metternich, which were of course repudiated when they were exposed. Baron Militz, the Prussian minister, was also intriguing against peace, and even went so far as to send home accounts of interviews and conversations which never took place—'a scheme of treachery almost unparalleled even in diplomatic history.' In the end the long duel terminated in the discomfiture of both these ministers; but the struggle was a severe one, and any one less gifted than Canning would have early given over the desperate conflict. Fortunately, he knew how to make himself respected. The dominating influence so powerfully described by Kinglake nearly thirty years later was already asserting itself in these days, and his personal ascendancy over the Porte was already felt.

But all his personal ascendancy could not at this moment avail against the forces that were then working in Turkey. The first hostile element was Sultan Mahmud himself. Writing in later years, Canning describes this famous sultan as 'in temper and policy a caliph and a despot;' and, notwithstanding the admiration which his resolution and energy in army and other reforms excited, Canning's opinion of Mahmud was disparaging. Russia was the next obstacle. While originally anxious to interfere by force in favour of the Greeks, the czar had no idea of preferring their cause to his own interests; and for the present he allowed England to attempt the thankless office of non-coercive mediator, alone, and steadily kept the Greek question in the background until his own claims in Europe and Asia had been settled to his satisfaction. The Austrian internuncio also stuck at nothing to damage the prospects of a peaceful arrangement of the Greek difficulty. Canning found himself isolated, and even viewed with distrust by the Porte as the only advocate of the rebellious Greeks. In vain he pressed upon the Porte the advantages of an amicable arrangement, and hinted that the Greeks (who had accorded him full powers) were prepared to accept such moderate concessions as were included in the separation of the Morea under local authority, with Turkish garrisons in strong positions (*MS. Memoirs*). In vain he tried 'persuasion, admonition, and a glimpse of perilous consequences.' All argument was thrown away on Mahmud and his ministers, and Canning had to stand aside and become a mere onlooker, while Russia played her own game. 'When I look back,' he wrote,

'after an interval of forty years, to the whole of the circumstances, it appears to me quite clear that the success I so ardently desired was a simple impossibility.' It was no doubt the position of isolation to which his efforts in favour of Greece had consigned him that prevented the English ambassador from helping the Turks to obtain better terms from Russia than those included in the humiliating treaty of Akerman, October 1826, which the rawness of his new army alone induced the sultan to sign. The dispute between Russia and Turkey having been temporarily adjusted by this instrument, the part of solitary mediator in behalf of Greece, which Canning had thus far performed, was exchanged for the joint action of the three powers, England, France, and Russia, under the treaty of London of July 1827, which was the formal expression of the protocol signed by Wellington at St. Petersburg in the preceding year. The effects of this forcible interposition of the three maritime powers, which was emphasised by the appearance of their joint fleets in the Mediterranean, were disastrous to Turkey in many ways. The light terms which Canning had been able to offer the Turks on behalf of the Greeks were now enlarged to the extent of a settlement which involved the creation of an independent kingdom, with far wider boundaries than had been hitherto contemplated. The hot-headed action at Navarino, which was fought without the knowledge of the ambassador, who agreed emphatically with the Duke of Wellington in describing it as an 'untoward event,' was followed by a burst of indignation from the Porte, which broke off all negotiations, and compelled the withdrawal of the embassies of the three mediating powers. The imprudent manifesto then promulgated by Sultan Mahmud gave Russia the pretext she desired for a forcible insistence upon the terms of the treaty of 1827, and thus the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-9 ensued, and by its disastrous termination in the peace of Adrianople deprived Turkey of the good results which were beginning to flow from the reforming policy of Mahmud.

The English ambassador's action during these eventful times was one of compulsory inactivity. He had at first to stand aside and busy himself with the affairs of the embassy, and decide the legal causes which were moved in the ambassador's supreme court, by the light of common sense, a task he accomplished to such purpose that he never had a complaint against his judgments. Meantime, he availed himself of any opening that arose to assert the influence of England

and check the machinations of the Austrian and Prussian ministers. Much as he deplored the barbarity displayed in the massacre of the Janissaries, from which he contrived to save his own guard, he could not but allow the necessity of strong measures of repression; and deeply as he regretted the attitude of the Porte towards the Greeks, it was impossible to deny that there was little to induce the sultan to agree to terms of dismemberment. The conferences of the three ambassadors under the stipulations of the treaty of London of 1827 were beginning in no very hopeful mood, when a shabby scrap of paper was placed in Canning's hands, just as he was on the point of attending the conference at the French ambassador's. At the close of the interview he laid this document before the ministers. It contained news of heavy firing heard at Navarino, and the effect of the communication was instantaneous. General Guilleminot turned pale, and then quietly remarked, 'Trois têtes dans un bonnet, n'est-ce pas?' and the conference broke up. The sultan had heard the news, too, and his indignation was unbounded. The embassies were surrounded by troops, and Canning spent the night in burning his private papers. No violence was offered to the Europeans; but the negotiations came to a dead-lock. Once again Canning took upon himself to initiate a course of action without instructions. He persuaded his French and Russian colleagues to join him in withdrawing the embassies from Constantinople on their own responsibility, and the three ambassadors, with their private and official families, sailed direct to Corfu.

In February 1828 Canning left Corfu for London in some perturbation as to his probable reception. His apprehensions were unfounded; he was exonerated from all blame in the matter of Navarino, and his action in withdrawing the embassy was approved. The government, however, could not make up its mind to any course of action. Canning urged upon Lord Dudley the importance of not permitting Russia to act alone in coercing the Porte, and insisted on the necessity for an immediate pacification of Greece; and when the foreign secretary declined to move, Canning even took the unusual step of carrying the matter higher, to the prime minister himself; but the duke was equally obdurate. When Aberdeen succeeded Dudley at the foreign office, a change came over the British policy: a French army was despatched, at England's request, to drive out Ibrahim Pasha and his Egyptian troops from the Morea, and the three ambassadors were ordered to resume their conferences for the

pacification of Greece. They met at Corfu in the autumn, and proceeded together to Poros, where they drew up articles of settlement, framed by Canning, which were forwarded to their respective governments in December 1828. These articles included the establishment of a Greek tributary monarchy, with a northern frontier terminating in the gulfs of Volo and Arta. It was reserved for the treaty of Adrianople, forced upon Mahmud by the triumphant Diebitsch in August 1829, to enforce these and still more trenchant conditions. In the meanwhile, it was only the influence of Canning that restrained Capo d'Istria from employing the French contingent in an attack upon Attica, still held by the Turks, which would have resulted in serious European complications.

The negotiations at Poros mark the termination of the first period of Canning's diplomatic career. For twelve years he was now destined to hold no permanent diplomatic post. A disagreement with Lord Aberdeen on the Greek question—owing, nominally, to Canning's suggestion that Candia should form part of the new kingdom (*Correspondence with Prince Leopold, Parl. Papers*, 1830, xix.), but really to Aberdeen's mistrust of the ambassador's 'political inclinations'—had been accentuated by a sharp correspondence, and he conditionally resigned his embassy, in the event of the Poros settlement not being carried into effect, in January 1829. The condition named did not precisely occur, but his resignation was accepted, and Sir R. Gordon succeeded him as ambassador at the Porte.

On his return to England the services of the ex-ambassador were acknowledged by the grand cross of the Bath. Canning now addressed himself to home ambitions. He was elected a member of the House of Commons in 1828, while still an ambassador. His first seat was Old Sarum, 'the rottenest borough on the list;' he stood in 1830 unsuccessfully for Leominster, as 'third man;' then tried Southampton, but retired before the poll; and was at length elected for Stockbridge, where the canvass was a mere form, and a cheque for 1,000*l.* to the attorney settled the business. Finally, after a sharp contest, he was returned in 1835 for King's Lynn, with Lord George Bentinck for his colleague, and retained the seat in two subsequent elections, until his return to diplomatic functions removed him from parliament in 1841. His parliamentary career was not remarkable. His opinions, indeed, were respected, and his counsel sought, especially on Eastern questions; but he was no party man, though he acted with Peel and Stanley, and was a

staunch advocate of 'constitutional principles.' As a speaker, moreover, he had to contend with a nervousness which generally kept him silent. No man possessed more completely the power of impressive speech when a message had to be delivered to a sovereign or a statesman; none knew better how to combine grace of diction with accuracy, lucidity, and completeness of expression; but he had not the peculiar qualities necessary for House of Commons' success.

Canning was invited (1830) by the government to draw up the statement of our claims in the American boundary question to be submitted to the arbitration of the king of the Netherlands; his statement was approved, and the claims awarded. In the following year it was arranged that he should proceed to Constantinople on a special mission to obtain an extended frontier for Greece, the boundary having been drawn (in deference to Aberdeen's views, and against the representations of the Poros commission) on narrower lines than were practically efficient. Sir Robert Gordon, the ambassador at the Porte, naturally opposed the interference of a special envoy, and it shows Palmerston's appreciation of Canning's unique influence with the Turks, that in spite of all opposition, and his own decided repugnance to a return to the Levant, he was sent out in November 1831. The manner in which he conducted this one-sided negotiation was beyond praise. By playing upon the fears of the Porte with reference to the growing power of Mohammed Aly, and establishing secret communications with the sultan himself, he obtained the consent of the Porte to the new frontier having its termini on the gulfs of Volo and Arta, and brought his French and Russian colleagues to accept his settlement.

It is right to state that, while Palmerston heartily approved Canning's conduct of this mission, he did not at any time consult him, after his return in September 1832, upon the various arrangements then pending. He foresaw the failure of the Greek constitution with Otho and the triple regency, but had no voice in the matter. Nor was his advice solicited in the troublesome question of the relations between the Porte and Mohammed Aly. He had cautiously encouraged Mahmud, in the last interview he ever had with him, to hope that England might support him against his overweening vassal; but Palmerston and Lord Grey did not see their way to sending the small naval force which Canning urged them to despatch to the Levant as a menace to the Egyptian viceroy, and the neglect of his counsel resulted in the

complications of ten years later, when we had to perform with difficulty what might once have been easily accomplished.

At the close of 1832 he was sent on a special mission to Portugal, to attempt to arrange the dissensions between the brothers Don Pedro and Don Miguel. The failure of the attempt was a foregone conclusion, and the ambassador came home little pleased at being sent on a fool's errand. On his return in 1833 he found himself gazetted as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, but the czar resolutely refused to receive him. He was not popular at the Russian capital, on political grounds, and Nicholas entertained a personal as well as a political dislike to his greatest opponent. Nesselrode dreaded his astuteness, and anxiously wrote to Princess Lieven to have the appointment of so 'impracticable' a man cancelled. Palmerston, however, was firm; he had appointed Canning (according to Greville, whose view, however, seems to be scarcely borne out by the facts) with a special view to showing the Lievens and their court that he was not to be dictated to, and he declined to send another envoy to St. Petersburg. For some time England was represented only by a *chargé d'affaires* at the Russian capital (*Greville Memoirs*, ii. 352, 357). Meanwhile Lord Grey's promise to give Canning the next vacant embassy was annulled by his resignation; and Peel's offer of the governorship of Canada in March 1835 (through Aberdeen, the colonial secretary) was not accepted. Parliamentary duties, and long residences abroad for the health of his invalid son, filled up the following years. In 1841 Peel again offered him the government of Canada, but he refused it on the ground of a disinclination to leave England; the treasurership of the household was suggested, and sanctioned by the queen, but he felt that the office was hardly suited to his temperament; and finally the embassy of Constantinople was again pressed upon him, and 'with no small reluctance' accepted. He started in November 1841, and arrived at the Golden Horn in January 1842. Henceforward, with brief intervals of leave, Canning held sway at the Porte for sixteen years. It was a peculiarly favourable period for the exercise of his wise control. From the time of the adjustment of the struggle with Mohammed Aly in 1841 to the outbreak of the Crimean war in 1853, Turkey enjoyed an interval of absolute peace, and these twelve years were productive of improvements in the internal administration of the empire, inasmuch that Lord Palmerston in 1853 declared that during the preceding twenty years Turkey had made more progress

than any other state of Europe. Canning's name is intimately associated with the reforms that characterised the reign of the young Sultan Abd-el-Mejid. Mahmud had inaugurated many changes, and his son had not long ascended the throne when he promulgated the famous hatt-i-sherif of Gül-hanê, in which the persons and properties of all his subjects were guaranteed without distinction of religion or nationality. Various other reforms were promised: but it may well be doubted whether, with all the good intentions of the young sultan, many of the reforms he ordained would ever have borne fruit without the supervision of the British ambassador. In proof of this, the long and irritating negotiation which Canning conducted in 1844 with the effect of putting an end to executions for apostasy may be cited. Such barbarities were constitutional by the Ottoman law: but they were wholly opposed to the spirit of the sultan's reforming policy. Nevertheless, without the ambassador's urgent pressure, sustained long after France had given up the matter as hopeless, this peculiarly odious form of tyranny would never have been abolished in Turkey. It was his fixed belief that Turkey must be upheld in her position among European states: but he held that this could only be justified by an improved system of government. One of the chief aims he set before himself was to obtain equal rights and privileges for the christian subjects of the Porte. In the principles of Mohammedan law he was met by a stone wall of obstruction. By persistent efforts he won the abolition of the law of execution for apostasy and the formal renunciation of religious persecution by the sultan, and asserted successfully the right of christian subjects to worship after their own fashion under the protection of the government authorities. Another important point, which he carried against the whole spirit of Turkish administration, was the abolition, by special firman, of torture throughout the empire. Such concessions were not obtained without extraordinary pressure. It took years of incessant argument to induce the Porte to permit (1855) the trifling privilege of erecting a protestant church at Jerusalem: and what Canning wrote of the difficulty of bringing the Turks to reason about the claims of the Lebanon Emir Beshir applies to all similar negotiations: 'In this case, as in any one where justice is to be done at any cost to the treasury, the Turkish government is in the habit of raising every imaginable difficulty, and it is generally found to be impossible to obtain, I will not say a satisfactory arrangement, but even a tolerable compromise,

without the employment of very decided language' (S. Canning to Aberdeen, 22 Feb. 1845, *Parl. Papers*, lii.) Long experience, however, and his own success at the Porte, proved the truth of this theory. In foreign affairs, Syria, which had fallen into anarchy after the expulsion of the Egyptians, was restored to tranquillity, and Persia, on the eve of hostilities, was, at Canning's instance, reconciled with the Porte by the mediation of England and Russia, and an international commission met to decide the boundary disputes. Among Canning's titles to the gratitude of Englishmen must be mentioned his steady support of the cause of discovery and exploration in the Turkish dominions. He obtained, after repeated exertions, the firman which authorised him to send Layard, at his personal expense, to Nineveh to make the famous excavations, the fruits of which were presented to the British Museum by the ambassador to whose influence and subsidies they were due, and to whom they were given by the sultan. He opened the way to the explorations at Budrum in 1846, and presented the frieze to the British Museum; and Newton's subsequent work at the mausoleum was throughout facilitated by the friendly support of Canning, who obtained the firman, advanced money, and in every way aided the explorer, in the midst of the distractions of the Crimean war (NEWTON, *Hist. Disc.* i. 80 ff.) Chesney's Euphrates expedition also owed its protection to the British ambassador (*Life of Gen. F. R. Chesney*, 253, 258). Many anecdotes have been preserved which show the unbounded influence which the imperious elchi exerted over Sultan Abd-el-Mejid. On one occasion, when Turkey was in sore straits for money, he observed the foundations being laid of a new summer residence on the shore of the Bosphorus; forthwith he ordered the boatmen to row him straight to the sultan's palace, where a few minutes' conversation ended in the stopping of the works. When Mohammed Aly Pasha, the minister for the navy, and brother-in-law of the sultan, had wantonly murdered a Greek concubine, Canning refused to receive the ruffian, and when the sultan sent to remonstrate with him on such conduct to his majesty's brother-in-law, he replied, 'Tell the sultan that an English ambassador can never admit to his presence a cruel assassin.' In the end the minister had to be dismissed from office. Canning had no mercy for cruelty and treachery; and his reputation for fierceness of temper was largely due to his unmeasured indignation against whatever was mean or dishonourable.

In the autumn of 1846 he returned to

England on leave, and resigned the embassy, which had always been distasteful to him. Palmerston refused to accept the resignation, and after a couple of years (during which he was sent to Switzerland to mediate in the civil war of 1847, but arrived after the submission of the *Sunderbund*, and only in time to save *Neuchâtel* from the violence of the victorious democrats), he resumed his position at the *Porte*, in March 1848, holding communications with the several powers on his way at their respective capitals. Within two months of his return to the embassy he obtained the restoration of *Reshid Pasha* and the reform ministry to office, in the place of the reactionaries who had profited by the *elchi's* departure to regain their ascendancy at the *Porte*: and during the next two years he secured a firman admitting christian evidence in criminal trials, brought up the Mediterranean fleet in concert with France in support of Turkish independence against Russia and Austria, sustained the *Porte* in its generous protection of *Kosuth* and the other Hungarian refugees, in the teeth of the threats of the two emperors, and carried various valuable reforms in commercial and other matters. In 1852 he again visited England, but had hardly arrived when the critical state of affairs at the *Porte* brought him back to his post, with the title of *Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe*, which was suggested by his family's ancient connection with *St. Mary Redcliffe* at *Bristol*. Prince *Mentchikoff* had taken advantage of his absence to press, with threats, upon the *Porte* the old claim of a Russian protectorate over the christian subjects of the Ottoman empire; and, in the want of the firm will and 'formidable mind' of the ambassador to help them, the Turks were on the verge of yielding. And now, at a time when Europe had fastened its eyes upon the czar, and was watching to see how the ambassador of All the Russias would impose his master's will upon Turkey, the Emperor *Nicholas* was obliged to hear that his eternal foe, travelling by the ominous route of *Paris* and *Vienna*, was slowly returning to his embassy at the *Porte*.

*Stratford de Redcliffe's* conduct of the negotiations which terminated in the *Crimean war* has been made classical history by *Mr. Kinglake*, who has told how he fought the unequal duel with Prince *Mentchikoff*, whose clumsy threats were no fit weapon wherewith to parry the shrewd thrusts of his practised antagonist; how he preserved his unperturbable gravity when awarding to the Russian the lofty privileges of a Greek doorkeeper for a church at *Jerusalem*, or the

patriarch's inalienable right to superintend the repair of a dilapidated roof, and the other inanities of the Holy Places dispute; and how he marshalled the ambassadors of the four powers against Russia, when it came to defending the *Porte* against the forcible imposition of a Russian religious protectorate. 'Lord *Stratford* had brought to a settlement the question of the Holy Places, had baffled all the efforts of the Emperor *Nicholas* to work an inroad upon the sovereign rights of the sultan, and had enforced upon the Turks a firmness so indomitable and a moderation so unwearied, that from the hour of his arrival at Constantinople they resisted every claim which was fraught with real danger—but always resisted with courtesy—and yielded to every demand, however unjust in principle, if it seemed that they might yield with honour and safety.' *Stratford* had indeed so guided the policy of Turkey that it had secured the sympathy of Europe. The home government approved every step, and England and France applauded his victory over *Mentchikoff*; the admiral of the Mediterranean squadron was ordered to obey the behests of the ambassador, and the united fleets of France and England moved up near the *Dardanelles*. 'The power to choose between peace and war went from out the courts of *Paris* and *London* and passed to Constantinople. Lord *Stratford* was worthy of this trust, for being firm and supplied with full knowledge, and having power by his own mere ascendancy to enforce moderation upon the Turks, and to forbid panic, and even to keep down tumult, he was able to be very chary in the display of force, and to be more frugal than the government at home in using or engaging the power of the English queen. . . . Entrusted with the chief prerogative of kings, and living all his time at *Therapia*, close over the gates of the *Bosphorus*, he seemed to stand guard against the North, and to answer for the safety of his charge' (*KINGLAKE*, i. 182, 190, Cabinet ed.)

The Russian ultimatum, demanding the suzerainty over the thirteen million christian subjects of the sultan, was rejected by the Turks under the guidance of *Stratford*, and Prince *Mentchikoff* retired in a rage from Constantinople. In all that had happened the czar saw the hand of his arch-enemy Canning, the man who had opposed him steadfastly ever since his accession. The discomfiture of *Mentchikoff* wrought the czar to a pitch of infuriated anger. In a fit of madness he ordered his armies to cross the *Pruth* and occupy the Principalities on 2 July 1853. The result was the *Crimean war*.



To have led England into so futile an adventure would indeed be an unworthy termination to a long career of wise statesmanship. The Crimean war, however, was not to be averted by diplomacy. Russia was resolved upon war long before it actually broke out. Above all Nicholas was bent upon crushing the hateful ambassador who had so long successfully bearded the Emperor of All the Russias. What Stratford did was to make the war impossible to a moral state. He induced the Turks to concede the Holy Places dispute, and while firmly refusing to allow a Russian protectorate over the Greek church, he caused the sultan to issue firmans confirming all the privileges and immunities of his christian subjects, and sent a note to Count Nesselrode engaging that these privileges should never be revoked. The Russian demands had in fact been granted, so far as their ostensible object was concerned, but without giving the czar the preponderating influence in Turkey which was the real aim of his proposals. Stratford had taken away from the czar every excuse for making war. More than this, he had united the four great powers in a combination to reprobate the unwarrantable schemes of Russia. Had matters been left in his hands, there would have either been no war at all, or it would have been a war of Russia against the four powers supporting Turkey. Stratford was not responsible for the fatal alliance with Louis Napoleon, which produced the virtual separation of England and France from the European concert, and threw the burden of upholding Turkey upon the two western powers instead of upon all Europe. That was Palmerston's doing, and Palmerston admitted afterwards that he had 'been made a catspaw at Vienna, as Stratford wrote we should.' If supporting a weak state against the unwarrantable demands of a stronger power caused the war, Stratford was so far responsible, but in no other sense did he contribute to the Crimean war. He indeed privately approved the Turk's rejection of the Vienna note, but that note granted precisely what had been all along refused, the Russian protectorate of the Greek church in Turkey; and it was only the obtuseness or insincerity of the statesmen who drew it up that was to blame for its rejection.

During the progress of the war, Stratford's labours were unremitting. Not unfrequently he would write all night, especially during the diplomatic activity which he displayed towards the conclusion of the war, with a view to Austrian mediation. He would be found in the morning with a mass of papers before him, still in his evening dress. He

worked his secretaries and attachés hard, but they knew that he was working still harder, and his enthusiasm inspired a like zeal in his subordinates, which he was quick to note, though he seldom expressed his thanks in words. He twice visited the Crimea in 1855, on the second occasion for the purpose of investing Lord Raglan with the order of the Bath. During the later stages of the war he was greatly oppressed with the loss and destruction of life it involved, and painfully conscious of England's inability to keep on furnishing a continual supply of fresh troops, and he directed his influence towards a coalition with other powers. When the war was over he returned to London in 1858 and resigned his embassy for the last time, but paid a complimentary visit of farewell—his seventh journey to Constantinople—to Sultan Abd-el-Mejid, for whom he entertained a real regard and esteem. This closed his public career. His ambition for ministerial work at home was never gratified.

The remaining twenty years of his life were spent in the society of his wife and three daughters (who all survived him), chiefly in London and at his country house at Frant, near Tonbridge Wells, where he revived his delight in the classical authors, and especially his favourite Virgil, or immersed himself in the despatches of his special hero, the Duke of Wellington, whose portrait, with those of Nelson and George Canning, hung upon the walls. Oxford made him an hon. D.C.L., Cambridge an LL.D.; and in 1869 he received the Garter from Mr. Gladstone's government. Whenever some branch of the Eastern question agitated parliament he was in his place in the House of Lords, where he would deliver one of his thoughtful, statesmanlike speeches, to which ministers of both parties listened with deference. He also contributed between 1874 and 1880 several valuable papers on Eastern politics to the 'Times' and the 'Nineteenth Century,' and the more important of these were collected with some unpublished essays in a volume entitled 'The Eastern Question' (1881), to which Dean Stanley contributed a memorial preface. His style was measured and sonorous, without ever degenerating into bombast or wordiness, and his thought was accurate and logical. The later course of events in Turkey had grievously disappointed him, and he was disgusted with the reckless extravagance and misrule of Abd-el-Aziz, insomuch that it was supposed that Stratford had recanted his Turkish policy. This, however, is a mistake. While admiring their better qualities, he had never defended the government of the Turks;

that, he perceived, was doomed, and he constantly recommended reforms, not as a cure for a bad system, but as a palliative, to 'retard the evil hour,' which he foresaw clearly enough. His interest in Turkey had always been stimulated, not by any liking for the Turks, but by the necessity of restraining Russian ambition, and by his earnest sympathy with the christian populations, for whom he had always consistently exerted his influence. He still believed that such steady and effective pressure, 'not to be trifled with,' as he had been able to employ would have kept the Turks in their reforming policy, and he ascribed much of the ruin that had fallen on Turkey to the want of a united and consistent influence on the part of England and Europe. As it was, he saw that the Porte, in its demoralised state, could not be supported; he welcomed the establishment of a belt of practically independent christian states from the mouth of the Danube to the Adriatic, and admitted that 'the very idea of reinstating any amount of Turkish misgovernment in places once cleared of it is simply revolting.' To the man who had guided the reforms of Abd-el-Mejid, and produced the liberal hatti-humayun of 1856, the retrogression of Turkey was a grievous disappointment. He admitted the facts and adjusted himself to the new situation; but his policy remained what it had been during his long sway at Constantinople, the termination of which was the signal for the dismemberment of the empire he had so long held together.

A favourite employment of his old age was poetical composition, to which he had always been partial. His poem on Bonaparte, which pleased Byron, was published as early as 1813; and when his diplomatic occupation was over, he published 'Shadows of the Past,' 1866, 'The Exile of Calauria,' and 'Alfred the Great in Athelney, an historical play,' of about 3,000 lines of blank verse, in 1876. Devout in the highest sense, he endeavoured to counteract the freethinking tendencies of the age by his treatise 'Why am I a Christian?' (1873), which went to five editions, and with the same object he wrote (1876) of 'The Greatest of Miracles,' or the human nature of Christ. To the last he retained his ancient vigour and alertness of intellect. He drew up a paper on the Greek claims in the summer of 1880, and a few days before his death (which occurred 14 Aug. 1880) Sir Robert Morier, the son of his old friend David, found him as clear in mind and memory, as incisive in speech, and as keenly interested in poetry and politics as if he were nineteen instead of ninety-three. He looked back over eighty

years with the same clear statesman's eye that had made him the trusted colleague of Canning and Peel, of the great Duke, of Palmerston and Newcastle, and the deadliest enemy of tyrants, whether Bonaparte, Nicholas, or Louis Napoleon. The great ambassador died with the memories of nearly a century of high transactions of state still vivid in his unclouded mind. His body lies in the little churchyard at Frant; his statue stands beside his two kinsmen in Westminster Abbey.

[The principal authority for this life of Lord Stratford is his Memoirs, at present in manuscript, which have been placed at the writer's disposal by his daughters. Those valuable papers cover the greater part of his career up to his mission to Spain in 1832, with a few, sometimes detailed, notes on the later periods. For the American negotiations, Rush's Court of London from 1819 to 1825 has been consulted; and for the Crimean period Mr. Kinglake has, of course, been the leading authority. The parliamentary papers have been examined throughout, and a few characteristic incidents have been drawn from Skene's *With Lord Stratford in the Crimean War.* S. L.-P.]

**CANNON, RICHARD** (1779-1865), compiler of regimental records, was born in 1779. On 1 Jan. 1802 he was appointed to a clerkship at the Horse Guards, and attained the grade of first-clerk in 1803. About thirty years afterwards, a Horse Guards order, dated 1 Jan. 1836, having signified the royal commands that an historic account of the services of every regiment in the British army should be published under the superintendence of the adjutant-general, the work of compilation was entrusted to Cannon, at that time principal clerk in the adjutant-general's office. During the ensuing seventeen years 'historical records' of all then existing regiments of cavalry, and of forty-two regiments of infantry of the line, were thus issued 'by authority,' all of which were prepared under Cannon's direction, except the history of the Royal Horse Guards or Oxford Blues (issued as part of the series in 1817), which was written by Captain Edmund Packe, of that regiment. The work of compilation was then discontinued, some regimental histories which had been announced as in preparation at various times having, apparently, not been proceeded with. After a service of nearly fifty-two years Cannon retired in January 1854, on his full salary of 800*l.* a year. He died in 1865.

[War Office Lists; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Preface to Cannon's *Historical Records of the British Army.* H. M. C.]

**CANNON, ROBERT** (1663–1722), dean of Lincoln, born in London in 1663, was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. in 1685, M.A. 1689, B.D. 1702, and D.D. 1707. He held for a time a fellowship at King's College; was tutor of the university in 1697, afterwards became chaplain of Chelsea College, and was appointed rector of Bluntisham, Huntingdonshire, and archdeacon of Norfolk (11 March 1707). He married in 1707 Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore, bishop of Ely, and afterwards of Norwich, and was presented through his father-in-law's influence to a prebend in Ely Cathedral (7 March 1708–9). Subsequently he held the rectory of Newton, near Wisbech, and became prebendary of Westminster (8 July 1715); rector of Christ Church, Middlesex; sub-almoner to George I (1716); prebendary of Lincoln (21 Nov. 1721); and dean of Lincoln (9 Dec. 1721). He died, apparently in Westminster, 28 March 1722, and was buried in the south aisle of the abbey three days later. His wife and several children survived him, and, in spite of Cannon's many preferments, they were left so poorly off that George I granted them a pension of 120*l.* a year. Cannon's will, dated 21 April 1720, was proved 25 May 1722.

Cannon took a prominent part in the ecclesiastical controversies of his day. He was an opponent both of the high and low church parties. In 1712 he moved in convocation a vote of censure on Dr. Thomas Brett [q. v.] for having published a sermon on the 'Remission of Sins,' in which very strong views about priestly absolution were advanced. The motion was negatived, but a warfare of pamphlets followed. Cannon issued an 'Account of Two Motions made in the Lower House of Convocation concerning the Power of Remitting Sins,' Lond. 1712, and Brett replied in two tracts. In May 1717 Cannon was a member of the committee appointed by the lower house of convocation to report on Bishop Hoadly's 'Preservation' and 'Sermon,' and signed the report which condemned the bishop's views. The Bangorian controversy ensued, and Cannon contributed to it 'A Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation with regard to the King's Supremacy: and some Thoughts on Religion . . . and a Postscript to the *Id.* Bishop of Bangor,' Lond. 1717. In 1718 Cannon reissued this tract with an elaborate preface, attacking Hoadly's replies to his critics, and Cannon himself was answered by an anonymous writer in the same year. Cannon was also the author of some published sermons.

About 1755 Cannon's widow presented a curious petition to the prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle, and the document—still extant among the treasury papers—illustrates the later history of Cannon's family. The eldest son entered the army and was killed at Fontenoy (1745). A younger son, Thomas, was, about 1750, the author of a published tract 'containing the most detestable principles of impurity, not fit even to be remembered in the title.' For the composition of this work, no copy of which is now known, Thomas Cannon was committed to prison and allowed out on bail before his trial, but instead of waiting for his trial he fled to France. After remaining there three years he returned to his mother's house at Windsor, published a recantation of his errors, was searched for by the police, and fled abroad again. At the end of two more years Mrs. Cannon petitioned the government to stay further proceedings against her son on the ground that he had repented of his sins, had since published many religious works, and was living a religious life, and that she, as one of her son's sureties, was totally unable to pay the forfeited bail (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. viii. 65–6, where the petition is printed at length).

[Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers (Harl. Soc.), p. 306; Harwood's *Alumni Eton.* p. 266; Bentham's *Hist. of Ely*, p. 243; Le Neve's *Fasti Angl. Eccl.* ed. Hardy; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; Lathbury's *Hist. of Convocation*, chaps. xiii. xiv.]  
S. L. L.

**CANON** or **CANONICUS**, JOHN (*f.* 1329), schoolman, studied at Oxford, and became a member of the Franciscan order. Afterwards he attended the lectures of Duns Scotus at Paris, but appears to have returned to Oxford, and to have proceeded there to the degree of D.D. He is distinguished by the biographers for his eminence in philosophy, theology, and law, both canon and civil, and four books of commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, some 'Lecture magistrales,' and 'Questiones disputatæ,' are ascribed to him. But the work upon which his reputation rests, a work which was very widely used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is a commentary on Aristotle's 'Physics,' entitled in the editio princeps 'Questiones profundissimi doctoris Johannis Canonici ordinis minoris super octo Libris Phisicorum Aristotelis' (Padua, 1475). It was reprinted at St. Albans in 1481, as well as several times at Venice between this date and 1492. Another edition appeared at Venice in 1516. In manuscript also the commentary is not uncommon. A copy belonging to Lincoln College, Oxford, cod. cii., which

was written by R. Rawlyns in 1482, contains a set of verses in honour of the author (Coxe, *Catal. of Oxford MSS.*, Line. p. 48). Extracts are given by Tanner (*Bibl. Brit.* p. 150).

Wadding (*Scriptores Ordinis Minoris*, p. 195) and Tanner state that Canon is also known by the name of **MARBRES**.

[Trittenheim de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, p. 234, ed. Cologne, 1546; Wharton, append. to Cave's *Historia Literaria*, p. 28.] R. L. P.

**CANOT, PETER CHARLES** (1710–1777), engraver, was a native of France, who came to England in 1740, and remained here till he died. He was a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists in 1766, and was elected an associate engraver of the Royal Academy in 1770, when that degree was first instituted. He exhibited at the Society of Artists, the Free Society, and the Royal Academy. A line-engraver of considerable skill, he executed numerous plates after Van de Velde, Bakhuizen, Teniers, Claude, and other old masters. Views of London and Westminster Bridges, after Samuel Scott; some sea pieces and sea fights, after Monamy; and four views of the operations of the Russian fleet against the Turks, after Paton, are reckoned among his best plates. It is said that his death, which took place at Kentish Town in 1777, was due to over-exertion in executing the plates after Paton.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*, 1878; Bryan's *Dict. of Painters* (Graves); Nagler's *Künstler-Lexikon*; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*; Pye's *Patronage of British Art.*] C. M.

**CANSFIELD, BENEDICT.** [See **CANFIELD**.]

**CANT, ANDREW** (1590?–1663), ecclesiastical leader and preacher, called by Principal Baillie 'ane super-excellent preacher,' comes into notice in 1620 or 1623, when some of the people of Edinburgh desired to have him for their minister; but as he was known to be obnoxious to the king, he did not on either occasion obtain the appointment. In 1633 he became minister of Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire, and, unlike most of the ministers in that quarter, was a strong champion of the covenants and opponent of the episcopising endeavours of the king. In July 1638 he was appointed by the 'commissioners at the tables,' with two other ministers (Dickson and Henderson) and three noblemen (Montrose, Kinghorn, and Cowper), to endeavour to bring the people of the north into sympathy with the presbyterian

cause. The reception of the commissioners by the magistrates of Aberdeen was amusing, the magistrates meeting them and offering them the hospitality of the city, which the commissioners declined, till they should see if they would take the covenant. The 'Aberdeen doctors' were famous in the church for their opposition to the covenant, and prepared certain questions for the commissioners, which led to a wordy series of answers, replies, and duplies on either side. The feeling was so strong that the commissioners were excluded from the Aberdeen pulpits, and had to preach in the open air.

In November 1638 Cant took part in the famous Glasgow assembly, by which prelacy was abolished, and at the solicitation of Lord Lothian was translated from Pitsligo to Newbattle in Midlothian. In 1640, with some other of the most eminent ministers, he was appointed chaplain to the covenanting army, and accompanied it during the campaign. In the same year he was translated to Aberdeen. While one of the most unbending sticklers for the covenants, he was a devoted royalist, and on one occasion, in the time of Cromwell, when many English officers were in his church, he uttered so strong sentiments on duty to the king and on the conduct of those who were against him, that the officers rose up and some of them drew their swords and advanced towards the pulpit. The intrepid minister opened his breast, and said to them, 'Here is the man who uttered these sentiments,' inviting them to strike him if they dared. 'He had once been a captain,' says Wodrow, who tells the story, 'and was one of the most bold and resolute men of his day.' His dauntless courage, with his stirring popular eloquence, gave him a wide fame; but the suggestion in the 'Spectator' that the term 'to cant' was derived from his name is of course groundless. It can easily be accounted for from the Latin *canto*. Cant died 30 April 1663. By his wife, Margaret Irvine, he left two sons and two daughters. His daughter Sarah married Alexander Jaffray [q.v.] of Aberdeen. His son Andrew was principal of the university of Edinburgh from 1675 to 1685. Another Andrew Cant, who was deprived of his charge at the revolution in 1690, was consecrated a bishop of the episcopal church of Scotland in 1722.

[Scott's *Fasti Eccl. Scot.* vi. 463, 635, 894; Livingstone's *Biographies*; Row's and Calderwood's *Histories of the Kirk of Scotland*; Baillie's *Letters*; Wodrow's *Analecta*; Balfour's *Annals*; Chambers's *Eminent Scotsmen*; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*; *Imperial Dict. of Biogr.*] W. G. B.

**CANTEBRIG** or **CAMBRIDGE**, **JOHN** *de* (d. 1335), judge, was of a Cambridge family, whence he took his name, and is said to have been son to Thomas Cantebrig, a judge of the exchequer under Edward II. He was M.P. for Cambridgeshire in 1321 and subsequent years, and earlier was in several judicial commissions for the county. In the last years of Edward II and early years of Edward III he is named as counsel in the year books. In 1330 he became king's serjeant, and was in the commission for Northamptonshire, and on 22 Oct. of that year was made a knight 'tanquam banerettus,' with a grant for his robes of investiture out of the king's wardrobe. On 18 Jan. 1331 he was made a justice of the common pleas, along with Robert de Malberthorpe and John Inge, and received a new patent on 30 Jan. 1334. No fines are levied before him after Michaelmas term 1334. He died in 1335. He had large property in and around Cambridge, and was twice alderman of St. Mary's guild, to which, in 1311, and by his will, he gave Stone Hall, in St. Michael's, on the site of part of Caius College, with thirty-five tenements and a hundred acres of land in Cambridge and Nuncham, and a pix of silver-gilt, weighing seventy-eight ounces. He was seneschal to the abbot of St. Albans in 1331.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Masters's History of C. C. C. Cambridge; Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge; Fuller's University of Cambridge, 69; Newcome's S. Albans, 223; Abbr. Rot. Orig. 95; Parl. Writs.] J. A. H.

**CANTELUPE**, **CANTILUPE**, **CANTELEO** or **CANTELEO**, **FULK** *de* (fl. 1209), is mentioned by Wendover as one of John's evil counsellors. After the election of Stephen Langton as archbishop he was sent by John to expel the Canterbury monks, and the lands of the see were put under his charge.

[Annal. Monast. ii. 80, 259, iii. 450; Matt. Paris, ii. 516, 533.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE**, **GEORGE** *de* (d. 1273), son of William, the third Baron Cantelupe (d. 1254) [q. v.], is styled **BARON OF BERGAVENNY**. He was knighted by Henry III in 1272, on the occasion of the marriage of Edmund of Cornwall. He was put into possession of his lands on 23 April 1273, but died the following November. His sister Joanna married Henry of Hastings.

[Dunstable Annals (Annal. Monast. iii.), 257, 259; Wykes, *Id.* iv. 251.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE**, **NICHOLAS** *de*, third **BARON CANTELUPE** by writ (d. 1355), lord

of Gresley, Nottinghamshire, was the grandson of Nicholas, one of the younger sons of William, first baron Cantelupe [q. v.]. He was with Edward II in Scotland in 1320, and was knighted by him in 1326. At the beginning of the reign of Edward III he was in Scotland, and was made in 1336 governor of Berwick-on-Tweed. In 1339 he was again in Scotland, and in the war in Flanders in the same year. In 1343 he was one of the ambassadors sent to treat for peace with France. In 1345 he was summoned to attend the king in the campaign that ended at Cressy. In 1352 he was appointed one of the commissioners for the defence of Lincolnshire against a threatened invasion by the French. He was summoned to parliament from 1337 to 1354; he died in 1355. He founded Cantelupe College, a college of priests to celebrate at the altar of St. Nicholas in the cathedral of Lincoln, in the Lincoln Close, and also Beauvale, a Carthusian house, at Gresley, Nottinghamshire. His widow Joan founded a college or chantry of five priests in honour of St. Peter in Lincoln, on the site of the house of the Friars de Sacco.

[Dugdale's Baronage, i. 733; Nicolas's Historic Peerage, ed. Courthope, p. 93; Tanner's Notitia Monastica.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE**, **ROGER** *de* (fl. 1248), legist, was the son of Roger de Cantelupe, who was hanged for treason in 1225. He was sent by Henry III in 1231 to Rome, against Archbishop Richard. His false accusation against the bishops in the quarrel between the king and the earl marshal in 1234 is especially mentioned by Matthew Paris. It was fully answered by the bishop of Lichfield, Alexander Stavenby. It is probably the same person who held the prebend of Kentillers, or Kentish Town, in St. Paul's, London, in 1248. There is a letter from Innocent IV to him in 1248, directing him to protect the abbey of St. Albans from any further contributions to the Roman church.

[Dunstable Annals (Annal. Monast. iii.), 95; Matt. Paris (Rolls Ser.), iii. 268, vi. 151.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE**, **SIMON**, called **LE NORMAN** (d. 1249), chancellor, was sent to Rome by Henry III to quash the election of Ralph Neville to the see of Winchester in 1238. The same year, on the removal of Neville (*Dunstable Annals*, 152), he was made chancellor, and was also collated to the archdeaconry of Norwich. In 1239 he

was one of those who received the young Edward from the font. The same year, in consequence of his refusal to consent to the king's demand of a tax on every sack of wool sent to Flanders from England for Thomas, count of Flanders, he was deprived of the seal and banished from court. In 1240 he was deprived of his archdeaconry and all his preferments but one. Paris speaks of his power at one time being so great that he disposed of all things at his nod, but that he excited general dislike by his austerity and pride. When at Rome in 1240 he spoke violently against the English character before the pope. He died in 1249.

[Dunstable Annals, 152; Mutt. Paris, iii. 495, 540, 629, iv. 63, 64, v. 91.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, THOMAS DE** (1218?-1282), chancellor, bishop of Hereford, and saint, was born at his father's manor of Hambleton, near Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, about 1218. His father, William de Cantelupe, second baron [q. v.], was seneschal to John. His mother, Millicent, was a daughter of Hugh de Gournay, a baron of Normandy, and the widow of Almeric de Montfort, count of Evreux, whose mother, Mabel, was one of the coheiresses of the great Gloucester earldom. His uncle was Walter of Cantelupe, bishop of Worcester [q. v.]. He was one of four brothers, of whom the eldest, William, third baron Cantelupe [q. v.], acquired by marriage with the heiress of the Braoses the lordship of Brecon in addition to his hereditary possessions. Of the others, John and Nicholas became famous knights, and Hugh archdeacon of Gloucester. His three or four sisters all married into noble families.

Destined, with his brother Hugh, for a clerical career, Thomas naturally fell greatly under the influence of his uncle, Bishop Walter, who partially undertook the direction of his early education. After a possible sojourn at Oxford, where he entered, says Wood (*Annals*, i. 221, ed. Gutch), the same year (1237) as the famous feud between the students and the servants of the unpopular papal legate, Cardinal Otho, Thomas was sent to study arts at Paris, where his elder brother Hugh was already resident. The accounts which remain of their Paris life are singularly illustrative of the position of the noble and wealthy student at a mediæval university. At first the brothers lived together. Their extensive household included a chaplain, and a master of arts who acted as their director. At least two poor scholars were maintained at their expense, and from five to thirteen paupers were fed from the remnants of their table. St. Louis, who was

then king, paid them a personal visit. In 1245 both brothers attended the council of Lyons, where they were made chaplains to Innocent IV, and Thomas received a dispensation which allowed him to hold benefices in plurality. The brothers, who had already completed their arts course, now parted company, and Thomas went to study civil law at Orleans, in which subject he attained such proficiency, that he often lectured in place of his master Guido. He next returned to Paris to devote himself to the study of canon law. Hugh was still there reading theology, but the brothers henceforward had different establishments. At last Thomas completed his long and laborious legal studies, and he returned to Oxford to teach canon law, with such success, that in 1262 he was elected chancellor of the university. His strong yet temperate action in this capacity was well illustrated by his success in stopping a most formidable riot between the 'Boreales' and 'Australes.'

The dispute between Henry III and his barons was now approaching its crisis. Walter of Cantelupe was the intimate friend of Simon of Montfort, and Thomas was naturally drawn to the patriotic side. The strong attachment of the university to the popular party may at least partially be ascribed to the chancellor's influence. This feeling went so far, that in 1263 Edward, the king's eldest son, was refused admission within the town for fear of a conflict between his retinue and the students. At the end of the same year Thomas was appointed, no doubt through his uncle's influence, one of the commissioners to represent the barons at Amiens, where St. Louis had undertaken to arbitrate between them and King Henry (Appendix to *ISHANGER'S Chronicle*, Camden Society, pp. 122-3). Louis's judgment against the barons (23 Jan. 1264) was immediately followed by civil war. In March the king occupied Oxford, and turned out all the students. On 14 May the battle of Lewes put the government into the hands of the barons. The university was at once restored to Oxford, but its chancellor was promoted to the chancellorship of England. On 22 Feb. 1265 the king transferred the great seal to Thomas, who had already been nominated to it by the council of magnates by whom the royal power was now exercised (*Rot. Claus.* 49 *H. III.*, m. 9; *Rot. Pat.* 49 *H. III.*, m. 18, in *CAMPBELL'S Chancellors*, i. 153; and *Blaauw's Barons' Wars*, p. 257). Thomas was at least more acceptable to the king than many of his other ministers, and the declaration put into his mouth that he was pleased to admit him to the office is borne out by the light of later

events. On 26 March a grant of 500 marks a year for the support of the chancellor and his clerks was issued, with exceptional declarations of the royal favour (*Rot. Pat.* as above). The almost immediate transference of the seal to Ralph of Sandwich and others suggests that Thomas, though remaining chancellor, was required by his party for other business (*ib.* m. 16). He must, however, have fulfilled some functions of his office, as his prudence, deliberation, and incorruptible honesty in the discharge of his judicial duties are especially commended.

On 4 Aug. the death of Montfort at Evesham brought the baronial power to an end. Thomas was immediately deprived of his post as chancellor, and his return to Paris probably indicates that his position in England was unsafe. Though restored to the king's favour in 1266 (*Rot. Pat.* 50 H. III, m. 3 in DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, p. 732), and never apparently deprived of the archdeaconry of Stafford, which was the highest ecclesiastical preferment he had as yet attained, Thomas remained abroad for several years.

Driven from active life by the collapse of the party with whose fortunes Thomas had been so intimately connected, he henceforth devoted his whole energies to theology. He lectured at Paris on the Epistles and the Apocalypse, and not later than 1272 returned to Oxford, where early in 1273 he became a regent and therefore a teacher in the same subject. His old master and confessor, Robert Kilwardby, had now become archbishop of Canterbury, and came up specially to Oxford to pronounce the usual eulogy on the newly made doctor, whom he declared to be untainted by mortal sin (TRIVET, p. 305, Eng. Hist. Soc.; RISHANGER, p. 102, Rolls Ser.) A few months later Thomas abandoned his lectures at Oxford to attend the second council of Lyons (7 May to 17 July 1274), which Gregory X had convoked with the object of ending the schism between the Eastern and Western churches. As in 1245, he again became a papal chaplain. At its conclusion he apparently returned to Oxford. It is about this time or earlier that his second tenure of the chancellorship of the university must be placed (*Acta Sanctorum*, October, i. 549 b; his name only appears once in the list of chancellors given by Wood and Le Neve, though Wood had a suspicion that he must have been chancellor in 1267, *Antiquities of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, Appendix, p. 327).

The permission to hold benefices in plurality which Thomas had obtained from Innocent IV thirty years earlier had been well used. Besides his archdeaconry of Stafford

(1265) with the annexed prebend of Lichfield he became precentor and canon of York, canon of London, where he lived a good deal, and rector of several rich parishes. Yet Thomas satisfied the most scrupulous precisians by his anxiety in procuring good and sufficient vicars, able to preach and of good moral character. But he was not content with this. He regularly and frequently visited all his cures, celebrated mass, preached sermons, heard confessions, and availed himself of his great wealth—his church preferment brought him in 1,000 marks a year—to exercise a liberal hospitality to all classes, to bestow lavish alms on the poor, and to build, rebuild, or repair the edifices entrusted to his care. Even when absent he regularly sent doles of corn and delicacies to the poor and sick, while his great influence enabled him to strenuously defend the rights and liberties of all his churches in a grasping and lawless age. The poor round Oxford also found in him a liberal benefactor.

Family influence had already given Thomas several benefices on the southern Welsh border, when about 1273 John le Breton, bishop of Hereford, himself an eminent lawyer, appointed him to the prebend of Preston in Hereford Cathedral, apparently in the hope of thus securing him the succession to the bishopric. Unluckily the prebend was not really vacant, as the previous bishop, Peter de Aquablanca, had already nominated a Burgundian fellow-countryman named Peter de Langona to the same stall. Le Breton, who was English, had turned Langona out for some unknown reason, and by appointing such distinguished men as Robert Burnell and Thomas of Cantelupe in succession sought to make his ejection secure. Langona commenced a suit against Cantelupe at Rome, but the slow movements of the papal curia prevented this from becoming an immediate cause of anxiety. In later years it assumed a very different aspect (WEBB, *Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield*, Camden Soc. ii. clxxviii sq.)

On 12 May 1275 Bishop le Breton died. On 15 June the chapter presented Thomas to the living as their chosen bishop. He had been elected 'via compromissi' on the second day of election, despite his weeping protestation of his unworthiness. The royal assent was forthwith bestowed (20 June). On 24 June Kilwardby confirmed his old pupil's election. On 26 June his temporalities were restored, and on 8 Sept. he was consecrated by Kilwardby at Canterbury (LE NEVE (Hardy), i. 460; *Ann. Wig.*, *Ann. Winton.*, *Ann. Wav.*, and WYKES in *Ann. Mon.*, iv. 467, ii. 119, ii. 384, iv. 263; *Ann. Lond.* in STUBBS'S *Chron.*



of *E. I* and *E. II*, i. 85, Rolls Ser.) The only other bishops present were London and Rochester, and the archbishop was very indignant that the rest, and especially the neighbouring Welsh prelates, did not assemble to do honour to his pupil (Polistoire MSS. in HADDAN and STUBBS'S *Councils*, i. 506).

Thomas now became an active and trusted adviser of Edward I, and a regular attendant at his councils and parliaments. The bishop of a border diocese, he watched with special interest Edward's contest with Llewelyn of Wales, was present at the council in which the prince was condemned (*Parl. Writs*, i. 5), signed the monitory letter which the bishops addressed to the recusant chieftain (RYMER, Record edition, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 536), and twice sent his vassals into the field against him (in 1277 and 1282, *Parl. Writs*, i. 197, and i. 224). He was present on 29 Sept. 1278 when Alexander, king of Scots, performed homage in the Westminster Parliament (*ib.* i. 7), and again at Gloucester in the same year had the satisfaction of hearing the court declare against his enemy the Earl of Gloucester's claims to the castle and borough of Bristol (*ib.* i. 6). In the same year he and the Bishop of London seem to have specially supported Edward I's claim for a tenth from the clergy on condition of going on crusade (RYMER, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 563). On 27 April 1279 he was appointed with others as royal locum tenens during Edward's absence in France (*ib.* 568). Though on several occasions he put himself into decided opposition to Edward, he never lost his favour. When Edward desired to give a converted Jew the right of bearing witness against christian falsifiers of the coinage, Thomas with tears in his eyes implored the king to release him from the council rather than give a Jew power over christian men. His arguments induced Edward to waive the point and beg the bishop to continue his services. Thomas was always an inveterate enemy of the Jews. He obtained special permission from the king to preach to them, and rejected the large presents by which they vainly sought to propitiate him.

But Thomas's best energies were devoted to the active administration of his disordered see. He constantly traversed the diocese, preached frequently and fervently, heard the confessions of the poorest, displayed great zeal in confirmations, and celebrated mass with an ecstatic fervour that frequently found a relief in tears. Himself the pattern of sanctity, morality, and devotion, he was inexorable against offenders. He abhorred all simony and nepotism. Loose monks he expelled from

his diocese. Powerful barons were compelled to perform open penance for sins they had long thought forgotten. All holders of pluralities without dispensations were deprived, including the precentor of Hereford, who had been a serious rival of Thomas for the bishopric. He rigorously excluded all women, however old and ugly, from his household, and mortally offended his sister Lady Tregoz by the severity which rejected even her affection (*Acta SS.*; cf. WEBB'S *Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield*, ii. xxxviii).

Bishop Thomas's greatest exertions were directed to asserting and vindicating the rights of his church. Despite his real sanctity, he had no small share of the martial spirit of the fourteenth-century baron, while his legal training plunged him into legal warfare with the encroachers on his prerogatives. Earl Gilbert of Gloucester had usurped the right of hunting on the Herefordshire side of the Malvern hills. His powerful connections and haughty temper made the king himself afraid of the earl. But Thomas brought an action against Gloucester, and the tedious litigation was ended in March 1278 (*Ann. Wigorn.* in *Ann. Mon.* iv. 476), when a jury of the two shires was empanelled at an assize held at Malvern. The earl threatened violence, and defied all 'clergiasters' to rob him of his inheritance. But the judicial decision gave Cantelupe the victory. The deep trench which still marks the summit of the Malvern hills was dug by the defeated earl to separate his possessions from those of the triumphant bishop (NOTT, *History of Malvern Priory*, pp. 52, 53).

Cantelupe also obtained from Peter, baron Corbet, the restitution of four hundred acres of land stolen from the bishopric near Lydbury (BYTON, *Shropshire*, xi. 199, from CANTELUPE'S *Register*). His solemn excommunication of the enemies of the see frightened into retreat the two thousand Welshmen whom Llewelyn had assembled to protect from the bishop's men the three rich manors near Montgomery that he had usurped from the bishops of Hereford, and the inhabitants of the manors themselves restored Thomas to the possession of them. A tedious suit in the papal court with Anian II of St. Asaph about the rights of the two sees over Gordwr was decided after Cantelupe's death in favour of Hereford. Despite the armed opposition of his nephew Baron Tregoz, Thomas insisted on consecrating the new church of the Cistercian abbey of Dore, jurisdiction over which had been claimed by Bishop Bek of St. David's.

In 1279 Kilwardby was succeeded at Cantelbury by the Franciscan John Peckham,

who although, like Kilwardby, an old teacher of Cantelupe's (*Reg. Peck.* cexlvii), had little of the friendliness for him which his predecessor had always displayed. At the council of Reading Peckham took up a line of policy which was offensive to his suffragan bishops (July 1279). Bishop Thomas led the resistance to the Franciscan primate. The main points of difference were expressed in twenty-one articles drawn up in 1282 by the bishops (WILKINS, *Concilia*, ii. 75, and *Reg. Peck.* cclvii). But long before this stage had been attained special causes of quarrel were developed between Peckham and Cantelupe.

A matrimonial suit started before the subdean of Hereford was carried by the losing party straight to the official of Peckham, the intermediate stage before the bishop's court being omitted. Thomas naturally objected to his rights being thus ignored; Peckham would not give way, and so fierce did the strife become that Cantelupe withdrew for a considerable period into Normandy to avoid an interdict, and prosecute an appeal to Rome. How the case ended we are not informed. Early in 1282 Thomas was again in England; but another difference had arisen with Peckham. A certain Henry of Herekly, a clerk benefited in several dioceses, had died, and Peckham claimed jurisdiction in testamentary questions connected with his estate. This his executor Nicholas, the vicar of Ross, and Robert of Gloucester, the official of Hereford, resisted. They were accordingly excommunicated by the archbishop. Cantelupe took up his official's cause and refused to issue the excommunication on the double ground that the offenders had appealed to Rome and that the archbishop had no jurisdiction. Fierce strife ensued. On 7 Feb. a meeting at Lambeth utterly failed to produce peace. Cantelupe was excommunicated, and, either before or after the sentence was pronounced, he appealed to the pope.

Affairs were now proceeding very badly. The tedious suit with Anian of St. Asaph was still dragging on slowly at the papal curia. Peter de Langona, whom Cantelupe refused to conciliate when he became bishop by reinstating him in his old prebend, had gone in person to Rome, and was pressing his suit with extreme vindictiveness and fair success. Already in 1281 Cantelupe had directed his agents to approach the powerful men in the curia with what were practically bribes (WEBB, *Expenses of Bishop Swinfield*, ii. xcvi. All our information about Langona's suit is due to Mr. Webb's extracts from Cantelupe's register. The life in the 'Acta

Sanctorum,' so copious on the other suits in which Thomas had more show of justice, is quite silent on this). The heavy expense, constant worry and danger of defeat and disgrace at last drove Cantelupe to the resolution to prosecute his cases in person before the papal court. Privately, secretly as Peckham boasts (*Reg. Peck.* ccl), Thomas withdrew from England a second time (end of March, *ib.*) He reached Italy in safety, and was well received at the court of Martin IV at Orvieto; this, as he came as an excommunicate, whose right to appeal was more than doubtful, was perhaps more than he could have hoped for. He retired to Montefiascona, a few miles from Orvieto, to await the progress of his suit. But he had long been in failing health. An Italian summer easily prostrated a frame emaciated by asceticism and worn with age and anxiety. He died on 25 Aug. 1282 at Orvieto, where he was buried in the monastery of Santo Severo; his funeral sermon was pronounced by the cardinal of Praeneste, afterwards Nicholas IV. His servants, led by Richard of Swinfield, brought his heart and bones back with them to England. The heart he bequeathed to his friend Edmund, earl of Cornwall, who deposited it in the monastery of Ashridge. The bones found a resting-place in the cathedral of Hereford.

Peckham attempted to refuse christian burial to Thomas's remains, and availed himself of the vacancy of the see to hold a metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Hereford. But the election of Thomas's attached friend Richard of Swinfield as his successor showed that the sentiments of crown and chapter were equally adverse to the archbishop. In 1287 the bones of Thomas were translated in the presence of the king to the noble tomb in the north transept which they still occupy (BRITTON, *Hereford Cath.* pp. 56, 57). In the same year miracles were worked at his shrine. In 1290 Bishop Swinfield urgently besought Nicholas IV to admit him into the canon of saints. Nothing came of this, and again in 1299 the efforts were renewed with similar want of success. In 1305, Edward I, urged by the chapter of Hereford and by parliament (*Kul. and Invent. of Exchequer*, i. 83), wrote several letters to the pope and the cardinals, asking for Cantelupe's canonisation. In 1307 Clement V appointed a commission to investigate the question. A vast mass of testimony as to Thomas's life, character, and saintliness was collected, but it was not until 17 April 1320 that John XXII added him to the list of saints. Long before this his cultus had obtained a popularity second only, among recent

English saints, to that of Thomas of Canterbury. Hundreds of miracles were performed at his shrine. The assumption by his successors of his family arms as the arms of the see shows how far he became identified with the later history of Hereford (*DUNCUMB, Herefordshire*, i. 470). His day was 2 Oct. He was the last canonised Englishman.

In personal appearance Thomas was fair but ruddy. His nose was large, and his red hair was in his later years streaked with grey. His face, his admirers thought, was as the face of an angel. In his private life he was pure and blameless, and austere even beyond mediæval standard. After he became bishop, he wore a hair shirt underneath his episcopal dress. He was remarkable for his charity to the poor and for his hospitality.

[The life of Thomas of Cantelupe can be told with a detail very unusual for his times from the copious and almost contemporary *Processus Canonisationis* preserved in the Vatican (Vat. MS. 4015), and which is the basis of the long life in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum Octobris*, tom. i. pp. 639-610 vita, 610-705 miracula; Capgrave (*Nova Legenda*, f. 282 b), Surius (*De Probatis Sanctorum Vitæ*, 2 Oct. p. 16), the Jesuit Strange in his *Life and Gests of Thomas of Cantelupe* (Gand 1674, reprinted London 1879), have all drawn from the same source or from each other, but are much inferior in accuracy to the Bollandist account. There are other manuscript authorities enumerated in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue*, iii. 217-20. Dugdale's *Baronage*, pp. 731-3, gives an account of his family; Wood's *Annals of Oxford* (ed. Gutch) speaks of his Oxford career; Lord Campbell's account, *Lives of the Chancellors*, i. 153-4, is inaccurate and meagre; Foss's sketch in *Judges of England*, ii. 287-9, is rather better; Hardy's *Le Nove* and Godwin's *De Præsulibus* are short summaries. Of original authorities, besides the depositions of the witnesses to his sanctity, something may be gleaned from Trivet (*Eng. Hist. Soc.*), the annals of Worcester, Waverley, Oseney, and Wykes in Luard's *Annales Monastici*, *Rolls Series*; Stubbs's *Annals of Edward I and II*, *Rolls Series*; the Close and Patent *Rolls*, the *Parliamentary Writs*, and the documents in Rymer's *Fœdera*; Martin's *Registrum Epistolarum J. Peckham*, *Rolls Series*, some of the documents in which are also printed in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. ii., and Webb's *Introductions and Appendices to the Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield* (Camden Soc.), largely derived from Cantelupe's still existing Register, are both of the first importance for the history of his later years; the negotiations for his canonisation can be best traced from Rymer and Webb; the Bull of John XXII in the *Bullarium Romanum*, i. 234 (Lugd. 1692).]

T. F. T.

CANTELUPE, WALTER DE (*d.* 1266), bishop of Worcester, was the second

son of William, the first baron Cantelupe [q. v.] While still a young man, and only in minor orders, he held several benefices (Foss, *Judges*, p. 155). He was at the Roman court in 1229, and was sent by Pope Gregory IX to carry the pall to Archbishop Richard (*Dunstable Annals*, p. 116). In 1231 he acted as one of the seven justices itinerant for several counties. He was elected bishop of Worcester on 30 Aug. 1236, and was at once accepted by the king. As bishop elect we find his name among those who signed the confirmation of Magna Charta in January 1237. He left England immediately afterwards and was consecrated at Viterbo on 3 May 1237 by Pope Gregory IX, who had previously ordained him deacon and priest. The following October he was enthroned in his cathedral, in the presence of the king and queen, the queen of Scotland, the archbishop, and the legate Otho. He began at once a very vigorous administration of his diocese, visiting the chief religious houses, such as Gloucester, Malvern, Tewkesbury, &c., dedicating churches, holding synods, ordaining clergy, settling lawsuits, obtaining grants of fairs and markets from the king. How minute his care over the whole diocese was may be seen by the constitutions issued in 1240, where besides giving strict injunctions to the clergy as to their visiting the sick, avoiding anything like usury in selling their corn, &c., he especially bids them to warn mothers and nurses from overlaying their children at night.

In 1237, at the council of St. Paul's, under the legate Otho, he took the lead in opposing the legate's attempt to enforce the statute of the Lateran council against pluralities, pointing out how the hospitality practised and the alms bestowed by many of high rank and advanced years would be impossible if they were deprived of their benefices. In 1239 he was appointed one of the three arbitrators in the dispute between Bishop Grosseteste and his chapter. In 1241 he left England with the legate, but proceeded only as far as Burgundy, whence he returned with Richard of Cornwall. In 1244, in company with Bishop Grosseteste and the Bishop of Hereford, he made a strong protest against the king's treatment of William de Raleigh, who had been elected bishop of Winchester against his (the king's) wishes. Henry III, who would always give way to a certain amount of determined opposition, tried to avoid them, and ran off from Reading to Westminster. They followed him thither, and threatened to put his chapel under an interdict. They, however, granted his request for delay in the matter, and the

Bishop of Winchester was forced to call in the aid of the pope: then the king gave way and was reconciled to the bishop, as the three protesting bishops were given the power of placing the country under an interdict.

This same year he was one of those appointed by the clergy to consider the king's demands; soon afterwards he proceeded to Lyons on secret affairs in company with the archbishop (Boniface) and the Bishop of Hereford. Paris speaks of these three as being the chief friends of the pope among the English bishops, and that therefore they were 'Anglis suspectiores,' a remark which the historian struck out on revising his history.

In 1247 Cantelupe took the cross in company with William de Longespée; but he does not seem to have carried out his vow, as we find him at the parliament in London in 1248. In 1250 he was at Lyons in order to defend the rights of his see against William Beauchamp (*Teakesbury Annals*, 139; *Worcester Annals*, 439); the same year he again took the cross, but he returned to Worcester in 1251, and the quarrel with Beauchamp was made up, the latter receiving absolution. His peace was also at the same time made with the king, who had taken up Beauchamp's cause. Just before this he had, in conjunction with the bishop of London, Fulk Basset, successfully opposed the grant proposed by the pope for the king (*Teakesbury Annals*, 140). He was one of the bishops who met at Dunstable this year to resist Archbishop Boniface's demand of the right of visitation, and in 1252 he stood by Grosseteste in resisting the papal demand of a tenth for the king. In 1253 he joined the other bishops in excommunicating the infractors of Magna Charta, and we find him at Grosseteste's funeral at Lincoln. He then went into Gascony in company with the king and queen, and was sent with John Mansel to Alfonso X of Castile to make the final arrangements for the marriage of Alfonso's sister Alienora with the young Edward, as the former ambassadors sent for this purpose had failed (*Dunstable Annals*, 188). They were now brought to a successful issue. Though now without the support of Grosseteste, he kept up his stand against encroachments on the church from all quarters; and at the meeting of the prelates in London summoned by Rustand in 1255 for the usual demand of an aid for the pope and the king, his words were that he would rather submit to be hanged than that the church should suffer this (*MATT. PARIS*, v. 525). In 1257 he was one of the ambassadors to St. Louis on the fruitless mission to demand the restora-

tion of the English rights in France, and in 1258 one of the English ambassadors at the parliament of Cambray (*ib.* v. 720). In 1257 with the Bishop of London he was sworn king's counsellor (*Burton Annals*, 395), and at the parliament of Oxford was elected one of the twenty-four who were to be practically the governors of the kingdom, he being one of the twelve elected on the barons' side. In this capacity he was one of those before whom the acts of the council were confirmed, and one also of those sent to Richard of Cornwall (then king of the Romans) on his return to England to secure his submission to the provisions of Oxford before being allowed to enter the country. He met Richard at St. Omer, and forced him to swear to them. In 1259 he was one of the council appointed to act when the king was out of England. His name appears among those who submitted the question between the king and the baronage to the arbitration of St. Louis; and when the civil war broke out he took his side distinctly with Simon de Montfort and the barons.

We find him present at Gloucester in 1263 at the interview with Edward, when the latter had fallen into the hands of the barons, and in order to escape made the offer to obtain peace and the king's consent to their demands. In 1264 it was chiefly through his means that Edward was allowed to escape from Bristol; but on Edward's entering Windsor Castle, the bishop advised Simon de Montfort to detain him prisoner, when he met him on his way to besiege the castle (*RISHANGER*, p. 19).

Before the battle of Lewes he was sent with the bishop of London by the barons to mediate; he bore to the king the offer of a large grant of money, provided the statutes of Oxford were observed. When this was refused and the battle inevitable, he gave absolution to the army of the barons and exhorted all to fight manfully for the cause of justice.

After the battle he was one of the four bishops summoned to Boulogne by the legate and ordered to excommunicate Simon de Montfort. But their papers were seized and thrown into the sea by the people of the Cinque Ports, probably in accordance with their own wishes. At least this is implied by the words of Wykes, who relates this episode. After the quarrel between Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare, he was one of the arbitrators appointed to bring them together (*Waverley Annals*, 361), and his seal was one of those affixed to the terms offered to Edward. He was, however, true to Simon de Montfort to the end; Simon slept at his

manor of Kempsey the night before the battle of Evesham, and the bishop said mass for him in the morning. After this he was suspended by Ottoboni and summoned to Rome. He therefore was not at the parliament in 1205. This may, however, have been in consequence of illness, as he died at his manor of Blockley on 12 Feb. 1266. He was buried in his cathedral, where his effigy may still be seen.

Some letters to him from Grosseteste, showing their intimacy and reliance on each other, will be found in the collection of Grosseteste's letters. There are some to him from Pope Innocent IV in the 'Additamenta' of Matthew Paris. Of his own composition there is nothing extant excepting the constitutions for his diocese in 1240. He founded the nunnery of Whiston or Wytestane, in the north part of Worcester, and began the fortifications of the manor house of Hartlebury.

With the exception of Bishop Grosseteste he must rank decidedly as the greatest bishop of his time; as an administrator of his diocese, a statesman, a vindicator of the rights of the country against tyranny of whatever kind, no one else can be compared to him. The proof of the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries is well seen by the words of the royalist chronicler Thomas Wykes, who says he would have merited canonisation had it not been for his adherence to Simon de Montfort.

[*Annales Monastici*, see especially the index as to the details of his work in the diocese of Worcester; Matthew Paris, *Rishanger, the Chronicle* and the separate treatise on the battles of Lewes and Evesham, printed in the *Rolls Series* by Riley as an appendix to the *Ypodigma Neustriæ, Epistolæ R. Grosseteste* (*Rolls Series*). The *Constitutions* for the diocese of Worcester are printed in Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 665.]

H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, WILLIAM DE**, first **BARON CANTELUPE** (d. 1239), was the son of Walter de Cantelupe, and had the office of seneschal, or steward of the household, under John. He executed the office of sheriff for the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Worcester, and Hereford during part of John's reign. He is especially mentioned by Wendover as one of John's evil counsellors, and was not one of the confederate barons in 1215. In the earlier portion of John's reign he was one of the justiciars before whom fines were acknowledged; his name is among those who witnessed John's charter of freedom of election to sees and abbeys. He was in continual attendance on John, taking his side through the interdict and the civil war. After the entrance of the barons into London and their threats

against those who had not joined them he seems to have wavered (*WENDOVER; MATT. PARIS*, ii. 588). On John's death, however, he took the side of the young Henry, was at the siege of Mountsorrel Castle, of the custody of which he had a grant, and at the relief of Lincoln. He was again made sheriff for the counties of Warwick and Leicester, and was justice itinerant in Bedfordshire in 1218. He had the custody of Kenilworth Castle, where he usually resided. In 1224 he joined Ranulf Blundevil, the earl of Chester, in his rising against Hubert de Burgh; but he submitted at Northampton and surrendered his castles with the other barons in opposition. He was with the king at the siege of Bedford Castle in 1224, and was one of those who signed the confirmation of *Magna Charta* in 1236. He died at Reading in April 1239, and was buried at Studley, where he had built a hospital.

[*Annales Monast.* i. 104, 112, iii. 31, 87, 100, 122, iv. 430; *Matt. Paris*, ii. 533, 588, 610, iii. 15, 18, 83; *Dugdale's Baronage*; *Foss's Judges*.]  
H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, WILLIAM DE**, second **BARON CANTELUPE** (d. 1251), is mentioned by Wendover, with his father, William, the first baron [q. v.], as one of John's evil counsellors. He was also with him at the relief of Lincoln, and took the same line in his siding with Ranulf Blundevil and his subsequent submission. In 1238, after the dismissal of Ralph Neville, he was one of those to whom the great seal was entrusted (*Teakesbury Annals*, p. 110). Though this was only a temporary appointment, he evidently continued high in the king's favour, as after his father's death he was appointed guardian of the kingdom during the king's absence in 1242, and in 1244 was one of the messengers chosen by the king to induce the prelates to submit to his demands for a subsidy. In 1245 he was sent to Lyons to complain of the Roman exactions, and in company with his colleagues refused the papal demands of the best prebend from every cathedral church, and a church worth forty marks from every abbey and priory (*Dunstable Annals*, p. 167). Like his father he held the office of seneschal, and Paris speaks especially of the king's affection for him. He died on 22 Feb. 1251.

His widow, Millicent, had the charge of Margaret, queen of Scotland, on her marriage (*MATT. PARIS*, v. 272). She died in 1260 (*Oseney Annals*, 127).

[*Annales Monast.* i. 110, 143, iii. 159, 167, 181; *Matt. Paris*, ii. 533, iii. 18, 83, iv. 365, 420, v. 224, 225; *Dugdale's Baronage*.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, WILLIAM DE**, third **BARON CANTELUPE** (d. 1254), succeeded his father, William, the second baron [q. v.], in 1251, though the king is described as treating him with harshness. By his marriage with Eva, one of the heiresses of William de Braose, he obtained the honour of Bergavenny, and is said by some writers to have been summoned to parliament as Baron Bergavenny. He was in Gascony with the king in 1253. He died in 1254 and was buried at Studley, Simon de Montfort being one of those who laid him in the grave. His widow, Eva, by whom he had a son, George [q. v.], died in 1255.

[Dunstable Annals, 192, 194, 196; Matt. Paris, v. 224, 463; Dugdale's Baronage; Nicolas's Historic Peerage, ed. Courthope, p. 14.]  
H. R. L.

**CANTERBURY, VISCOUNTS.** [See **MANNEIS-SUTTON.**]

**CANTILLON, RICHARD** (d. 1734), economist, belonged to the family of that name of Ballyheige, county Kerry (see **BURKE, General Armory**, 1883), and was born towards the end of the seventeenth century. He was for some time a merchant in London, but removed to Paris, where he established a banking house, mixed in good society, made the acquaintance of Bolingbroke, and is said to have become still more intimate with the Princesse d'Auvergne. Grimm is responsible for this information, and for the story that Cantillon assisted Law to float his paper money, telling us also that he shortly afterwards left for Holland with a large fortune acquired through this means (*Correspondance Littéraire*, 1878, iii. 72). He subsequently came to London and lived in Albemarle Street, where on Tuesday 14 May 1734, he was murdered by his cook, who robbed and set fire to the house. Mr. Philip Cantillon, probably a brother, offered a reward of 200*l.* to any accomplice, but the actual culprit does not seem to have been captured. Richard married 'the daughter of Mons. Omani [Ommanney?], one of the richest merchants in Paris, and half sister to the Lord Clare, an Irish gentleman, who followed the late King James to St. Germain's' (*London Mag.* 1734). The wills of both Richard and Philip Cantillon are preserved at Somerset House (*Letters and Journals of W. S. Jevons*, 1886, p. 425). One daughter was married to Lord Bulkeley, lieutenant-general in the French service, brother to the Maréchale de Berwick (*L'Année Littéraire*, 1765, v. 357). Henrietta, another daughter, married, in 1743, William Mathias Stafford Howard, third earl of Stafford. She

had no children by him, and married secondly (in 1759) Robert, first earl of Farnham (**BURKE, Dormant and Extinct Peerage**, 1883, p. 286). A Jasper Cantillon, one of the commissioners for wounded soldiers in King William's wars in Flanders, died 27 Jan. 1756 (*Gent. Mag.* xxvi. 91).

This is all that is known of the writer of the earliest treatise on the modern science of economics, in which, says Léonce de Lavergne, 'toutes les théories des économistes sont contenues d'avance' (*Les Économistes français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1870, p. 167). W. Stanley Jevons declares that it 'is, more emphatically than any other single work, the cradle of political economy' (*Contemporary Review*, January 1881, p. 68). It has been quoted by Adam Smith, Condillac, and Quesnay, who owes to Cantillon his fundamental doctrine, and was used by the English writers, Harris and Postlethwayt (both in 1757), without acknowledgment.

The 'Essai sur la nature du commerce en général, traduit de l'Anglois,' a duodecimo volume of 430 pages, was printed in 1755, with the imprint, 'Londres, chez Fletcher Gyles, dans Holborn.' Fletcher Gyles, who was Warburton's publisher and one of the leading booksellers of the day, died, however, in 1741 (**NICHOLS, Lit. Anecdotes**, ii. 147). In type, paper, and general 'get-up,' the book is continental and not English. It was most likely printed in Holland or Paris. That it was actually 'traduit de l'Anglois' is not unlikely, and it is possible that an earlier and printed version in English may yet be discovered. The book is now excessively rare, and deserves to be republished. The same text (with other pieces) was added to an edition of De Mauvillon's translation of Hume's 'Discours politiques,' Amsterdam, 1756, vol. iii. In 1759 appeared an English translation: 'The analysis of trade, commerce, coin, bullion, banks, and foreign exchanges, wherein the true principles of this useful knowledge are fully but briefly laid down and explained, to give a clear idea of their happy consequences to society, when well regulated, taken chiefly from the ms. of a very ingenious gentleman deceased, and adapted to the present situation of our trade and commerce, by Philip Cantillon, late of the city of London, merchant.' It was printed at London 'for the author, and sold by Mr. Lewis, &c.,' an octavo volume of 215 pages, price 5*s.* This garbled edition supplies no idea of the merit of the French text. Some of the best parts are entirely omitted. The preface of seventeen pages on trade in general is new, and valueless. That the book was supposed to be taken 'from the ms. of a very ingenious

gentleman . . . by Philip Cantillon,' is another instance of the mystification surrounding this work.

The French 'Essai' is in three parts, the first being a general introduction to political economy, the second is a complete treatise on currency, and the third is devoted to foreign commerce and exchange. 'It is a systematic and connected treatise,' says Professor Stanley Jevons, 'going over in a concise manner nearly the whole field of economics, with the exception of taxation. It is thus, more than any other book I know, the first treatise on economics' (ut supra, p. 67). The first chapter opens with this weighty sentence, which is the keynote of the whole book: 'La terre est la source ou la matière d'où l'on tire la richesse; le travail de l'homme est la forme qui la produit; et la richesse, en elle-même, n'est autre chose que la nourriture, les commodités et les agrémens de la vie.' Jevons finds in Cantillon 'an almost complete anticipation of the Malthusian theory of population' (ib. p. 71), condensed into twenty-seven pages, and the very theory afterwards developed by Professor Cairnes (see his *Essays in Political Economy*, 1873), explaining the successive effects of a discovery of gold and silver mines on the rates of wages and prices of commodities. To quote Jevons once more, 'it is not too much to say that the subject of the foreign exchanges has never, not even in Mr. Goschen's well-known book, been treated with more perspicuity and scientific accuracy than in Cantillon's essay' (p. 72). There are references here and there in the 'Essai' (see pp. 35, 48, 93, &c.) to a statistical supplement which does not appear to have been printed.

'Les délices du Brabant et des campagnes par Mr. de Cantillon,' Amsterdam, 1757, 4 vols. 8vo, usually attributed to Richard or Philip Cantillon, was certainly by neither, nor was the 'Histoire de Stanislas, 1<sup>er</sup> roi de Pologne, par M. D. C.,' Londres, 1741, 2 vols. 12mo, which Barbier ascribes to the same source. The latter work was written by J. G. de Chevreières.

[The late W. Stanley Jevons was the first to attempt to penetrate the mysteries connected with the history of this writer and his remarkable book, in the interesting article contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, January 1881, entitled 'Richard Cantillon and the Nationality of Political Economy'; biographies are given in the *Biographie Universelle*, 1836, t. lx., and *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 1855, t. viii.; the information supplied by Watt, McCulloch (*Literature of Political Economy*), Allibone, Macleod (*Diet. of Political Economy*, 1863), and Coquelin et Guillaumin (*Diet. de l'économie politique*, 1873), is very inaccurate; for Cantillon's murder

see the *Country Journal* or the *Craftsman*, 18 May 1734, and 15 June 1734; *Read's Weekly Journal*, 1 June 1734; *Gent. Mag.* 1734 (iv. 273, 702).] H. R. T.

CANTON, JOHN (1718-1772), electrician, was born at Stroud on 31 July 1718. In his youth he manifested considerable aptitude for scientific studies. He was apprenticed to a broad-cloth weaver, and afterwards, in 1737, sent to London. Canton articulated himself for five years to a schoolmaster in Spital Square, London, with whom he subsequently entered into partnership. He appears to have contributed some new experiments for Priestley's 'Histories of Electrical and Optical Discoveries,' and he soon became so celebrated that Dr. Thomson speaks of Canton as 'one of the most successful experimenters in the golden age of electricity.' He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 22 March 1749, and was chosen a member of the council in 1751.

Canton verified Dr. Franklin's hypotheses as to the identity of lightning and electricity, and was the first Englishman to successfully repeat his experiments. He discovered that vitreous substances do not always afford positive electricity by friction, and that either kind, negative or positive, might be developed at will in the same glass tube. He was the first electrician to demonstrate that air is capable of receiving electricity by communication. In a paper read at the Royal Society on 6 Dec. 1753 he announced that the common air of a room might be electrified to a considerable extent, so as not to part with its electricity for some time. With Canton originated also those remarkable experiments on induction which led Wilke and Cépinois to the method of charging a plate of air. His inquiries led Canton to various discoveries and inventions, such as his electroscope and electrometer, and his amalgam of tin and mercury for increasing the action of the rubber of the electrical machine.

On 17 Jan. 1750 Canton read a paper before the Royal Society with the title 'Method of making Artificial Magnets without the use of Natural ones,' which was published in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. xlv. At the anniversary in 1751 the Copley medal was awarded to Canton by the Royal Society. In 1747, some years before he published his 'Method,' Canton had turned his attention to the production of magnets by an artificial manipulation. His son (William) informs us that the paper would have been communicated earlier to the Royal Society but for fear of injuring Dr. Gowan Knight, who made money by touching needles for compasses. In 1750 the Rev. J. Michell pub-



lished a 'Treatise on Artificial Magnets,' in which he described several new processes for preparing them. He charged Canton with plagiarism. Priestley, a friend of Canton's, writes to Mr. William Canton, 20 Aug. 1785, informing him that Mr. Michell gives Canton the merit of being the first to make powerful artificial magnets. In 1769 Canton communicated to the Royal Society some experiments which seemed to prove that the luminous appearance occasionally presented by the sea arose from the presence of decomposing animal matter. Canton was the discoverer of that phosphorescent substance usually known as Canton's phosphorus, prepared by mixing calcined oyster shells with a little sulphur, which after exposure to the sunshine is luminous in the dark. In 1762 he demonstrated before the council of the Royal Society, and at their cost, the compressibility of water, in opposition to the well-known experiment of the Florentine academicians. Some objections having been made to their awarding him, in 1765, the Copley medal, Lord Morton on that occasion highly praised Canton, and hoped that 'he would continue his ingenious researches to the advancement of natural knowledge.' Canton made several zealous endeavours to popularise science. He contributed several articles to the 'Ladies' Diary' in 1739-40, and to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' between 1739 and 1761. Canton died on 22 March 1772.

[Priestley's History of Electrical Discoveries; Weld's History of the Royal Society, i. 509, ii. 32, 510; Life (by Canton's son) in Kippis's Biog. Brit.; Noad's Manual of Electricity; Aug. de la Rive's Treatise on Electricity.] R. H. T.

**CANTRELL, HENRY** (1685?-1773), miscellaneous writer, was born about 1685. His father was a resident from 1673 at Alstonfield, Staffordshire, and afterwards became master of the grammar school at Derby, dying in 1700. His mother afterwards married Anthony Blackwall [q. v.], his father's successor in the Derby school, and there he was educated by his stepfather. He took his degrees at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A. 1704, M.A. 1710). In 1712 he procured the perpetual curacy of St. Alkmund's, Derby, and when this benefice was created a vicarage, Cantrell was its first vicar, holding the living to his death. Before he came to St. Alkmund's the church was in a deplorable condition for want of maintenance, and service had not been performed for fifty years. Cantrell held strong views on the efficacy of episcopal baptism, and noted in his church register, that 'dissenting ministers

have no authority to baptize, and children sprinkled by 'em ought to be baptized after by an episcopal minister.' In 1714 he wrote 'The Invalidity of the Lay-Baptism of Dissenting Teachers proved from Scripture and Antiquity,' Nottingham, 8vo. This was directed against an anonymous work entitled 'The Validity of Baptism administered by Dissenting Ministers, by a Presbyterian of the Church of Christ' [Ferdinand Shaw, independent minister of Derby], Nottingham, 8vo. There were numerous books and pamphlets taking opposite sides of the question about this time. His next work was 'The Royal Martyr, a True Christian; or, a Confutation of the late Assertion, viz. that King Charles I had only the Lay-Baptism of a Presbyterian Teacher,' London, 1716, 8vo. In this treatise he gives an interesting account of Charles I's baptism from the Herald's office in Edinburgh.

Hutton says 'Cantrell drunk the Pretender's health on his knees' on the famous march to Derby in 1745. In 1700 he communicated several interesting particulars of Derby and St. Alkmund's Church to Dr. Pegge. These are now in Pegge's collections at Herald's College. He died in 1773. William Cantrell, rector of St. Michael's, Stamford, and afterwards rector of Normanston (1716-1787), was his eldest son. Another son, Henry, and a daughter, Constance, died young.

Nichols says 'his widow became second wife of Anthony Blackwall, his successor in the Derby grammar school,' but this was clearly his mother. Blackwall died in 1730. Cantrell's father (1659-1700?) was probably the Thomas Cantrell who graduated M.A. at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1681.

[Lysons's Derbyshire, pp. 114, 121, 176; Nichols's Leicestershire, iii. 737; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. i. 119, 133; Nichols's Illust. viii. 441; Hutton's Birmingham, p. 117; Reliquary, 1870, p. 113; Cantrell's Royal Martyr, preface, pp. xxv-vi.] J. W.-G.

**CANTWELL, ANDREW** (d. 1764), medical writer, was born in Tipperary, and studied medicine in Montpellier, where he graduated in 1729. Having failed in his endeavours in 1732 to secure the succession to the chair of medicine left vacant by Astruc's migration to Paris, he also settled in Paris in 1733, and after going through a further lengthened course of study there graduated M.D. of Paris in 1742. In 1750 he was appointed professor of surgery at Paris in the Latin language, in 1760 he became professor of the same subject in French, and in 1762 professor of pharmacy. He was one of the

bitterest and most persistent opponents of inoculation against small-pox, and made a lengthened stay in England to study the practice and its results. He wrote a 'Dissertation on Inoculation,' Paris, 1755, an 'Account of Small-pox,' Paris, 1758, and numerous Latin dissertations on medicine, besides publishing other medical treatises, and several translations of English books, lists of which

are given in Eloy (see below) and 'Nouvelle Biographie Générale,' Paris, viii. 1855. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and contributions of his are to be found in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' vols. xl. xli. xlii. He died at Paris 11 July 1764.

[Eloy's Dict. Historique de la Médecine, Mons, 1778, i. 529; Dict. Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales, xii. 1871.] G. T. B.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

# W. M. THACKERAY'S WORKS.

**NEW 'STANDARD' EDITION.** In 26 vols. large 8vo. 10s. 6d. each.  
This Edition contains some of Mr. Thackeray's writings not before collected, with many additional Illustrations. It has been printed from new type, on fine paper; and, with the exception of the Edition de Luxe, it is the largest and handsomest Edition that has been published.

**THE EDITION DE LUXE.** Twenty-six Volumes, imperial 8vo.  
Containing 248 Steel Engravings, 1,620 Wood Engravings, and 88 Coloured Illustrations. The Steel and Wood Engravings are all printed on real China paper. The NUMBER of COPIES PRINTED is LIMITED to ONE THOUSAND, each copy being numbered. The Work can only be obtained through Booksellers, who will furnish information regarding terms &c.

**THE LIBRARY EDITION.** With Illustrations by the Author, RICHARD DOYLE, and FREDERICK WALKER. Twenty-four Volumes, large crown 8vo. handsomely bound in cloth, price £9; or half-russia, marbled edges, £13. 13s.

*\*\* The Volumes are sold separately, in cloth, price 7s. 6d. each.*

**THE POPULAR EDITION.** Thirteen Volumes, crown 8vo. with Frontispiece to each volume, scarlet cloth, gilt top, price £3. 5s.; and in half-morocco, gilt, price £5. 10s.

*\*\* The Volumes are sold separately, in green cloth, price 5s. each.*

**CHEAPER ILLUSTRATED EDITION.** In Twenty-six Volumes, crown 8vo. price 3s. 6d. each. In Sets of Twenty-six Volumes, uniformly bound in cloth, price £4. 11s.; or handsomely bound in half-morocco, price £8. 8s. Containing nearly all the small Woodcut Illustrations of the former Editions and many New Illustrations by Eminent Artists.

**THIS EDITION CONTAINS ALTOGETHER 1,773 ILLUSTRATIONS**

By the AUTHOR; LUKE FILDEN, A.R.A.; MRS. BUTLER (Miss Elizabeth Thompson); GEORGE DU MAURIER; RICHARD DOYLE; FREDERICK WALKER, A.R.A.; GEORGE CRUIKSHANK; JOHN LERCH; FRANK DICKSEE; LINLEY SAMBOURNE; F. BARNARD; E. J. WHEELER; F. A. FRASER; CHARLES KEENE; R. B. WALLACE; J. P. ATKINSON; W. J. WEBB; T. R. MACQUOID; M. FITZGERALD; W. RALSTON; JOHN COLLIER; H. FURNESS; G. G. KILBURN, &c. &c. &c.

**THE POCKET EDITION.** In process of issue in Monthly Volumes. Price 1s. 6d. per Volume in half-cloth, cut or uncut edges; or 1s. in paper covers.

*\*\* A List of the Volumes already published will be sent on application.*

**BALLADS.** By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. With a Portrait of the Author, and 56 Illustrations by the Author; MRS. BUTLER (Miss Elizabeth Thompson); GEORGE DU MAURIER; JOHN COLLIER; H. FURNESS; G. G. KILBURN; M. FITZGERALD; and J. P. ATKINSON. Printed on toned paper by Clay, Sons, & Taylor; and elegantly bound in cloth, gilt edges, by Burn. Small 4to. 16s.

## W. M. THACKERAY'S SKETCHES.

**THE ORPHAN OF PIMLICO,** and other Sketches, Fragments, and Drawings. By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. Copied by a process that gives a faithful reproduction of the originals. With a Preface and Editorial Notes by Miss THACKERAY. A New Edition, in a new style of binding, bevelled boards, gilt edges, royal 4to. price One Guinea.

London: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 Waterloo Place.

# SMITH, ELDER, & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

**LIFE OF HENRY FAWCETT.** By LESLIE STEPHENS, Author of 'A History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,' 'Hours in a Library,' &c. Fourth Edition. Large crown 8vo. With 2 Steel Portraits. 12s. 6d.

**A JOURNAL KEPT BY DICK DOYLE IN THE YEAR 1840.** Illustrated by several hundred Sketches by the Author. With an Introduction by J. H. AGGERFORD POLLEN, and a Portrait. Second Edition. Demy 4to. 21s.

\*.\* The Journal has been reproduced in facsimile, and is printed on fine paper. It is handsomely bound in cloth, and forms a very elegant gift-book.

**LIFE OF FRANK BUCKLAND.** By his Brother-in-Law, GEORGE C. BOMPAS, Editor of 'Notes and Jottings from Animal Life.' With a Portrait. Large crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**NOTES AND JOTTINGS FROM ANIMAL LIFE.** By the late FRANK BUCKLAND. Second Edition. With Portrait and Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**DON QUIXOTE. THE INGENIOUS GENTLEMAN, DON QUIXOTE of LA MANCHA.** By MIGUEL DE CERVANTES S. A. DE C. A Translation, with Introduction and Notes, by JOHN ORMSBY, Translator of 'The Poem of the Cid.' 4 vols. 8vo. 12s. 6d. each.

**ENGLISH LIFE IN CHINA.** By Major HENRY KNOLLYS, Royal Artillery, Author of 'From Sedan to Saarbrück,' Editor of 'Incidents in the Sepoy War,' 'Incidents in the China War,' &c. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**WITH HICKS PASHA IN THE SOUDAN.** By Col. the Hon. J. COLBORNE, Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*. With Portrait Group of Hicks Pasha and Staff. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**SOME LITERARY RECOLLECTIONS.** By JAMES PAYN, Author of 'By Proxy' &c. Fep. 8vo. Imp. cloth. 2s. 6d.

**MRS. DYMOND.** By Miss THACKERAY (Mrs. RICHMOND RITCHIE). Large crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**A BOOK OF SIBYLS;** Mrs. Barbauld - Miss Edgeworth - Mrs. Opie - Miss Austen. By Miss THACKERAY (Mrs. RICHMOND RITCHIE). Essay, reprinted from the *Cornhill Magazine*. Large crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**HAYTI; or, The Black Republic.** By Sir SPENSER ST. JOHN, K.C.M.G., formerly Her Majesty's Minister Resident and Consul-General in Hayti, now Her Majesty's Special Envoy to Mexico. With a Map. Large crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**A FALL IN IDOL.** By F. ANSTEE, Author of 'Vice Versâ,' 'The Giant's Robe,' &c. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**THE GIANT'S ROBE.** By F. ANSTEE, Author of 'Vice Versâ.' Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**VICE VERSÂ; or, a Lesson to Fathers.** By F. ANSTEE. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**CITIES OF EGYPT.** By REGINALD STUART POOLE. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF HENRY GREVILLE.** Edited by the VISCOUNTESSE BATHURST. FIRST SERIES. 8vo. 14s. SECOND SERIES. With Portrait. 8vo. 14s.

**UNDERGROUND RUSSIA: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life.** By SE. PISTON, formerly Editor of 'Zemlia i Volia' (Land and Liberty). With a Preface by PETER LAVROFF. Translated from the Italian. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**THE LAW RELATING TO TRADE MARKS.** By R. S. MURPHY, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**TANTLER'S SISTER, and other Untruthful Stories; being a Collection of Pieces written for Public Reading.** By EDWARD F. TURNER, Author of 'T Leaves.' Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**T LEAVES: a Collection of Pieces for Public Reading.** By EDWARD F. TURNER, Author of 'Tantler's Sister' &c. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**SHAKSPEARE COMMENTARIES.** By Dr. G. G. GERVINUS, Professor at Heidelberg. Translated, under the Author's superintendence, by F. E. BUNNETT. With a Preface by F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq. 8vo. 14s.

London: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 Waterloo Place.





